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D. IUNII IUVENALIS SATIRAE.

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D. IUNII IUVENALIS

S A T I R A E

WITH

A LITERAL ENGLISH PROSE TRANSLATION
AND NOTES

BY

JOHN DELAWARE LEWIS, M.A.
TRIN. COLL. CAMB.

Second Edition, Revised

VOL. I.

LONDON
TRÜBNER & CO., LUDGATE HILL
1882
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ADVERTISEMENT TO THE SECOND EDITION.

IN this edition, the Notes have been considerably enlarged, and some errors have been corrected. George Long somewhere says that the greatest scholar in Europe will occasionally be guilty of mistakes, which a schoolboy will be able to point out. If this be true, as I believe it to be, Editors of modest pretensions have some excuse to offer for their lapses.

At any rate, I must confess to having discovered a few blunders in my first edition, which will not disfigure this one. Those which are left are not, I hope, very numerous or very serious.

I have also subjoined the most important of the "various readings."

April 1882.



C O R R I G E N D A.

V O L . I.

- Page 19, last line but one (translation), for "have better arranged,"
read "have better arranged."
- .. 45, line 10 (translation), for "the pallor of a wretched, exalted
friendship," read "the pallor of a friendship, distin-
guished and miserable."
- .. 88, lines 12, 13 (translation), for "her female secretary is un-
done," read "it is all up with her female secretary."

Evans so frequently that I do not think his perform-
ance any bar to my attempt.* These two are the only

* For example, in the first page (14) at which I open by chance—it is only a half-page, containing a version of twenty lines of the original, at the end of Satire ii—there are three considerable differences between Mr. Evans and myself. He translates *Sed tu vera puta*, "but do thou believe them true;" *Hic sunt homines*, "here they learn to be men;" *Sic praetextatos referunt Artaacata mores*, "thus it is the vices of our young nobles



PREFACE.

THE accompanying translation of Juvenal, originally made for my own amusement, and which has been lying by me in manuscript for some years, is not sent to press without a certain degree of hesitation. I have been induced to publish it, principally from the belief that there is not in the English language any literal prose translation of the great Satirist of a character to be entirely satisfactory to the scholar. Madan's is literal enough, but almost unintelligible to any one who is unable to read Latin. That of Mr. Evans, in "Bohn's Classical Library," is an excellent and spirited rendering, well adapted to the series of which it forms a volume—that is to say, well qualified to convey the general meaning of Juvenal to the English reader. Perhaps a still higher character, from the scholar's point of view, might fairly be assigned to it. But, at any rate, I differ from Mr. Evans so frequently that I do not think his performance any bar to my attempt.* These two are the only

* For example, in the first page (14) at which I open by chance—it is only a half-page, containing a version of twenty lines of the original, at the end of Satire ii—there are three considerable differences between Mr. Evans and myself. He translates *Sed tu vera puta*, "but do thou believe them true;" *Hic sunt homines*, "here they learn to be men;" *Sic praetextatos referunt Artaxata mores*, "thus it is the vices of our young nobles

prose versions in English, as far as I know, which have any pretensions to be called literal ones.

Whatever may be the shortcomings and faults of this version (and I am conscious that they may be many), I have endeavoured, throughout, to give, as nearly as possible, the exact sense of the original, as it was understood by me. Whenever the choice presented itself to me—as it necessarily did, at almost every line—between a literal, and, it may be thought, a somewhat tame and bald version, and what is called “a spirited rendering,” I have deliberately preferred the former; my object being to translate, as a help to those who wish to make acquaintance with the original, not to paraphrase for the benefit of what is called “the English reader.”

I have added some Notes—they should perhaps rather be described as the materials and memoranda for notes—which were collected by me with the view of carrying out a project which occurred to me, on the completion of the translation, that of attempting a completely new edition (as I understand the word “edition”) of this poet. But circumstances compelled me to abandon this project shortly after it was conceived, without much hope of being able at any future time to take it seriously in hand. I have accordingly printed my Notes as they stand; and it is my hope that, even in their present state, they may be found to contain some useful hints and helps towards a correct understanding of a difficult author.

are aped even at Artaxata.” Often, *ex gr.*, . . . iii 61 186 319, iv 57, vi 153 413 426 454 (450), &c. &c., he seems to me to commit serious errors in translating.

Every illustrative passage quoted by me has been collected in the course of my own reading; or, in the few cases where I have taken from another editor, he is scrupulously named. But where so many have been over the ground before me, it must of course follow that a great number of these passages have appeared in previous editions. I have selected these illustrations almost exclusively from the books of Roman authors, and in preference from such as flourished in or near the time of Juvenal, as Martial and the younger Pliny; and I hope they will generally be found pertinent. By bringing together everything which might be forced into a connection, however remote, with our author, from every one who ever wrote in Greek as well as in Latin—down to Fulgentius, Johannes Sarisburensis, and, possibly, Erasmus—it would have been easy to swell these Notes into twelve times their present dimensions. My only fear, however, is that I may have quoted too much, as it is.

Much that will be found in the Notes will be A B C to scholars. But I was anxious to make them sufficient for the student, and the ordinary reader. The course I have adopted with regard to well-known subjects is simply to give a few words of explanation,—*ex gr.*, . . . *Chrysippus*, the Stoic philosopher; *Electra*, the sister of Orestes; *Infamia* imposed certain legal disabilities . . . referring to the generally accessible Dictionaries of Dr. Smith for fuller information. To go more into detail would be mere book-making: on the other hand, it is not agreeable to a reader, who merely wants enough explanation to

help him on, to be driven off straightway to a book of reference.

The English editions of Juvenal which have come under my notice are that of Mr. Macleane, and three school-books by Messrs. Escott, Prior, and Simcox, respectively. Macleane is an editor of masculine judgment, hardly inferior to that of Heinrich, whose commentary he with justice admires. I have sometimes, in my translation, borrowed a word or a turn of expression from him, owing to the fact that it lingered in my memory, and that I could not find anything better to replace it. His failing is in being at times too dogmatic. Mr. Escott and Mr. Prior have published two excellent school-books. Mr. Simcox, whose Juvenal forms part of the "Catena Classicorum," offers some acute suggestions: but his vice is precisely over-acuteness, a perpetual straining after some meaning, other than the apparent one, of a word or a passage, which at times makes his notes very misleading to the school-boy, or else absolute nonsense.*

Mr. Mayor's Juvenal I have not had the advantage of seeing, except the text and the notes to Satire i and Satire iii 1-9. I have frequently inquired for the entire work, and have always been told that it was out of print,

* *Ex gr.*, Notes to i 59-62, iii 34-36 (*quemlibet*, "the most expensive gladiators"), 221, iv 48 104, v 5 33 104, vii 193 194, viii 162, x 18 21, xi 6 203, xiii 28, xiv 2-9 102 133 217 253-254 257 298, xv 117, and the exquisitely ridiculous note at xvi 46. Mr. Simcox's Introduction commences in these words, "About the life of Juvenal, only three things can be said to be known: that he was the heir of a freedman, that he practised declamation, and that he was banished for affronting an actor." This is not a proper way of introducing the Author to the school-boy's notice. None of these things are known.

and that a second edition would shortly appear. The portion just alluded to is Part i of this second edition. Sheridan, if I remember rightly, speaks somewhere of a rivulet of text meandering through a meadow of margin. If this part be a fair specimen of the whole work, it might be described as a thin stream of commentary on Juvenal running under the surface of a vast sea of citations and excursuses. Thus, for instance, on *hortos*, i 75, we have an essay of more than two closely-printed pages, and with over one hundred and fifty citations on the subject, bringing in almost everything that every ancient author has said about gardens, from Naboth's vineyard downwards. On iii 9, we have an excursus of several pages—how many, I do not know; Part i ends with the fourth—on recitations. In other places, *ex gr.*, i 74 *laudatur*, 75 *debent*, 77 *dormire*, we have passages quoted apparently for no other reason than because they contain the same word. All this, which is very well in its proper place, is not to edit an author, but to smother him; to put not his meaning but one's own erudition before the world; to make him not the editor's chief consideration, but merely a peg on which to hang the signs of the editor's learning. Mr. Mayor has edited only thirteen of Juvenal's Satires, the sixth (the longest and, in many respects, the most important) not being included in his work.

In the text, I have not followed any editor exclusively, but, where different readings occur, have selected that which seemed to me the best. I had thought of saying something about the MSS. of Juvenal, but to do so hardly seems within the scope of this volume, which has already

reached to larger limits than I had expected. The most important of the "various readings" are given in Jahn's edition. One MS. only is alluded to in these Notes, the Codex Pithoeanus, under the usual abbreviation (P). It is generally considered the most ancient and valuable extant (if it be still extant)* MS. of Juvenal, but its readings are often hopelessly corrupt, and some editors seem to me not to have evinced sound judgment in relying, as they have done, almost exclusively upon it.

WESTBURY HOUSE, PETERSFIELD,
April 1873.

* It is, I believe, in the Library of Montpellier.



D. IUNII IUVENALIS S A T I R A E.

SATIRA I.

SEMPER ego auditor tantum ? numquamne reponam,
vexatus toties rauci Theseide Codri ?
impune ergo mihi recitaverit ille togatas,
hic elegos ? impune diem consumpserit ingens
Telephus, aut summi plena iam margine libri
scriptus et in tergo nec dum finitus Orestes ?
nota magis nulli domus est sua, quam mihi lucus
Martis et Aeoliis vicinum rupibus antrum
Vulcani. quid agant venti, quas torqueat umbras
Aeacus, unde alius furtivae devehat aurum

5

10

2. Cordi.

3. cantaverit.

10. furtive.

SATIRE I.

AM I always to be a hearer only? Shall I never retaliate, though tormented so often by the "Theseis" of husky Codrus? Shall one, then, have recited to me his comedies, and another his elegies, with impunity? Shall huge "Telephus" with impunity have consumed a whole day, or—with the margin to the end of the book already filled—"Orestes" written on the very back, and yet not concluded? To no one is his own house more familiar than are to me "the grove of Mars" and "the cave of Vulcan neighbouring on the Aeolian rocks." What the winds are about, what shades Aeacus is torturing, from what

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▲

pelliculae, quantas iaculetur Monychus ornos,
 Frontonis platani convulsaque marmora clamant
 semper et assiduo ruptae lectore columnae:
 exspectes eadem a summo minimoque poeta.
 et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus, et nos
 consilium dedimus Sulla, privatus ut altum
 dormiret; stulta est clementia, cum tot ubique
 vatibus occurras, periturae parcere chartae.
 cur tamen hoc potius libeat decurrere campo,
 per quem magnus equos Auruncae flexit alumnus,
 si vacat ac placidi rationem admittitis, edam.

Cum tener uxorem ducat spado, Mevia Tuscum
 figat aprum et nuda teneat venabula mamma,
 patricios omnes opibus cum provocet unus,
 quo tondente gravis iuveni mihi barba sonabat,
 cum pars Niliacae plebis, cum verna Canopi

25. juvenis.

quarter another *character* carries off the gold of the stolen little
 fleece, what vast mountain-ashes Monychus hurls, *all this* the
 plane-trees and the quivering marbles of Fronto are for ever
 echoing, and the columns riven by the eternal reader. You
 may look for the same things from the greatest and the smallest
 poet. Well, then, I too have slipped away my hand from under
 the *schoolmaster's* ferule; I too have given advice to Sulla to
 sleep soundly in a private station. It is a foolish act of
 clemency, when you run up against so many bards in all direc-
 tions, to spare paper which is sure to be wasted. Why, how-
 ever, I choose rather to run my course on the same plain as that
 along which the great foster-son of Aurunca drove his steeds, if
 you are at leisure, and can lend a quiet ear to the reason, I will
 tell you.

When an effeminate eunuch marries a wife, when Mevia
 transfixes a Tuscan boar, and with naked breasts grasps the
 hunting-spears, when a single individual vies with the whole
 body of patricians in wealth, under whose razor my heavy beard
 used to sound when I was a young man, when Crispinus, one

Crispinus, Tyrias humero revocante lacernas,
 ventilet aestivum digitis sudantibus aurum,
 nec sufferre queat maioris pondera gemmae,
 difficile est satiram non scribere. nam quis iniquae 30
 tam patiens urbis, tam ferreus, ut teneat se,
 causidici nova cum veniat lectica Mathonis
 plena ipso, post hunc magni delator amici
 et cito rapturus de nobilitate comesa
 quod superest, quem Massa timet, quem munere palpat 35
 Carus et a trepido Thymele summissa Latino ;
 cum te summoveant qui testamenta merentur
 noctibus, in coelum quos evehit optima summi
 nunc via processus, vetulae vesica beatae ?
 unciolam Proculeius habet, sed Gillo deuncem, 40
 partes quisque suas ad mensuram inguinis heres.
 accipiat sane mercedem sanguinis et sic
 palleat, ut nudis pressit qui calcibus anguem,
 aut Lugdunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram.

of the rabble of the Nile, the born slave of Canopus, with his shoulder hitching up his Tyrian cloak, airs his summer gold ring on his sweaty fingers, and is unable to support the weight of a heavier gem, it is difficult not to write Satire. For who so tolerant of the injustices of the town, so steeled, as to contain himself when the new litter of Matho the lawyer comes up, filled by the great man, *and* after him he that informed upon his powerful friend, and who will soon clutch all that remains of the devoured nobility, whom Massa *himself* fears, whom Carus tries to wheedle with a bribe, and Thymele sent privately by the trembling Latinus ; when men elbow you out of the way who earn legacies by night work, who are raised to the skies by what is now the best road to the highest advancement—the leech of some rich old hag ! Proculeius gets a paltry twelfth of *the property*, but Gillo eleven-twelfths; each inherits his share in proportion to his powers. Let him receive, for what I care, the price of his life-blood, and be just as pale as one who has trodden bare-footed on a snake, or a rhetorician about to speak

quid referam quanta siccum iecur ardeat ira, 45
 cum populum gregibus comitum premit hic spoliator
 pupilli prostantis, et hic damnatus inani
 iudicio (quid enim salvis infamia nummis?)
 exsul ab octava Marius bibit et fruitur dis
 iratis, at tu victrix provincia ploras? 50
 haec ego non credam Venusina digna lucerna?
 haec ego non agitem? sed quid magis Heracleas
 aut Diomedreas aut mugitum labyrinthi
 et mare percussum puer fabrumque volantem,
 cum leno accipiat moechi bona, si capiendo 55
 ius nullum uxori, doctus spectare lacunar,
 doctus et ad calicem vigilanti stertere naso;
 cum fas esse putet curam sperare cohortis,
 qui bona donavit praesepibus et caret omni
 maiorum censu, dum pervolat axe citato 60
 Flaminiam puer? Automedon nam lora tenebat,

46. premat.

58. spectare.

60. rotato.

at the altar of Lyons. Why relate with what ire my parched entrails burn when here the plunderer of his ward, reduced to prostitution, presses on the people with his crowds of hangers-on, and here, condemned by an empty sentence (for what matters infamy when the money is safe?) Marius in exile drinks from the eighth hour and enjoys the anger of the gods; but thou, O Province! victorious *in the suit*, art in tears? Shall I not deem such things worthy of the lamp of Venusia? Shall I not assail these things? But why rather *treat of fables* about Hercules, or Diomed, or the bellowing of the Labyrinth, and the sea struck by the boy *Icarus* and the flying artificer, when the pander inherits the adulterer's fortune (if there be no legal right to take, in the wife), practised in gazing at the ceiling, and practised in snoring over his cups, with a wide-awake nose; when that man thinks he is entitled to look for the command of a cohort who has spent his fortune on his stables, and has lost all his ancestral property, while yet a boy, flying along the Flaminian Way with rapid chariot—for he held the reins as

ipse lacernatae cum se iactaret amicæ.
 nonne libet medio ceras implere capaces
 quadrivio, cum iam sexta cervice feratur
 hinc atque inde patens ac nuda paene cathedra 65
 et multum referens de Maecenate supino
 signator falso, qui se lautum atque beatum
 exiguis tabulis et gemma fecerat uda ?
 occurrit matrona potens, quae molle Calenum
 porrectura viro miscet sitiente rubetam, 70
 instituitque rudes melior Locusta propinquas
 per famam et populum nigros efferre maritos.
 aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum,
 si vis esse aliquis. probitas laudatur et alget.
 criminibus debent hortos praetoria mensas 75
 argentum vetus et stantem extra pocula caprum.
 quem patitur dormire nurus corruptor avaræ,
 quem sponsæ turpes et praetextatus adulter ?

74. aliquid.

Automedon when the great man was showing himself off to his cloaked boy-mistress. Does not one feel inclined to fill one's capacious tablets in the very middle of the cross-ways, when there comes, borne on the shoulders of positively six slaves, exposed to view on both sides, and with litter almost uncovered, and reminding one a good deal of the listless Maecenas, the forger who has made himself genteel and wealthy by a few small tablets and a moistened seal? Then there meets you the imperious matron, who, when her husband is thirsty, will hand him the mellow wine of Cales, in which she mixes the toad's poison, who, improving on Locusta, has taught her simpler kinswomen to carry out to burial their livid husbands in defiance of rumour and the public gaze. Dare something deserving of small Gyarus and the gaol, if you wish to be somebody; honesty is praised and starves. To their crimes they are indebted for their gardens, palaces, costly tables, old plate, and the goat standing out in relief from the cup. Whom does the seducer of his own daughter-in-law, greedy for gold, permit to sleep?

si natura negat, facit indignatio versum
qualemcumque potest, quales ego vel Cluvienus.

80

Ex quo Deucalion nimbis tollentibus aequor
navigio montem ascendit sortesque poposcit,
paulatimque anima caluerunt mollia saxa,
maribus nudas ostendit Pyrrha puellas,
quidquid agunt homines, votum timor ira voluptas 85
gaudia discursus nostri est farrago libelli.
et quando uberior vitiorum copia ? quando
maior avaritiae patuit sinus ? alea quando
hos animos ? neque enim loculis comitantibus itur
ad casum tabulae, posita sed luditur arca. 90
proelia quanta illic dispensatore videbis
armigero ? simplexne furor sestertia centum
perdere et horrenti tunicam non reddere servo ?
quis totidem erexit villas, quis fercula septem
secreto coenavit avus ? nunc sportula primo 95

whom the unnatural brides and the stripling adulterer? If nature denies the power, indignation produces verse, of whatever kind it is capable, such as I or Cluvienus make.

From the time when Deucalion, while the storms upheaved the sea, ascended the mountain in his ship and consulted the oracle, the softening stones warming by degrees into life, as Pyrrha showed to the males the naked virgins, whatever men are engaged in, their wishes, fears, anger, pleasures, joys, runnings to and fro, form the medley of my book. And when was the supply of vices more fruitful? When did the pocket of avarice gape wider? When had gambling such vitality as now? For, indeed, not with their purses about them do people go to the chances of the gaming-table, but they play with their cash-box for a stake. How sharp the battles you will see there, with the steward for arm-bearer! Is it not something more than madness to lose a hundred sestertia and not restore his tunic to the shivering slave? Which of our forefathers erected so many villas? which of them supped by himself on seven courses? Nowadays the tiny "dole" occupies a place on the

limine parva sedet turbae rapienda togatae.
 ille tamen faciem prius inspicit et trepidat, ne
 suppositus venias ac falso nomine poscas.
 agnitus accipies; iubet a praecone vocari
 ipsos Troiugenas; nam vexant limen et ipsi
 nobiscum. "da praetori, da deinde tribuno." 100
 sed libertinus prior est. "prior," inquit, "ego adsum.
 cur timeam, dubitemve locum defendere, quamvis
 natus ad Euphraten, molles quod in aure fenestrae
 arguerint, licet ipse negem? sed quinque tabernae 105
 quadringenta parant. quid confert purpura maior
 optandum, si Laurenti custodit in agro
 conductas Corvinus oves? ego possideo plus
 Pallante et Licinis." exspectent ergo tribuni,
 vincant divitiae, sacro nec cedat honori,
 nuper in hanc urbem pedibus qui venerat albis, 110
 quandoquidem inter nos sanctissima divitiarum

106. msjus.

outer threshold, to be pounced upon by the toga-clad crowd. Yet the master looks into your face beforehand and is alarmed lest you come in the place of some one else, and apply under a false name. When you are identified you will be served; he orders the Troiugenae themselves to be summoned by his crier; for even such as they infest the threshold with us. "Help the Praetor, then help the Tribune." But a freedman has the precedence. "I am the first-comer," he says; "why should I fear, or hesitate, to stand up for my turn, although born near the Euphrates, which the effeminate openings in my ears would attest, though I denied the fact myself? But *for all that* the five tabernae are worth four hundred sestertia *to me*. What so desirable does the Laticlave confer, if Corvinus keeps sheep for hire in the Laurentine country? I possess more than Pallas and the Licini." Let the Tribunes wait then; let riches carry the day, nor let him give place to the inviolable magistrate, who not long ago came into this city with whitened feet, since among us the most sacred majesty is that of riches, although,

maiestas, etsi funesta pecunia templo
 nondum habitas, nullas nummorum erexitas aras,
 ut colitur Pax atque Fides Victoria Virtus 115
 quaeque salutato crepitat Concordia nido.
 sed cum summus honor finito computet anno,
 sportula quid referat, quantum rationibus addat,
 quid facient comites, quibus hinc toga, calceus hinc est
 et panis fumusque domi? densissima centum 120
 quadrantes lectica petit, sequiturque maritum
 languida vel praegnans et circumducitur uxor.
 hic petit absenti nota iam callidus arte,
 ostendens vacuam et clausam pro coniuge sellam.
 "Galla mea est," inquit, "citus dimite. moraris." 125
 "profer Galla caput!" "noli vexare, quiescit."
 Ipse dies pulchro distinguitur ordine rerum:
 sportula, deinde forum iurisque peritus Apollo
 atque triumphales, inter quas ausus habere

as yet, pernicious money, you do not dwell in a temple of *your own*, nor have we erected altars to coin, in the same way as Peace is worshipped, and Faith, Victory, Virtue, and Concord, which twitters when the nest of *her sacred birds* is saluted. But when the highest magistrate computes at the end of the year what the "dole" brings in, how much it adds to his income, what will the dependants do who derive from this source their toga, their shoes, and bread, and firing for their households? A dense crowd of litters comes in search of the hundred quadrantes; and the wife, though sick, or in the family way, follows her husband, and is carried the round. One, grown cunning at an old trick, asks for *the share of his wife*, though absent, exhibiting an empty and closed *sedan-chair* in the place of his spouse. "It is my Galla," he says; "dismiss us as soon as you can; you are detaining us." "Put out your head, Galla." "Don't disturb her, she's asleep."

The day itself is portioned out with a beautiful ordering of events: the "dole," then the Forum and Apollo learned in the law, and the triumphal statues, among which I know not what

nescio quis titulos Aegyptius atque Arabarches,
 cuius ad effigiem non tantum meiere fas est.
 vestibulis abeunt veteres lassique clientes,
 votaque deponunt, quamquam longissima coenae
 spes homini: caulis miseris atque ignis emendus.
 optima silvarum interea pelagique vorabit 130
 rex horum, vacuisque toris tantum ipse iacebit.
 nam de tot pulchris et latis orbibus et tam
 antiquis una comedunt patrimonia mensa.
 nullus iam parasitus erit. sed quis ferat istas
 luxuriae sordes? quanta est gula, quae sibi totos
 ponit apres, animal propter convivia natum!
 poena tamen praesens, cum tu deponis amictus
 turgidus et crudum pavonem in balnea portas.
 hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus;
 it nova nec tristis per cunctas fabula coenas,
 ducitur iratis plaudendum funus amicis. 140
 145

143. crudus.

"Aegyptius and Arabarches" has dared to place his titles of honour, at whose image one may, without sacrilege, commit more than one kind of nuisance. The old and wearied clients leave the porch and give up their hopes, though the expectation of a dinner is the most long-lived *of all* in man: the poor fellows must buy their pot-herbs and firing. In the meanwhile their patron will devour the choicest produce of forests and sea, and will recline in solitary state on the couches empty *of all but himself*; for off so many beautiful and broad and antique round tables these people devour their patrimonies at a single course. Soon there will be no parasite; but who will bear such sordid luxury as this? What gluttony is that which serves up for itself whole boars, an animal created for banquets! Yet the penalty is at hand when you lay aside your clothes, gorged with food, and carry an undigested peacock to the bath. Hence, sudden deaths and intestate old age. The new but not sorrowful tidings go the round of all the dinner-tables, and your funeral comes forth amidst the applause of disappointed friends.

Nil erit ulterius, quod nostris moribus addat
 posteritas ; eadem cupient facientque minores ;
 omne in praecipiti vitium stetit, utere velis,
 totos pande sinus. dicas hic forsitan “ unde 150
 ingenium par materiae ? unde illa priorum
 scribendi, quodcumque animo flagrante liberet,
 simplicitas, cuius non audeo dicere nomen ?
 quid refert dictis ignoscat Mucius an non ?
 pone Tigellinum, taeda lucebis in illa, 155
 qua stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant,
 et latum media sulcum deducis arena.”
 qui dedit ergo tribus patruis aconita, vehatur
 pensilibus plumis, atque illinc despiciat nos ?
 “ cum veniet contra, digito compesce labellum. 160
 accusator erit, qui verbum dixerit ‘ hic est.’
 securus licet Aeneam Rutulumque ferocem
 committas, nulli gravis est percussus Achilles

156. pectore.

157. diducit.

There will be nothing further for posterity to add to our manners ; our descendants will wish for and do the same things ; every vice has reached its culminating point. Take to your sails. Crowd all canvas. Perhaps you will say at this point, “ Whence *is to come* the talent equal to the subject ? Whence that straightforwardness of the ancients in writing whatever their burning impulses inclined them to, the *very* name of which I dare not utter ? What does it matter whether a Mucius forgive your words or not ? Portray Tigellinus : you will shine in the midst of those faggots in which they blaze, standing, who smoke with throat fixed *to the stake*, and you will draw a broad furrow in the midst of the sand.” He, then, who has given aconite to his three uncles is to be carried on suspended down-cushions, and thence look down on us ! “ When he comes in your way, close your lip with your finger. He who *simply* says the words, ‘ That’s he,’ will be *looked upon* as his accuser. You may safely pit together Aeneas and the fierce Rutulian : Achilles, though struck down, will harm no one ; nor Hylas, long sought

aut multum quaesitus Hylas urnamque secutus;
 ense velut stricto quoties Lucilius ardens 165
 infremuit, rubet auditor, cui frigida mens est
 criminibus, tacita sudant praecordia culpa:
 inde irae et lacrimae. tecum prius ergo voluta
 haec animo ante tubas. galeatum sero duelli
 poenitet." experiar quid concedatur in illos, 170
 quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.

SATIRA II.

ULTRA Sauromatas fugere hinc libet et glacialem
 Oceanum, quoties aliquid de moribus audent
 qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia vivunt.
 indocti primum: quamquam plena omnia gypso
 Chrysippi invenies; nam perfectissimus horum est, 5

5. invenias.

for and gone after his pitcher. *But* as often as Lucilius has raged in his fury, as though with drawn sword, the hearer grows red whose conscience is chilled with the sense of crime, his innermost parts are clammy with concealed guilt. Hence rage and tears. Turn over, therefore, first these things in your mind before the *sound of the trumpet*: when the helmet is on, it is too late to repent of the fight." I will try, *then*, what I may be permitted to do against those whose ashes are covered by the Flaminian and the Latin roads.

SATIRE II.

ONE feels inclined to fly from here beyond the Sarmatians and the Frozen Ocean, whenever those *fellow*s dare to *say* anything about morals who ape the Curii and live like Bacchanals. Ignoramuses, to begin with, though you will find all their premises full of plaster-casts of Chrysippus; for the most accom-

si quis Aristotelem similem vel Pittacon emit,
 et iubet archetypos pluteum servare Cleanthas.
 fronti nulla fides; quis enim non vicus abundat
 tristibus obscenis? castigas turpia, cum sis
 inter Socraticos notissima fossa cinaedos.
 hispida membra quidem et durae per brachia setae
 promittunt atrocem animum, sed podice levi
 caeduntur tumidae medico ridente mariscae;
 rarus sermo illis et magna libido tacendi
 atque supercilie brevior coma. verius ergo
 et magis ingenuus Peribomius. hunc ego fatis
 imputo, qui vultu morbum incessuque fatetur.
 horum simplicitas miserabilis, his furor ipse
 dat veniam: sed peiores, qui talia verbis
 Herculis invadunt et de virtute locuti
 clunem agitant. “ego te ceventem, Sexte, verebor?”

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8. frontia.

plished of these is he that has bought a likeness of Aristotle or Pittacus, and bids his bookcase hold originals of Cleanthes. There is no trusting the outside; for what street is there that does not abound in debauchees of severe aspect? You rebuke abominations, while you *yourself* are the most notorious sink among the unnatural creatures who *call themselves* followers of Socrates. The shaggy limbs, indeed, and the stiff bristles on the arms give promise of an intrepid soul: but on the hairless posteriors, the surgeon, with a smile, lances the swollen piles. These fellows speak but seldom, they have a great fancy for holding their tongues, and their hair is *cut* shorter than their eyebrows. Peribomius, then, *acts* more truthfully and more ingenuously: I lay that man to the account of the Fates who by his look and gait avows his diseased tastes. The frankness of such persons is *simply* pitiable: to such their very madness furnishes *an* excuse. But they are worse who attack such vices in the words of a Hercules, and act the wanton after talking of virtua. “Shall I stand in awe of you, Sextus, who exhibit your lewdness?” says the notorious Varillus. “In what am I

infamis Varillus ait, “ quo deterior te ?
 loripedem rectus derideat, Aethiopem albus.”
 quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes ?
 quis coelum terris non misceat et mare coelo,
 si fur dispiceat Verri, homicida Miloni,
 Clodius accuset moechos, Catilina Cethegum,
 in tabulam Sullae si dicant discipuli tres ?
 qualis erat nuper tragico pollutus adulter
 concubitu, qui tunc leges revocabat amaras
 omnibus atque ipsis Veneri Martique timendas,
 cum tot abortivis fecundam Iulia vulvam
 solveret et patruo similes effunderet offas.
 nonne igitur iure ac merito vitia ultima factos
 contemnunt Scauros et castigata remordent ?

25

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35

Non tulit ex illis torvum Lauronia quemdam
 clamantem toties “ ubi nunc lex Iulia ? dormis ? ”
 ad quem subridens “ felicia tempora, quae te
 moribus opponunt ! habeat iam Roma pudorem.

worse than you ? Let a straight-limbed man jeer at one who is club-footed, a white man at a blackamoor.” Who would stand the Gracchi complaining of sedition ? Who would not confound heaven with earth and sea with heaven, if a thief were displeasing to Verres, a murderer to Milo, if Clodius were to impeach adulterers, or Cataline Cethagus, if Sulla’s proscriptionist were inveighed against by his three disciples ? Of such a kind was the adulterer, lately defiled by a tragical amour, who, at that very time, was reviving bitter laws, which all might tremble at, even Venus and Mars themselves, while Julia was opening her fruitful womb by so many abortives, and giving vent to embryos resembling her uncle. Is it not then lawfully and deservedly that even the most vicious despise these sham Scauri, and, when rebuked, return the bite ?

Lauronia would not suffer a certain grim-looking fellow of this class, continually crying out, “ Where are you now, Julian law ? Are you asleep ? ” To whom, with a smile, “ Happy the times,” said she, “ which oppose you to our manners ! Let

tertius e coelo cecidit Cato. sed tamen unde 40
haec emis, hirsuto spirant opobalsama collo
quae tibi? ne pudeat dominum monstrare tabernae.
quod si vexantur leges ac iura, citari
ante omnes debet Scantinia. respice primum
et scrutare viros. faciunt hi plura, sed illos 45
defendit numerus iunctaeque umbone phalanges:
magna inter molles concordia. non erit ullum
exemplum in nostro tam detestabile sexu.
Tedia non lambit Cluviam nec Flora Catullam,
Hispo subit iuvenes et morbo pallet utroque. 50
numquid nos agimus causas, civilia iura
novimus, aut ullo strepitu fora vestra movemus?
luctantur paucae, comedunt coliphia paucae.
vos lanam trahitis calathisque peracta refertis
vellera, vos tenui praegnantem stamine fusum
Penelope melius, levius torquetis Arachne, 55

43. ac jure : at jure (Jahn).

Rome begin to have a sense of shame: a third Cato has fallen from the sky. But, nevertheless, where do you buy these perfumes of yours, which exhale from your hairy neck? Don't be ashamed to name the owner of the shop. Now, if laws and statutes are to be disturbed *from their sleep*, before all others the Scantinian ought to be called up. First look to the men and observe them; they do worse than we; but as to these, their number protects them, and their phalanxes closed up shield to shield. Great is the concord between effeminates. There will not be *found* any such execrable example in our sex. Tedia does not caress Cluvia, nor Flora Catulla: Hispo submits himself to young men, and is pale with a doubly unnatural taste. Pray, do we plead causes, are we acquainted with the laws of the state, or do we disturb your courts with any clamour of ours? There are few women who wrestle, few who eat the food of athletes: while you card wool, and bear back in baskets the completed fleeces: you twist the distaff pregnant with slender thread better than Penelope, more nimbly than Arachne,

horrida quale facit residens in codice pellex.
notum est, cur solo tabulas impleverit Hister
liberto, dederit vivus cur multa puellae.
dives erit magno quae dormit tertia lecto. 60
tu nube atque tace, donant arcana cylindros.
de nobis post haec tristis sententia fertur ;
dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas."

Fugerunt trepidi vera ac manifesta canentem
stoicidae ; quid enim falsi Lauronia ? sed quid
non facient alii, cum tu multicia sumas,
Cretice, et hanc vestem populo mirante perores
in Proculas et Pollitas ? est moecha Fabulla ;
damnetur, si vis, etiam Carfinia, talem
non sumet damnata togam. " sed Iulius ardet,
aestuo." nudus agas, minus est insania turpis.
en habitum, quo te leges ac iura ferentem
vulneribus crudis populus modo victor et illud

71. infamia.

work such as a dirty slave-concubine has to do, sitting on the log she is tied to. It is notorious why Hister filled up his will in favour of his freedman alone, why, during his life, he gave so many presents to his virgin-wife. She will be rich who sleeps third in a large bed. Do you get married and hold your tongue : secrets confer cut jewels. Yet, after this, a harsh verdict is passed upon us *women*. Judgment pardons the ravens and harasses the doves."

The Stoicidae fled in confusion from her as she gave utterance to these true and palpable things. For what had Lauronia said that was false ? But what will not others do, when you, Creticus, put on gauze dresses, and, with the people astonished at such attire, hold forth against the Proculas and the Pollitae ? Fabulla is an adulteress ; let Carfinia be condemned, if you please, into the bargain : yet, though condemned, she will not put on such a toga as that. " But July rages ; I am on fire." Plead stark naked, then ; insanity would be less disgraceful. A pretty dress for the people, but recently victorious, with their

montanum positis audiret vulgus aratris !
 quid non proclames, in corpore iudicis ista
 si videoas ? quaero an deceant multicia testem ?
 acer et indomitus libertatisque magister,
 Cretice, perluces. dedit hanc contagio labem
 et dabit in plures, sicut grex totus in agris
 unius scabie cadit et porrige porci, 75
 uvaque conspecta livorem dicit ab uva.
 foediū hoc aliquid quandoque audebis amictu,
 nemo repente fuit turpissimus ; accipient te
 paulatim, qui longa domi redimicula sumunt
 frontibus et toto posuere monilia collo 80
 atque bonam tenerae placant abdomine porcae
 et magno craterē deam ; sed more sinistro
 exagitata procul non intrat femina limen,
 solis ara deae maribus patet. “ ite profanae ! ”

81. contacta.

83. venit.

wounds yet green, and that *old* mountain populace, after laying down their ploughs, to hear you proposing laws and statutes ! What would you not exclaim if you saw such clothes on the person of a *Judex* ! I ask whether gauze dresses would become even a witness ? And yet you, stern unbending man, master of your freedom, *you*, *Creticus*, are showing your nakedness. Contagion has given us this plague-spot, and will pass it on to many more, just as a whole herd in the fields perishes through the mange and scurf of a single pig, and one grape acquires a taint from the mere sight of another grape. You will, one day or other, venture on something yet more disgraceful than this dress. No one reaches the height of infamy at a step : by degrees, people will take you into their company, who, in their houses, wear long fillets on their brows, and put chains all over their necks, and propitiate *Bona Dea* with the belly of a young sow and a huge bowl ; but, by a perverted usage, woman, driven far away, does not cross the threshold. To males alone is the altar of the goddess open. “ Hence, ye profane fair ! ” is the cry. “ Here no female piper sounds her plaintive horn instrument.”

clamatur, "nullo gemit hic tibicina cornu." 90
 talia secreta coluerunt orgia taeda
 Cecropiam soliti Baptae lassare Cotytto.
 ille supercilium madida fuligine tactum
 obliqua producit acu pingitque trementes
 attollens oculos, vitreo bibit ille Priapo
 reticulumque comis auratum ingentibus implet
 caerulea indutus scutulata aut galbina rasa,
 et per Iunonem domini iurante ministro. 95
 ille tenet speculum, pathici gestamen Othonis,
 Actoris Aurunci spolium, quo se ille videbat
 armatum, cum iam tolli vexilla iuberet.
 res memoranda novis annalibus atque recenti
 historia, speculum civilis sarcina belli.
 nimirum summi ducis est occidere Galbam
 et curare cutem, summi constantia civis 100
 Bebriaci campo spolium affectare Palati
 et pressum in faciem digitis extendere panem,

93. tintum.

Such orgies as these the Baptae celebrated with secret torch, who were wont to weary out even the Athenian Cotytto. One, with slanted needle, lengthens his eyebrows, touched with damp soot, and raising *the lids*, paints his quivering eyes: another drinks out of a Priapus-shaped glass, and fills a net of gold thread with his bushy hair, dressed in blue checks, or pale green stuffs, shorn of their pile, while the servant too swears by the Juno of his master. Another holds a mirror, the object wielded by pathic Otho, "the spoil of Auruncan Actor," in which he used to behold himself accoutred at the moment of ordering the standards to be taken up. A thing to be commemorated in our new annals and recent history, a mirror, the baggage of a civil war! Doubtless it showed a consummate general to slaughter Galba, and to pamper his own skin: the energy of a great citizen to aim at the spoils of the Palace on the field of Bebriacum, and to spread with his fingers the bread-poultece pressed upon his face: an act which neither the quivered Semiramis perpetrated

quod nec in Assyrio pharetrata Semiramis orbe,
 maesta nec Actiacca fecit Cleopatra carina.
 hic nullus verbis pudor aut reverentia mensae, 110
 hic turpis Cybeles et fracta voce loquendi
 libertas, et crine senex fanaticus albo
 sacrorum antistes, rarum ac memorabile magni
 gutturis exemplum conducendusque magister.
 quid tamen exspectant, Phrygio quos tempus erat iam 115
 more supervacuam cultris abrumpere carnem ?
 quadringenta dedit Gracchus sestertia dotem
 cornicini, sive hic recto cantaverat aere :
 signatae tabulae, dictum “ feliciter ! ” ingens
 coena sedet, gremio iacuit nova nupta mariti.
 o proceres, censore opus est an haruspice nobis ? 120
 scilicet horrees maioraque monstra putares,
 si mulier vitulum vel si bos ederet agnum ?
 segmenta et longos habitus et flammea sumit,

116. abscindere.

118. cantaverit.

in the Assyrian world, nor sorrowing Cleopatra in her Actian ship. Here is no shame in their language, nor respect for the decorum of the table. Here is the foul license of Cybele, and of speaking in effeminate tones, and the phrenzied old man, with white hair, the chief priest of the rites, a rare and notable example of monstrous gluttony, who might be engaged to teach the science. Yet what are they waiting for, since the time has long since come for them to cut off with knives, after the Phrygian fashion, their superfluous parts ? Gracchus has brought a dowry of four hundred sestertia to a cornet-player—or it may have been on a straight horn that he had performed : the contract has been signed ; felicitations offered ; a dinner on a large scale is set out ; the new-made bride has reclined on the bosom of his husband. O nobles ! is it a censor we need, or an aruspex ? Would you, forsooth, be *more* horrified, would you deem it a greater prodigy, if a woman gave birth to a calf or an ox to a lamb ? That man puts on flounces and long dresses and bridal-veils who has borne the sacred *emblems* swinging from

arcano qui sacra ferens nutantia loro
sudavit clipeis ancilibus. o pater urbis,
unde nefas tantum Latiis pastoribus ? unde
haec tetigit, Gradive, tuos urtica nepotes ?
traditur ecce viro clarus genere atque opibus vir :
nec galeam quassas, nec terram cuspide pulsas,
nec quereris patri ? vade ergo et cede severi
iugeribus campi, quem negligis. "officium cras
primo sole mihi peragendum in valle Quirini"
quae causa officii ? "quid quaeris ? nubit amicus,
nec multos adhibet." licet modo vivere, fient,
fient ista palam, cupient et in acta referri
interea tormentum ingens nubentibus haeret,
quod nequeunt parere et partu retinere maritos.
Di melius, quod nil animis in corpora iuris
natura indulget; steriles moriuntur, et illis

139. sed melius.

140. morientur.

the mystic thong, who has sweated beneath the shields of Mars! O father of the city! whence *has come* such monstrous impiety to the shepherds of Latium? Whence, O Gradivus! has this stinging itch seized your descendants? See now, a man illustrious in family and fortune is handed over *in marriage* to another man; and you do not shake your helmet, nor strike the earth with your spear, nor complain to your father. Be off, then, and retire from the soil of that stern field which you neglect. "I have a visit of ceremony to go through at sunrise to-morrow, in the valley of Quirinus." "What is the occasion of the visit?" "Why ask? A male friend is to be taken to wife. He invites but a small party." Let us only live *a little longer*; these sort of things will be done, yes, will be done openly, and will be for getting themselves recorded in the gazette. Meanwhile, there is one great cause of torment which sticks to these male brides—that they are unable to bear, and by means of offspring to retain *the affections of* their husbands. But the gods *have better* arranged, that nature should vouchsafe to their wills no power over their bodies. They die barren, and

turgida non prodest condita pyxide Lyde,
 nec prodest agili palmas praebere Luperco.
 vicit et hoc monstrum tunicati fuscina Gracchi,
 lustravitque fuga mediam gladiator arenam
 et Capitolinis generosior et Marcellis
 et Catulis Paulique minoribus et Fabiis et
 omnibus ad podium spectantibus, his licet ipsum
 admoveas, cuius tunc munere retia misit.

Esse aliquos manes et subterranea regna,
 et contum et Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras,
 atque una transire vadum tot millia cymba,
 nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum aere lavantur,
 sed tu vera puta: Curius quid sentit et ambo
 Scipiadae, quid Fabricius, manesque Camilli,
 quid Cremerae legio et Cannis consumpta iuentus,
 tot bellorum animae, quoties hinc talis ad illos
 umbra venit? cuperent lustrari, si qua darentur

149. aliiquid.

145

150

155

to them bloated Lyde is of no help with her medicated box, nor does it help them to hold out their hands to the nimble Lupercus. Yet even this monstrosity was surpassed by the trident of Gracchus, clad in a tunic, when a gladiator traversed in flight the middle of the arena, who was more nobly born than the Capitolini, and the Marcelli, and the Catuli, and the descendants of Paulus, and the Fabii, and all the spectators in the front seats, even though you add to these the man himself at whose show he then threw the nets.

That there exist certain Manes and underground kingdoms, and a punt-pole and black frogs in the Stygian whirlpool, and that so many thousands pass over the waters in a single bark, not even boys believe, unless it be those who are not yet washed for money *at the baths*. But suppose these things to be true. What must Curius feel, and the two Scipiones? What Fabricius and the Manes of Camillus? What the legion of Cremera and the youth exterminated at Cannae, souls from so many wars, when such a shade as this reaches them from here? They

sulfura cum taedis et si foret humida laurus.
 illuc heu miseri traducimur! arma quidem ultra
 litora Iuvernae promovimus et modo captas 160
 Orcadas ac minima contentos nocte Britannos,
 sed quae nunc populi fiunt victoris in urbe,
 non facient illi quos vicimus. “et tamen unus
 Armenius Zalates cunctis narratur ephebis
 mollior ardenti sese indulsisse tribuno.” 165
 aspice quid faciant commercia: venerat obses
 hic fiunt homines! nam si mora longior urbem
 indulsit pueris, non umquam deerit amator,
 mittentur braccae cultelli frena flagellum;
 sic praetextatos referunt Artaxata mores. 170

159. illie.

would wish to be purified, if sulphur could be anyhow procured, with pine-torches, or if there were any moistened laurel there. To such an exhibition of ourselves, alas, are we poor wretches brought! Our arms, indeed, we have advanced beyond the shores of Iuverna and the lately conquered Orcades, and the Britons contented with very short nights: but the things which are now done in the city of the victorious people, those whom we have vanquished will not do. “And yet one of them, the Armenian Zalates, more effeminate than all the young men *his companions*, is said to have yielded his person to the burning Tribune.” See what the intercourse of *nations* can do. He had come as a hostage; here it is that men are made! For if a longer stay in the city be permitted the boys, they will never be in want of a lover. Their trousers, their knives, their bridles, their whips will be cast aside; thus it is that they carry back to Artaxata the manners of the young Romans.

SATIRA III.

Q UAMVIS digressu veteris confusus amici
 laudo tamen, vacuis quod sedem figere Cumis
 destinet atque unum civem donare Sibyllae.
 ianua Baiarum est et gratum litus amoeni
 secessus. ego vel Prochytae praepono Suburae. 5
 nam quid tam miserum, tam solum vidimus, ut non
 deterius credas horrere incendia, lapsus
 tectorum assiduos ac mille pericula saevae
 urbis et Augusto recitantes mense poetas ?
 sed dum tota domus reda componitur una,
 substitit ad veteres arcus madidamque Capenam. 10
 hic, ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat anicae,
 nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
 Iudaeis, quorum cophinus foenumque supellex ;
 omnis enim populo mercedem pendere iussa est 15

SATIRE III.

ALTHOUGH distressed at the departure of my old friend, yet I commend him for determining to fix his abode at unfrequented Cumae, and to give one citizen to the Sibyl. It is the way of approach to Baiae, and a pleasant sea-shore agreeable to retire to. I prefer even Prochyta to the Suburra. For what *place* have we seen so wretched, so lonely, that you would not think it worse to be in dread of fires, the perpetual falling-in of houses, the thousand dangers of the cruel city,—and poets reciting in the month of August? But while all his household was being stowed in a single carriage, he (*i.e., my friend Umbricius*) halted at the old triumphal arches and the wet *gate of Capena*. Here, where Numa used to make assignations with his nocturnal mistress, nowadays the grove of the holy fountain and the sacred precincts are let out to the Jews, whose furniture is a basket and *some* hay; for every tree is bidden to pay rent to

arbor, et electis mendicat silva Camenis.
 in vallem Egeriae descendimus et speluncas
 dissimiles veris. quanto praesentius esset
 numen aquae, viridi si margine clauderet undas
 herba, nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum ! 20
 hic tunc Umbricius, "quando artibus" inquit "honestis
 nullus in urbe locus, nulla emolumenta laborum,
 res hodie minor est, here quam fuit, atque eadem cras
 deteret exiguis aliquid, proponimus illuc
 ire, fatigatas ubi Daedalus exuit alas, 25
 dum nova canities, dum prima et recta senectus,
 dum superest Lachesi quod torqueat, et pedibus me
 porto meis nullo dextram subeunte bacillo.
 cedamus patria. vivant Artorius istic
 et Catulus, maneant qui nigrum in candida vertunt, 30
 quis facile est aedem conducere flumina portus,
 siccandam eluviem, portandum ad busta cadaver,

18. praestantius.

the people, and the Camenae having been turned out, the wood is a mass of beggars. We descend into the valley of Egeria and the grottoes unlike natural ones. How much more present to us would the divinity of the spring be, if turf enclosed the waters with its margin of green, and marble did not do violence to the native tufa-stone ! Here, then, Umbricius—"Since," said he, "there is no place in the city for honest employments, no return for industry, since to-day my means are smaller than they were yesterday, and those same means will to-morrow wear away somewhat from their scanty residue, I propose to go to the spot where Daedalus put off his wearied wings, while my hair is *but* recently grizzled, while my old age is *but* beginning and *still* erect, while there remains something for Lachesis to spin, and I bear myself on my own feet with no staff supporting my right hand. I must leave my country : let Artorius and Catulus live there ; let those remain who turn black into white, to whom it comes easy to take contracts about temples, rivers, harbours, cleansing a sewer, carrying a corpse to the funeral-

et praebere caput domina venale sub hasta.
 quondam hi cornicines et municipalis arenae
 perpetui comites notaeque per oppida buccae
 munera nunc edunt, et verso pollice vulgi
 quem libet occidunt populariter, inde reversi
 conducunt foricas, et cur non omnia? cum sint
 quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum
 extollit, quoties voluit Fortuna iocari.

quid Romae faciam? mentiri nescio, librum,
 si malus est, nequeo laudare et poscere, motus
 astrorum ignoro, funus promittere patris
 nec volo nec possum, ranarum viscera numquam
 inspexi, ferre ad nuptam quae mittit adulter,
 quae mandat, norint alii, me nemo ministro
 fur erit, atque ideo nulli comes exeo, tamquam
 mancus et extinctae corpus non utile dextrae.
 quis nunc diligitur, nisi conscius, et cui fervens

37. cum libet.

pile, and to put up a man for sale under the mistress-spear. These men, who were formerly horn-blowers, and constant attendants at the amphitheatres of country places, *with their* puffed-out cheeks well-known from town to town, now give shows of gladiators, and, when the vulgar turn up their thumbs, kill off any one you like to please the people: returned thence, they farm the public privies, and why not everything, since they are men such as Fortune raises up from obscurity to the highest summits of affairs, whenever she chooses to be sportive? What should I do in Rome? I know not how to lie; if a book is a bad one, I cannot praise it and ask for a copy; I am ignorant of the motions of the stars; I neither will nor can promise the death of a father; I never inspected the entrails of frogs; let others know how to carry to a married woman the presents and the messages of her lover—nobody shall be a thief by my aid, and therefore I am not going out in the suite of any one, as though I were maimed and a useless trunk with right hand destroyed. Who nowadays is cherished except the

aestuat occultis animus semperque tacendis ? 50
 nil tibi se, debere putat, nil conferet umquam,
 participem qui te secreti fecit honesti ;
 carus erit Verri, qui Verrem tempore quo vult
 accusare potest. tanti tibi non sit opaci
 omnis arena Tagi quodque in mare volvitur aurum, 55
 ut somno careas ponendaque praemia sumas
 tristis et a magno semper timearis amico !

Quae nunc divitibus gens acceptissima nostris
 et quos praecipue fugiam, properabo fateri,
 nec pudor obstabit. non possum ferre, Quirites, 60
 Graecam urbem. quamvis quota portio faecis Achaei !
 iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes,
 et linguam et mores et cum tibicine chordas
 obliquas, nec non gentilia tympana secum
 vexit, et ad circum iussas prostare pueras : 65
 ite quibus grata est picta lupa barbara mitra !

accomplice, he whose raging mind boils with hidden things which must ever be kept unrevealed ! Nothing does that man think he owes you, nothing will he ever bestow *on you*, who has made you the sharer in an honourable secret. He will be dear to Verres who can accuse Verres at any time he pleases. Let not all the sands of shady Tagus, and all the gold that is rolled into the sea, be of such account to you as that you should lose your sleep, and sorrowfully take bribes which will have to be disgorged, and always be feared by your powerful friend.

What race is now most in favour with our rich men, and what people I would particularly shun, I will hasten to tell you, nor shall shame prevent me. I cannot bear, Romans, a Greek city ; and yet, how small a portion of our dregs is from Greece ! Long since, Syrian Orontes has flowed into the Tiber, and has brought with it its language and manners, and with the pipers the oblique chords, and the national tambourines, and the girls made to stand for hire at the circus. Hie thither, ye who have a fancy for a foreign harlot in an embroidered turban ! That

rusticus ille tuus sumit trechedipna, Quirine,
 et ceromatico fert niceteria collo !
 hic alta Sicyone, ast hic Amydone relicta,
 hic Andro, ille Samo, hic Trallibus aut Alabandis 70
 Esquilias dictumque petunt a vimine collem,
 viscera magnarum domuum dominique futuri.
 ingenium velox, audacia perdita, sermo
 promptus et Isaeo torrentior. ede, quid illum
 esse putas ? quem vis hominem secum attulit ad nos, 75
 grammaticus rhetor geometres pictor aliptes
 augur schoenobates medicus magus, omnia novit.
 Graeculus esuriens, in coelum, iusseris, ibit ;
 ad summam, non Maurus erat neque Sarmata nec Thrax,
 qui sumpsit pennas, mediis sed natus Athenis. 80
 horum ego non fugiam conchylia ? me prior ille
 signabit fultusque toro meliore recumbet,
 advectus Romam quo pruna et cottana vento ?

79. in summa.

once rustic son of yours, Quirinus, adopts Greek slippers and wears Greek prizes of victory on his neck anointed with Ceroma. This one who has left steep Sicyon, and this Amydon, this one from Andros, and that from Samos, another from Tralles or Alabanda, seek the Esquiline and the hill named from its osiers, the vitals of great houses and their future masters. Their wit is quick, their impudence desperate, their speech ready, and more fluent than *that of Isaeus*. Tell us what you take one of these fellows to be? He has brought us a Jack-of-all-trades in his person—grammarian, rhetorician, geometrician, painter, anointer, augur, tight-rope dancer, physician, magician: he knows everything. Bid the hungry Greekling go to heaven, he will go. In short, it was not a Moor, nor a Sarmatian, nor a Thracian who put on wings, but one born in the heart of Athens. Shall I not shun the purple robes of these fellows? Shall such an one sign his name before me, and recline at table propped on a more honourable couch, though imported to Rome by the same wind as plums and figs? Is it then so absolutely

usque adeo nihil est, quod nostra infantia coelum
hausit Aventini bacca nutrita Sabina ?
85
quid quod adulandi gens prudentissima laudat
sermonem indocti, faciem deformis amici,
et longum invalidi collum cervicibus aequat
Herculis Antaeum procul a tellure tenentis,
miratur vocem angustam, qua deterius nec
ille sonat, quo mordetur gallina marito.
90
haec eadem licet et nobis laudare, sed illis
creditur. an melior, cum Thaida sustinet, aut cum
uxorem comoedus agit vel Dorida nullo
cultam palliolo ? mulier nempe ipsa videtur,
non persona loqui, vacua et plana omnia dicas
infra ventriculum et tenui distantia rima.
95
nec tamen Antiochus, nec erit mirabilis illic
aut Stratocles aut cum molli Demetrius Haemo,
natio comoeda est. rides, maiore cachinno
concutitur ; flet, si lacrimas conspexit amici,
100

nothing that my infancy drank in the air of the Aventine, nourished on the Sabine olive? Why add that the race so cunning in flattery praises the conversation of an ignorant and the face of a hideous friend, and compares the long throat of a puny fellow to the neck of a Hercules holding Antaeus far from the earth, or admires the squeaking voice than which nothing worse comes even from the male bird which pecks at the hen? We too have it in our power to praise these same things, but then they are believed. Can any one be better than he when he sustains the part of Thais, or when he acts the wife in a comedy, or Doris unattired in a mantle? To be sure a woman in person seems to speak, and not a mask *merely*: you would declare it was a woman perfect in all respects. And yet Antiochus, or Stratocles, or Demetrius, and the effeminate Haemus, would be no marvels in their own country. The nation is one of comedians. Do you laugh, he is convulsed with a louder guffaw; he weeps if he has seen the tears of a friend, without feeling any grief; if you should ask for a trifle

nec dolet; igniculum brumae si tempore poscas,
 accipit endromidem; si dixeris 'aestuo,' sudat.
 non sumus ergo pares: melior, qui semper et omni
 nocte dieque potest alienum sumere vultum, 105
 a facie iactare manus, laudare paratus,
 si bene ructavit, si rectum minxit amicus,
 si trulla inverso crepitum dedit aurea fundo.
 praeterea sanctum nihil est nec ab inguine tutum,
 non matrona laris, non filia virgo, neque ipse 110
 sponsus levis adhuc, non filius ante pudicus;
 horum si nihil est, aviam resupinat amici.
 seire volunt secreta domus atque inde timeri

Et quoniam coepit Graecorum mentio, transi
 gymnasia atque audi facinus maioris abollae. 115
 stoicus occidit Baream, delator amicum,
 discipulumque senex, ripa nutritus in illa,
 ad quam Gorgonei delapsa est pinna caballi.
 non est Romano cuiquam locus hic, ubi regnat

105. aliena.

107. lectum.

118. penna.

of fire in winter time, he accepts a wrapper; if you say, 'I am hot,' he sweats. We are not equally matched, then; he has the advantage of me, who, at all times, and every day and night, is able to assume a countenance which is not his own, to wave his hands from his face, prepared to express his approval if his friend has belched freely, or successfully performed other natural acts. Moreover, nothing is sacred to him or safe from his lust: not the mistress of the house, not the virgin daughter, nor the betrothed bridegroom himself, still beardless, nor the son, hitherto chaste. If there be none of these, he lays hold of his friend's grandmother. They seek to know the secrets of the house, and so to be feared.

And since we have begun to mention the Greeks, pass by their training-schools, and hear a crime of the larger cloak. A stoic killed Bareas, the informer his friend, an old man brought up on that shore on which the pinion of the Gorgonean steed lighted, his own disciple. There is not place for any Roman

Protogenes aliquis vel Diphilus aut Erimarchus, 120
 qui gentis vitio numquam partitur amicum,
 solus habet; nam cum facilem stillavit in aurem
 exiguum de naturae patriaeque veneno,
 limine summoveor, perierunt tempora longi
 servitii; nusquam minor est iactura clientis. 125

Quod porro officium, ne nobis blandiar, aut quod
 pauperis hic meritum, si curet nocte togatus
 currere, cum praetor lictorem impellat et ire
 praecipitem iubeat, dudum vigilantibus orbis,
 ne prior Albinam et Modiam collega salutet? 130
 divitis hic servi claudit latus ingenuorum
 filius; alter enim quantum in legione tribuni
 accipiunt donat Calvinae vel Catienae,
 ut semel atque iterum super illam palpitet, at tu,
 cum tibi vestiti facies scorti placet, haeres 135
 et dubitas alta Chionen deducere sella.

here, where reign some Protogenes or Diphilus or Erimarchus, who, with the vicious propensity of his race, never shares a friend, *but* keeps him to himself; for when he has instilled into his ready ear a particle of the poison of his own nature and country, I am elbowed away from the threshold, my long period of servitude has been thrown away. Nowhere is the pitching overboard of a client of less account.

What, moreover, are the services of the poor man—to speak plain truth—what are his good turns *worth* here, if he makes it his business to hurry in his toga before daybreak, when the praetor *himself* is urging on his lictor, and bidding him go with all speed, since the childless matrons have been long awake, for fear his colleague be beforehand in paying his respects to Albina and Modia? Here the son of free-born parents gives the wall to the wealthy man of servile birth; for the latter gives to Calvina or Catiena, to enjoy her favours once and again, as much as the tribunes in the legion receive; but you, when the face of a dressed-up harlot pleases you, hesitate and are doubtful about handing down Chione from her lofty seat. Produce at

da testem Romae tam sanctum, quam fuit hospes
 numinis Idaei, procedat vel Numa vel qui
 servavit trepidam flagranti ex aede Minervam:
 protinus ad censem, de moribus ultima fiet 140
 quaestio, 'quot pascit servos? quot possidet agri
 iugera? quam multa magnaque paropside coenat?'
 quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca,
 tantum habet et fidei. iures licet et Samothracum
 et nostrorum aras, contemnere fulmina pauper 145
 creditur atque deos, dis ignoscentibus ipsis.
 quid quod materiam praebet causasque iocorum
 omnibus hic idem, si foeda et scissa lacerna,
 si toga sordidula est et rupta calceus alter
 pelle patet, vel si consuto vulnere crassum 150
 atque recens linum ostendit non una cicatrix.
 nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se,
 quam quod ridiculos homines facit. 'exeat,' inquit,

Rome a witness as virtuous as was the host of the Idaean deity; let Numa stand forth, or he who saved the trembling Minerva from the burning temple, forthwith the inquiry will be as to his property, and last of all as to his character. 'How many slaves does he keep? How many acres of land does he possess? How numerous and how large the dishes at his dinners?' In proportion to the amount of money each man keeps in his strong-box, so much belief does he obtain. Though you swear by the altars of the Samothracian and our own *divinities*, the poor man is supposed to contemn thunderbolts and gods, with the connivance of the gods themselves. Why add that this same *poor man* furnishes everybody with material and subjects for jests, if his cloak is dirty and torn, if his toga is a trifle shabby and one of his shoes shows an opening with a slit in the leather, or if more than one seam exhibits the coarse and recently applied thread, where the rent has been sewn together? There is nothing which unhappy poverty has in itself harder than this, that it makes men ridiculous. 'Let him be off,' says *the usher*, 'if he has any shame, and rise from the cushions

'si pudor est, et de pulvino surgat equestri,
 cuius res legi non sufficit, et sedeant hic'— 155
 lenonum pueri quocumque in fornice nati,
 hic plaudat nitidi praeconis filius inter
 pinnirapi cultos iuvenes iuvenesque lanistae ;
 sic libitum vano, qui nos distinxit, Othoni.
 quis gener hic placuit censu minor atque puellae 160
 sarcinulis impar ? quis pauper scribitur heres ?
 quando in consilio est aedilibus ? agmine facto
 debuerant olim tenues migrasse Quirites !
 haud facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat
 res angusta domi, sed Romae durior illis 165
 conatus, magno hospitium miserabile, magno
 servorum ventres et frugi coenula magno.
 fictilibus coenare pudet, quod turpe negavit
 translatus subito ad Marsos mensamque Sabellam
 contentusque illic veneto duroque cucullo. 170

170. calullo (Rupertii).

of the knights, whose property does not satisfy the law, and let there sit here'—the sons of pimps, in whatever brothel born ; here let the son of the sleek crier applaud among the gladiator's dandy youths and the youths of the trainer. Such was the fancy of idle Otho, who made the distinction between us. Who is acceptable here as a son-in-law whose means are inferior, and who is unequal to *furnishing* a trousseau for the young lady ? What poor man is put down for a legacy ? When is he called into counsel *even* by the aediles ? The poor among the Romans ought long ago to have emigrated in a body. Not easily do those emerge from obscurity whose noble qualities are cramped by domestic poverty : but at Rome the attempt is still harder for them ; a great price *must be paid* for a wretched lodging, a great price for slaves' keep, a great price for a modest little dinner. A man is ashamed to dine off earthenware, which he would not think discreditable if he were suddenly transported to the Marsians and a Sabine repast, and contented there with *wearing* a sea-green and thick capote.

Pars magna Italiae est, si verum admittimus, in qua
 nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus. ipsa dierum
 festorum herboso colitur si quando theatro
 maiestas, tandemque redit ad pulpita notum
 exodium, cum personae pallentis hiatum 175
 in gremio matris formidat rusticus infans,
 aequales habitus illic similesque videbis
 orchestram et populum, clari velamen honoris
 sufficient tunicae summis aedilibus albae.
 hic ultra vires habitus nitor, hic aliquid plus 180
 quam satis est interdum aliena sumitur arca.
 commune id vitium est, hic vivimus ambitiosa
 paupertate omnes. quid te moror? omnia Romae
 cum pretio. quid das, ut Cossum aliquando salutes,
 ut te respiciat clauso Veiento labello? 185
 ille metit barbam, crinem hic deponit amati,
 plena domus libis venalibus. accipe et istud

177. similemque.

There is a great part of Italy, if we accept the truth, in which no one wears a toga but the dead. Whenever even the majesty of festive days is celebrated in a grassy theatre, and at length the well-known interlude reappears on the stage, when the rustic infant in its mother's lap is frightened at the gaping of the ghastly mask, there you will see an equality in dress, the orchestra-stalls and the people alike; and, as the garb of their high office, white tunics are sufficient for the highest aediles. Here splendour of dress is *carried* beyond people's means; here something more than is enough is occasionally taken out of another man's strong-box. This vice is common *to us all*; here all of us live in *a state of* pretentious poverty. Why detain you *further?* In Rome, everything costs a price. What *fee* do you give to be able to pay your respects sometimes to Cossus? for Veiento to bestow a look on you, without opening his lips? One *patron* shaves the beard, another cuts off the hair of a favourite; the house is full of cakes for sale. Take this and let it stir up your bile; we clients are obliged to

fermentum tibi habe: praestare tributa clientes
cogimur et cultis angere peculia servis.

Quis timet aut timuit gelida Praeneste ruinam, 190
aut positis nemorosa inter iuga Volsiniis, aut
simplicibus Gabii, aut proni Tiburis arce ?
nos urbem colimus tenui tibicine fultam
magna parte sui; nam sic labentibus obstat
villicus, et veteris rimae cum texit hiatum, 195
securos pendente iubet dormire ruina.
vivendum est illic, ubi nulla incendia, nulli
nocte metus. iam poscit aquam, iam frivola transfert
Ucalegon, tabulata tibi iam tertia fumant,
tu nescis; nam si gradibus trepidatur ab imis, 200
ultimus ardebit, quem tegula sola tuetur
a pluvia, molles ubi reddunt ova columbae.
lectus erat Codro Procula minor, urceoli sex,
ornamentum abaci, nec non et parvulus infra

195. contexit.

pay tribute and to increase the perquisites of *these* dandified slaves.

Who fears, or *ever* has feared, the falling of a house at cool Praeneste, or at Volsinii seated among the wooded hills, or at primitive Gabii, or on the heights of sloping Tibur? We inhabit a city propped up to a great extent by thin buttresses; for in this way the steward prevents the houses from falling; and when he has plastered over the gaping of an old crack, he bids us sleep secure, with ruin overhanging *us*. The place to live in is where there are no fires, no nocturnal alarms. Already Ucalegon is calling for water, already he is removing his chattels, already your third story is smoking: you yourself know nothing about it; for if the alarm begins from the bottom of the stairs, he will be the last to burn whom the tiling alone protects from the rain, where the soft doves lay their eggs. Codrus had a couch too small for *his* Procula, six little jugs, the ornament of his sideboard, and a tiny drinking-cup beneath it into the bargain, and a *figure of* Chiron reclining under the same marble:

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cantharus et recubans sub eodem marmore Chiron, 205
 iamque vetus Graecos servabat cista libellos,
 et divina opici rodebant carmina mures.
 nil habuit Codrus, quis enim negat? et tamen illud
 perdidit infelix totum nihil; ultimus autem
 aerumnae est cumulus, quod nudum et frusta rogantem 210
 nemo cibo, nemo hospitio tectoque iuvabit.
 si magna Asturici cecidit domus, horrida mater,
 pullati proceres, differt vadimonia praetor;
 tunc gemimus casus urbis, tunc odimus ignem.
 ardet adhuc, et iam accurrit qui marmora donet, 215
 conferat impensas; hic nuda et candida signa,
 hic aliquid praeclararum Euphranoris et Polycleti,
 haec Asianorum vetera ornamenta deorum,
 hic libros dabit et forulos mediamque Minervam,
 hic modium argenti: meliora ac plura reponit 220
 Persicus orborum lautissimus et merito iam
 suspectus, tamquam ipse suas incenderit aedes.

214. *geminus.*215. *occurrit.*218. *Phaeceanorum.*

a chest, old by this time, contained some Greek books, and barbarians of mice were gnawing the divine poems. Codrus had nothing: who indeed denies this? and yet the wretched man lost all that nothing: but the crowning point of his misery is, that though naked and begging for broken scraps, no one will help him with food, no one with shelter or a roof. If the great house of Asturicus has been destroyed, we have the matrons dishevelled, the nobles in mourning, the praetor adjourns his court; then we groan over the accidents of the town, then we detest fire. The fire is still burning, and already some one runs up to make a present of marbles, and share in the expenses of *rebuilding*. One will contribute nude and white statues, another some masterpiece of Euphranor or Polycletus; some lady will give antique ornaments of Asiatic gods, another man books and bookcases and a bust of Minerva, another a bushel of silver: Persicus replaces what is lost by choicer and more numerous objects, most sumptuous of childless men, and sus-

si potes avelli circensibus, optima Sorae
 aut Fabrateriae domus aut Frusinone paratur,
 quanti nunc tenebras unum conducis in annum. 225
 hortulus hic, puteusque brevis nec reste movendus
 in tenues plantas facili diffunditur haustu.
 vive bidentis amans et culti villicus horti,
 unde epulum possis centum dare Pythagoreis :
 est aliquid, quocumque loco, quocumque recessu 230
 unius sese dominum fecisse lacertae.

Plurimus hic aeger moritur vigilando ; sed ipsum
 languorem peperit cibus imperfectus et haerens
 ardenti stomacho ; nam quae meritoria somnum
 admittunt ? magnis opibus dormitur in urbe ; 235
 inde caput morbi ; redarum transitus arcto
 vicorum in flexu et stantis convicia mandrae
 eripient somnum Druso vitulisque marinis.

232. illum.

238. eripiunt.

pected with reason of having himself set fire to his own house. If you are capable of being torn away from the games of the Circus, an excellent house can be procured at Sora, or Fabrateria, or Frusino, for the same price at which you now hire a dark hole for a single year. There *you have* a little garden, and a shallow well, that does not require to be worked with a rope, irrigates your tender plants with easy draught. Live enamoured of your hoe, and the overseer of your own trim garden, from which you could furnish a banquet for a hundred Pythagoreans. It is something, in whatever place, in whatever retreat, to have made one's self owner of a single lizard.

Many a sick man dies here from want of sleep, the indisposition itself having been produced by food undigested, and clinging to the fevered stomach. For what hired lodgings allow of sleep ? Rich men *alone* can sleep in the city. Hence the origin of the disease. The passage of carriages in the narrow windings of the streets, and the abuse of the *drovers* from the herds brought to a stand, would rob of sleep even Drusus and sea-calves.

Si vocat officium, turba cedente vehetur
 dives et ingenti curret super ora Liburno
 atque obiter leget aut scribet vel dormiet intus,
 namque facit somnum clausa lectica fenestra.
 ante tamen veniet; nobis properantibus obstat
 unda prior, magno populus premit agmine lumbos
 qui sequitur, ferit hic cubito, ferit assere duro
 alter, at hic tignum capiti incutit, ille metretam;
 pinguia crura luto, planta mox undique magna
 calcor, et in digito clavus mihi militis haeret.

Nonne vides, quanto celebretur sportula fumo?
 centum convivae, sequitur sua quemque culina.
 Corbulo vix ferret tot vasa ingentia, tot res
 impositas capiti, quot recto vertice portat
 servulus infelix et cursu ventilat ignem.
 scinduntur tunicae sartae modo, longa coruscat

240

245

250

246. lignum.

If a complimentary attendance calls him, the rich man will be carried through the yielding crowd, and will speed over their heads on his huge Liburnian *bearers*, and will read on his way, or write, or even sleep inside; for a litter with closed windows is productive of sleep. Yet he will arrive before us: we, in our hurry, are impeded by the wave in front, while the multitude which follows us presses on our loins in dense array; one strikes me with his elbow, another with a hard pole, one knocks a beam against my head, another a wine-jar. My legs are sticky with mud; before long I am trodden on upon all sides by large feet, and the hobnails of a soldier stick into my toe.

Do you not see with how great *an accompaniment of smoke* the Sportula is frequented? A hundred guests: every one is followed by his own *portable* kitchen. Corbulo could scarcely bear so many huge vessels, so many things placed on his head, as the unfortunate little slave carries with upright summit, while he fans the fire by his rapid motion. Tunics that have only just been patched are torn; the long fir-trunk vibrates in the approaching waggon, and other carts convey the pine-tree; they

sarraco veniente abies, atque altera pinum 255
 plaustra vehunt, nutant alte populoque minantur.
 nam si procubuit qui saxa Ligustica portat
 axis et eversum fudit super agmina montem,
 quid superest de corporibus ? quis membra, quis ossa
 invenit ? obtritum vulgi perit omne cadaver 260
 more animae. domus interea secura patellas
 iam lavat et bucca foculum excitat et sonat unctis
 strigibus et pleno componit lintea gutto.
 haec inter pueros varie properantur, at ille
 iam sedet in ripa tetrumque novicius horret 265
 porthmea, nec sperat coenosi gurgitis alnum
 infelix, nec habet quem porrigat ore trientem.

Respice nunc alia ac diversa pericula noctis,
 quod spatiū tectis sublimibus, unde cerebrum
 testa ferit, quoties rimosa et curta fenestrī 270
 vasa cadunt ; quanto percussum pondere signent

256. altae.

261. morte.

oscillate on high, and threaten the people ; for if the vehicle which carries Ligurian stone blocks has *once* upset, and poured its overturned mountain-load upon the troops of *passers-by*, what will remain of their bodies ? who will find their limbs, who their bones ? All the carcases of the vulgar, crushed to atoms, will perish like a breath. The unsuspecting household, in the meanwhile, are by this time washing the dishes, and blowing up the fire with their mouths, and resounding with the oiled scrapers, and arranging the towels, with the full oil-flask. These are the bustling occupations of the slaves, in their various ways : but he (*the victim*) is already seated on the banks of *the Styx*, and, novice as he is, dreads the grim ferryman, nor does he hope for the boat *to make the passage* of the muddy abyss, nor has he a triens in his mouth to offer, *as a fee*.

Observe now the different and distinct dangers of the night ; what a height it is to the lofty house-tops, from which a potsherd strikes your pate as often as cracked and broken utensils fall from the windows ; with what a weight they dint and damage

et laedant silicem. possis ignavus haberi
 et subiti casus improvidus, ad coenam si
 intestatus eas : adeo tot fata, quot illa
 nocte patent vigiles te praetereunte fenestrae. 275
 ergo optes votumque feras miserabile tecum,
 ut sint contentae patulas defundere pelves.
 ebrius ac petulans, qui nullum forte cecidit,
 dat poenas, noctem patitur lugentis amicum
 Pelidae, cubat in faciem, mox deinde supinus. 280
 ergo non aliter poterit dormire ? quibusdam
 somnum rixa facit; sed quamvis improbus annis
 atque mero fervens, cavet hunc, quem coccina laena
 vitari iubet et comitum longissimus ordo,
 multum praeterea flammarum et aenea lampas. 285
 me, quem luna solet deducere vel breve lumen
 candelae, cuius dispenso et temporo filum,
 contemnit. miserae cognosce prooemia rixae,
 277. diffundere, effundere.

the flint-pavement when they strike it. You may *well* be accounted remiss and improvident about a sudden accident, if you go out to supper without having made a will. Just so many fatal chances there are, as there are wakeful windows open on the night when you are passing by. Hope then, and bear this pitiable prayer about with you, that they may be content to empty out flat-pans *over you*. The drunken and insolent fellow, who has not chanced to pummel anybody, suffers tortures; he undergoes a night like that of Achilles mourning for his friend; he lies *first* on his face, and directly afterwards on his back. Won't he then be able to sleep otherwise? *No*; it is a quarrel that makes some people sleep: but though wanton from his years and heated with wine, he keeps clear of him whom the scarlet cloak and the very long train of attendants, and moreover the multitude of torches and the bronzed candelabrum, point out as one to be avoided: me, whom the moon is wont to escort home, or the brief light of a candle, whose wick I regulate and husband, he despises. Mark the preliminaries of the

si rixa est, ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum.
 stat contra starique iubet, parere necesse est,
 nam quid agas, cum te furiosus cogat et idem
 fortior? 'unde venis?' exclamat 'cuius aceto,
 cuius conche tunes? quis tecum sectile porrum
 sutor et elixi vervecis labra comedit?
 nil mihi respondes? aut dic, aut accipe calcem!
 ede, ubi consistas! in qua te quaero proseucha?
 dicere si tentes aliquid tacitusve recedas,
 tantumdem est, feriunt pariter, vadimonia deinde
 irati faciunt. Libertas pauperis haec est:
 pulsatus rogit et pugnis concisus adorat,
 ut liceat paucis cum dentibus inde reverti.
 nec tamen haec tantum metuas, nam qui spoliet te
 non deerit, clausis domibus, postquam omnis ubique
 fixa catenatae siluit compago tabernae;
 interdum et ferro subitus grassator agit rem,

290

295

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305

wretched brawl, if brawl it be, where you strike and I am beaten only. He stands facing you, and orders you to stand; you must needs obey, for what are you to do when a madman forces you, and he too stronger than yourself? 'Whence do you come?' he exclaims. 'With whose vinegar, with whose beans are you gorged? What cobbler has been devouring with you cut leeks or sodden sheep's-head? Do you answer me nothing? Speak or be kicked! Tell me where you take up your begging-stand: in what synagogue am I to look for you?' It is all one whether you try to say anything, or draw back in silence; they beat you just the same; then, *as if* in a passion, they are for making you give bail. This is the liberty of a poor man; after being beaten, he prays, and after being thrashed with fisty-cuffs, he entreats, to be allowed to retire from the scene with a few teeth *left him*. Nor yet are such things all you have to fear: for there will not be wanting he who will plunder you after the houses are closed, and in all directions the fastenings of the chained-up shops are fixed and at rest. Sometimes, too, the swift footpad plies his business with the steel, as

armato quoties tutae custode tenentur
 et Pomptina palus et Gallinaria pinus ;
 sic inde huc omnes tamquam ad vivaria currunt.
 qua fornace graves, qua non incude, catenae ?
 maximus in vincis ferri modus, ut timeas, ne
 vomer deficiat, ne marrae et sarcula desint.
 felices proavorum atavos, felicia dicas
 secula, quae quondam sub regibus atque tribunis
 viderunt uno contentam carcere Romam.

310

His alias poteram et plures subnectere causas,
 sed iumenta vocant, et sol inclinat, eundum est ;
 nam mihi commota iamdudum mulio virga
 annuit. ergo vale nostri memor, et quoties te
 Roma tuo refici properantem reddit Aquino,
 me quoque ad Helvinam Cererem vestramque Dianam 320
 convelle a Cumis ; satirarum ego, ni pudet illas,
 adiutor gelidos veniam caligatus in agros."

315

321. convertere.

322. auditor.

often as the Pomptine marshes and the Gallinarian forest are kept safe by an armed guard : all these fellows run from there to this place just as to a game-preserve. What forge is there, what anvil, on which chains are not *lying heavy* ? The greatest proportion of iron is *used* in *making* fetters, so that one may well fear that ploughs will fail, that mattocks and hoes will run short. Happy our remote ancestors ! happy one may call the ages which of yore, under kings and tribunes, beheld Rome contented with a single prison.

To these I had it in my power to add other and many reasons ; but my steeds summon me, and the sun is declining. I must be off. For the muleteer has been signalling to me for some time by a movement of his whip. Good-bye, then, and remember me, and as often as Rome shall restore you, eager to recruit yourself, to your *favourite* Aquinum, do you tear me away too from Cumae to Helvine Ceres and your Diana. I will come, in my hobnailed shoes, to that cool country to assist you in your Satires, if they be not ashamed *of my aid*."

SATIRA IV.

ECCE iterum Crispinus, et est mihi saepe vocandus
ad partes, monstrum nulla virtute redemptum
a vitiis, aegrae solaque libidine fortes
deliciae; viduas tantum aspernatur adulter.
quid refert igitur, quantis iumenta fatiget 5
porticibus, quanta nemorum vectetur in umbra,
iugera quot vicina foro, quas emerit aedes?
nemo malus felix, minime corruptor et idem
incestus, cum quo nuper vittata iacebat
sanguine adhuc vivo terram subitura sacerdos. 10
sed nunc de factis levioribus; et tamen alter
si fecisset idem, caderet sub iudice morum.
nam quod turpe bonis, Titio Seioque, decebat
Crispinum; quid agas, cum dira et foedior omni

3. aeger; fortis.

4. delicias; viduae; spernatur.

9. vitiata.

SATIRE IV.

WHAT, Crispinus again! and I shall often have to summon him to play his part; a monster redeemed by no one virtue from his vices; a minion, feeble *in all else*, and strong in his lusts alone. It is only single women that this adulterer turns up his nose at. What matters it then in what vast colonnades he wearies his steeds, in what vast shade of groves he is carried, how many acres in the neighbourhood of the Forum, what houses he has bought? No bad man is happy, least of all a seducer who is at the same time incestuous, with whom not long ago there lay a filleted priestess, destined to be put under the ground with her life-blood still warm. But now of lighter deeds: and yet another, if he had done the same, would have been condemned by *our* censor. For what would be disgraceful for good men, for Titius and Seius, was becoming to Crispinus. What are you

crimine persona est ? nullum sex millibus emit, 15
 aequantem sane paribus sestertia libris,
 ut perhibent qui de magnis maiora loquuntur.
 consilium laudo artificis, si munere tanto
 praecipuam in tabulis ceram senis abstulit orbi ;
 est ratio ulterior, magnae si misit amicae, 20
 quae vehitur clauso latis specularibus antro.
 nil tale exspectes, emit sibi. multa videmus,
 quae miser et frugi non fecit Apicius. hoc tu
 succinctus patria quondam, Crispine, papyro,
 hoc pretio squamae ! potuit fortasse minoris 25
 piscator, quam piscis, emi; provincia tanti
 vendit agros, sed maiores Appulia vendit.

Quales tunc epulas ipsum glutisse putemus
 induperatorem, cum tot sestertia partem
 exiguum et modicae sumptam de margine coenae 30

28. nunc ; putamus.

to do when the person himself is *more* loathsome and more foul than any accusation *can represent him*? He bought a mullet for six thousand sesterces, equalling, forsooth, the sestertia by as many pounds in weight, as they relate, who, about big things, talk still bigger. I praise the design of the contriver, if by a present of such value he carried off the principal place in the will of some childless old man. There is a further way of accounting for it, if he sent it to some mistress of rank who is carried about in her closed-up den, with its broad windows. Don't anticipate anything of the kind; he bought it for himself. We see many things such as Apicius, poor frugal man, never did. Did you *do* this, Crispinus, when girt about in days of yore with the papyrus of your country? Were fish scales *sold* at this price? The fisherman himself might, perhaps, have been bought for less than your fish. The provinces sell estates for this sum; and Apulia still larger ones.

What sort of banquets must we suppose the Emperor himself to have gorged at that time, when so many sestertia, *representing* but a small portion, and one taken from among the side-dishes

purpureus magni ructarit scurra Palati,
 iam princeps equitum, magna qui voce solebat
 vendere municipes fracta de merce siluros !
 incipe Calliope ! licet et considere ; non est
 cantandum, res vera agitur. narrate puellae
 Pierides ; prosit mihi vos dixisse puellas !

35

Cum iam semianimum laceraret Flavius orbem
 ultimus, et calvo serviret Roma Neroni,
 incidit Adriaci spatium admirabile rhombi
 ante domum Veneris, quam Dorica sustinet Ancon,
 implevitque sinus ; nec enim minor haeserat illis,
 quos operit glacies Maeotica, ruptaque tandem
 solibus effundit torpentis ad ostia Ponti,
 desidia tardos et longo frigore pingues.
 destinat hoc monstrum cymbae linique magister
 pontifici summo. quis enim proponere talem
 aut emere auderet, cum plena et litora multo

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33. pacta, facta, fricta, Pharia.

43. effudit.

of an ordinary dinner, were belched forth by this purple-clad buffoon of the great palace, now at the head of the knights, but who used with loud voice to sell his compatriot shad-fish, part of his damaged wares ! Begin Calliope ; you may sit down too ; it is not a case for singing ; we are dealing with a real occurrence. Narrate, maiden Pierides ; and may I have the benefit of having called you " maidens."

While the last of the Flavii was mangling the world, half dead by this time, and Rome was in slavery to a bald Nero, a wonderful-sized Adriatic turbot fell *into the net* before the temple of Venus which Doric Ancon supports, and filled its folds ; nor, indeed, when it stuck there, was it smaller than those which the ice of the Maeotis encloses, and which, when it is at length broken up by the sun's rays, it pours forth to the outlets of the sluggish Euxine, heavy from rest, and fat from the long cold. This prodigy the owner of the boat and net destines for the chief pontiff. For who would dare set up for sale or buy such a fish, when even the shores were full of a crowd of informers ?

delatore forent? dispersi protinus algae
 inquisitores agerent cum remige nudo,
 non dubitatur fugitivum dicere pisces
 depastumque diu vivaria Caesaris, inde
 elapsum veterem ad dominum debere reverti.
 si quid Palfurio, si credimus Armillato,
 quidquid conspicuum pulchrumque est aequore toto,
 res fisci est, ubicumque natat; donabitur ergo,
 ne pereat. iam letifero cedente pruinis
 autumno, iam quartanam sperantibus aegris,
 stridebat deformis hiems praedamque recentem
 servabat; tamen hic properat, velut urgeat auster.
 utque lacus suberant, ubi quamquam diruta servat
 ignem Troianum et Vestam colit Alba minorem,
 obstitit intranti miratrix turba parumper;
 ut cessit, facili patuerunt cardine valvae,
 exclusi spectant admissa opsonia patres.
 itur ad Atriden. tum Picens "accipe," dixit,

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64. exspectant.

These inspectors of seaweed, dispersed about, would forthwith have called the helpless boatman to account, and would not have hesitated to declare the fish a stray, and one that had long been fed in the preserves of Caesar, *and*, that having escaped thence, it ought to return to its old master. If we give any credence to Palfurius or Armillatus, whatever is remarkable or fine in the whole sea is the property of the privy-purse, wherever it swims. It must be made a present of, therefore, lest it be wasted. With deadly autumn already giving place to the hoar-frosts, and sick people already hoping for the quartan, grim winter was raging and preserving the recent capture; yet our man hurries on as if the south wind impelled him; and when the lakes were near at hand, where Alba, although in ruins, still preserves the Trojan fire and worships the lesser Vesta, the wondering crowd prevented his entrance for a short time. As it gave way, the folding-doors opened with ready hinge. The senators, shut out, behold the dainty admitted. He makes his way to Atrides. Then says

“ privatis maiora focis, genialis agatur
 iste dies, propera stomachum laxare saginis
 et tua servatum consume in secula rhombum.
 ipse capi voluit.” quid apertius? et tamen illi
 surgebant cristae; nihil est quod credere de se 70
 non possit, cum laudatur dis aequa potestas.
 sed deerat pisci patinae mensura. vocantur
 ergo in consilium proceres, quos oderat ille,
 in quorum facie miserae magnaue sedebat
 pallor amicitiae. primus, clamante Liburno,
 “ currite, iam sedit!” rapta properabat abolla 75
 Pegasus, attonitae positus modo villicus urbi.
 anne aliud tunc praefecti? quorum optimus atque
 interpres legum sanctissimus, omnia quamquam
 temporibus diris tractanda putabat inermi 80
 iustitia. venit et Crispi iucunda senectus,
 cuius erant mores qualis facundia, mite

the Picenian, “Accept what is too great for a private kitchen ; let this day be devoted to your genius ; hasten to distend your stomach with good things, and consume a turbot reserved for your epoch. The fish got himself caught of his own accord.” What could be more glaring ? And yet his (*the Emperor's*) crest was rising. There is nothing which power is not able to believe of itself when it is extolled as being equal to the gods. But there was wanting a dish to the measure of the fish. So the chiefs are called into counsel, whom he hated, on whose faces sat the pallor of a wretched, exalted friendship. First of all, at the cry of the Liburnian *slave*, “Make haste ; he is already seated !” there hurried along, snatching up his cloak, Pegasus, who had recently been set as *bailiff* over the awestruck city—were the Praefects anything else at that period ? of whom he was the best and the most righteous interpreter of the laws, although, in *such* dreadful times, he thought everything was to be administered by justice unarmed. There came, too, pleasant old Crispus, whose moral character was of the same kind as his eloquence, a gentle nature. Who *could have been* a more useful

ingenium. maria ac terras populosque regenti
 quis comes utilior, si clade et peste sub illa
 saevitiam damnare et honestum afferre liceret
 consilium ? sed quid violentius aure tyranni,
 cum quo de pluviis aut aestibus aut nimboso
 vere locuturi fatum pendebat amici ?
 ille igitur numquam direxit brachia contra
 torrentem, nec civis erat, qui libera posset
 verba animi proferre et vitam impendere vero :
 sic multas hiemes atque octogesima vidit
 solstitia, his armis illa quoque tutus in aula.
 proximus eiusdem properabat Acilius aevi
 cum iuvene, indigno quem mors tam saeva maneret 95
 et domini gladiis tam festinata ; sed olim
 prodigo par est cum nobilitate senectus,
 unde fit ut malim fraterculus esse gigantis.
 profuit ergo nihil misero, quod cominus ursos
 fgebat Numidas Albana nudus arena

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96. jam destinata.

97. in nobilitate.

minister to one ruling over seas and lands and peoples, if, under that scourge and pest, he had been allowed to condemn his violence, and to offer honest advice ? But what more ruthless than the ear of a tyrant, with whom hung suspended the fate of a friend, about to talk *merely* of the showers, or the heats, or the rainy spring ? He, then, never directed his arms against the torrent, nor was he a citizen who could give utterance to the free sentiments of his soul, and stake his life on the truth. In this way he saw many winters and eighty summers ; with such armour, safe even in that court. Next to him hurried Acilius, of the same age, with a young man who did not deserve that a death so cruel should await him, and one so prematurely inflicted by the despot's swords : but for a long time past, old age, coupled with nobility, is as good as a prodigy ; whence it happens that I would prefer to be the small brother of a giant. It availed the wretched man nothing, then, that he used to transfix Numidian bears in hand-to-hand fight, a naked huntsman on the arena of

venator. quis enim iam non intelligat artes patricias ? quis priscum illud miratur acumen, Brute, tuum ? facile est barbato imponere regi. nec melior vultu, quamvis ignobilis, ibat Rubrius, offendae veteris reus atque tacendae, et tamen improbior satiram scribente cinaedo. Montani quoque venter adest abdomine tardus, et matutino sudans Crispinus amomo, quantum vix redolent duo funera, saevior illo Pompeius tenui iugulos aperire susurro, et qui vulturibus servabat viscera Dacis Fuscus, marmorea meditatus proelia villa, et cum mortifero prudens Veiento Catullo, qui numquam visae flagrabat amore puellae ; grande et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum, caecus adulator dirusque a ponte satelles, dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes blandaque devexae iactaret basia redae.

101. intelligit.

102. miretur.

Alba. For who by this time does not understand the artifices of the patricians ? Who marvels at that old-world craftiness of yours, Brutus ? It is easy to impose on a king with a beard. Nor, with more cheerful looks, though not one of the nobility, went Rubrius, guilty of an old offence, and one not to be spoken of, and yet more impudent than the pathic satirist. Fat-bellied Montanus is present, too, unwieldy with his paunch ; and Crispinus, reeking with his morning perfume to a degree that two funerals would hardly smell of ; and Pompeius, still more ruthless than he at slitting throats by a gentle whisper ; and he who was preserving his entrails for the Dacian vultures, Fuscus, who had studied battles in his marble villa ; and wary Veiento, with the deadly Catullus, who was burning with lust for a girl whom he could not see, a great and conspicuous prodigy even in our time, a blind flatterer, and horrible satellite of the bridge *kind*, worthy to beg beside the vehicles on the Arician *hill*, and to throw sweet kisses to the carriage on its way down. No one

nemo magis rhombum stupuit, nam plurima dixit
 in laevum conversus, at illi dextra iacebat 120
 bellua. sic pugnas Cilicis laudabat et ictus
 et pegma et pueros inde ad velaria raptos.
 non cedit Veiento, sed ut fanaticus oestro
 percussus Bellona tuo, divinat et "ingens
 omen habes," inquit, "magni clarique triumphi. 125
 regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
 excidet Arviragus. peregrina est bellua, cernis
 erectas in terga sudes?" hoc defuit unum
 Fabricio, patriam ut rhombi memoraret et annos.
 "quidnam igitur censes? conciditur?" "absit ab illo 130
 dedecus hoc!" Montanus ait, "testa alta paretur,
 quae tenui muro spatio sum colligat orbem;
 debetur magnus patinae subitusque Prometheus.
 argillam atque rotam citius properate! sed ex hoc
 tempore iam, Caesar, figuli tua castra sequantur." 135

was more struck with the turbot; for he made many remarks turning to the left, whereas the monster was lying to his right. In the same way he used to praise the fighting of the Cilician *gladiator*, and his thrusts, and the stage-machine, and the boys caught up by it to the awnings. Veiento is not to be outdone, but, like one frenzied and stung by thy gadfly, Bellona, he bursts into prophecy, and, "You have *there* a mighty omen," he says, "of a great and glorious triumph: you will capture some king, or Arviragus will tumble out of his Britannic chariot: the monster is a foreigner; do you perceive the bristles erect on his back?" In one thing alone was Fabricius at fault, in mentioning the country and age of the turbot. "What then do you opine for? Is it to be cut up?" "Far from it be such a disgrace as this," says Montanus; "let a deep vessel be prepared to contain the spacious circumference between its thin sides. Some great Prometheus, and a speedy one, is required for the dish. Quick with the clay and the wheel; but now from this time forth, Caesar, let potters follow your camp." This proposal, worthy of the man, carried the day; he was versed in

vicit digna viro sententia; noverat ille
 luxuriam imperii veterem noctesque Neronis
 iam medias aliamque famem, cum pulmo Falerno
 arderet. nulli maior fuit usus edendi
 tempestate mea; Circeis nata forent an 140
 Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinove edita fundo
 ostrea, callebat primo deprendere morsu,
 et semel aspecti litus dicebat echini.
 surgitur, et misso proceres exire iubentur
 consilio, quos Albanam dux magnus in arcem 145
 traxerat attonitos et festinare coactos,
 tamquam de Cattis aliquid torvisque Sicambris
 dicturus, tamquam diversis partibus orbis
 anxia praecipiti venisset epistola penna.

Atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dedisset 150
 tempora saevitiae, claras quibus abstulit urbi
 illustresque animas impune et vindice nullo !

the old debauchery of the imperial court, and Nero's midnights, and that second appetite when the lungs were fired by Falernian wine. No one had greater experience in eating in my time: he was skilled in detecting at the first bite whether oysters were natives of Circeii or the Lucrine rocks, or produced from the depths of Rutupiae; and he could tell the shore a sea-urchin came from the moment he saw him. They rise, and, the council dismissed, the nobles are ordered to retire, whom the great chief had dragged to his Alban citadel, bewildered and forced to hurry, as though he had been about to make some communication to them concerning the Catti or the fierce Sicambri, as though from the opposite end of the world an anxious express had come with dashing wing.

And yet, I would that he had rather devoted even to such trifles *as these* the whole of that period of violence in which he deprived the city of noble and illustrious spirits with impunity, and with none to avenge them. But he perished as soon as he had begun to be an object of fear to the rabble. This it

sed periit, postquam cerdonibus esse timendus
cooperat; hoc nocuit Lamiarum caede madenti.

SATIRA V.

SI te propositi nondum pudet atque eadem est mens,
ut bona summa putas aliena vivere quadra,
si potes illa pati, quae nec Sarmentus iniquas
Caesaris ad mensas nec vilis Galba tulisset,
quamvis iurato metuam tibi credere testi. 5
ventre nihil novi frugalius. hoc tamen ipsum
defecisse puta, quod inani sufficit alvo;
nulla crepido vacat? nusquam pons et tegetis pars
dimidia brevior? tantine iniuria coenae?
tam iejuna fames, cum possit honestius illic
et tremere et sordes farris mordere canini? 10

io. cum Pol sit; possis cum.

was that was fatal to one reeking with the slaughter of the Lamiae.

SATIRE V.

If you are not yet ashamed of your course of life, and are of the same mind, so as to think it the chief good to live on another man's crumbs, if you can put up with such things as not even Sarmentus at the unequal board of Caesar, nor vile Galba, would have borne, I should be afraid to believe your evidence, even though you were on oath. I know of nothing more frugal than the belly. Suppose, however, even that *little* to be wanting which suffices to an empty stomach, is there no raised footpath vacant? is there nowhere a bridge or a bit of mat, short of its half, *to beg on?* Is the insult of a dinner worth such a price? Is your hunger so craving, when it might more honourably be shivering there and gnawing dirty scraps of dog-biscuit?

Primo fige loco, quod tu discumbere iussus
mercedem solidam veterum capis officiorum.
fructus amicitiae magnae cibus, imputat hunc rex,
et quamvis rarum tamen imputat. ergo duos post 15
si libuit menses neglectum adhibere clientem,
tertia ne vacuo cessaret culcita lecto,
“una simus” ait. votorum summa, quid ultra
quaeris? habet Trebius, propter quod rumpere somnum
debeat et ligulas dimittere, sollicitus ne 20
tota salutatrix iam turba peregerit orbem,
sideribus dubiis, aut illo tempore, quo se
frigida circumagunt pigri sarraca Bootae.
qualis coena tamen! vinum, quod suicida nolit
lana pati; de conviva Corybanta videbis. 25
iurgia proludunt, sed mox et pocula torques
saucius et rubra detersus vulnera mappa,

12. finge.

Impress this on yourself in the first place, that you, when bidden to recline at table, are receiving payment in a lump for your old services. The return for this lofty connection is food ; this the great man sets down to your account, and, rare though it be, still he sets it down. If, therefore, after the lapse of two months, it has pleased him to invite his neglected client, that a third cushion might not go a-begging on some couch not yet filled up, “Let us dine together,” he says. The summit of your wishes *is attained* : what more do you ask for? Trebius has got that for the sake of which he is bound to break his sleep, and to leave his shoes untied, in his solicitude lest the whole crowd of visitors should already have accomplished their round, while the stars are growing dim or *even* at the time when the cold wain of sluggish Bootes is wheeling round. Yet what a dinner it is! Wine, which newly-shorn wool would not imbibe : you will see the guest turn into one of the Corybantes. Wranglings form the prelude : but soon you hurl even your cups when you have been struck, and wipe your wounds with reddened

inter vos quoties libertorumque cohortem
pugna Saguntina fervet commissa lagena.
ipse capillato diffusum consule potat 30
calcatamque tenet bellis socialibus uvam,
cardiaco numquam cyathum missurus amico ;
cras bibet Albanis aliquid de montibus aut de
Setinis, cuius patriam titulumque senectus
delevit multa veteris fuligine testae ; 35
quale coronati Thrasea Helvidiusque bibeant
Brutorum et Cassi natalibus. ipse capaces
Heliadum crustas et inaequales beryllo
Virro tenet phialas ; tibi non committitur aurum,
vel si quando datur, custos affixus ibidem, 40
qui numeret gemmas, ungues observet acutos.
“da veniam, praeclera illic laudatur iaspis.”
nam Virro, ut multi, gemmas ad pocula transfert
a digitis, quas in vaginae fronte solebat
ponere zelotypo iuvenis praelatus Iarbae. 45

towel, as often as between you and the cohort of freedmen rages a fight waged with Saguntine pitchers. The host swills *wine* bottled under some long-haired Consul, and keeps to himself *the juice* of the grape trodden during the social wars, of which he will never send even a small cup to a friend with the cardiac disease. To-morrow he will drink something from the Alban or Setine hills, whose country and label old age has effaced by the quantity of smoke undergone by the ancient wine-jar,—such *wine* as Thrasea and Helvidius, with chaplets on their heads, used to drink on the birthdays of the Brutii and Cassii. Virro himself retains the capacious embossed cups of amber, and the drinking vessels rough with beryl; the gold is not entrusted to you, or, if at any time it is handed you, a guardian is attached to its company to count the gems and observe your sharp nails. “Pray excuse me; there is a splendid jasper there which is *much* admired!” For Virro, like many, transfers from his fingers to his drinking cups the gems which the youth preferred to jealous Iarbas was wont to set at the top

tu Beneventani sutoris nomen habentem
 siccabis calicem nasorum quatuor ac iam
 quassatum et rupto poscentem sulfura vitro.
 si stomachus domini fervet vinoque ciboque,
 frigidior Geticis petitur decocta pruinis ; 50
 non eadem vobis poni modo vina querebar,
 vos aliam potatis aquam. tibi pocula cursor
 Gaetulus dabit, aut nigri manus ossea Mauri,
 et cui per mediam nolis occurrere noctem,
 clivosae veheris dum per monumenta Latinae. 55
 flos Asiae ante ipsum pretio maiore paratus,
 quam fuit et Tulli census pugnacis et Anci
 et, ne te teneam, Romanorum omnia regum
 frivola. quod cum ita sit, tu Gaetulum Ganymedem
 respice, cum sities. nescit tot millibus emptus 60
 pauperibus miscere puer, sed forma, sed aetas
 digna supercilio. quando ad te pervenit ille ?

of his scabbard. You will drain a beaker bearing the name of the cobbler of Beneventum, with four spouts, and already cracked, and calling for sulphur-matches in exchange for broken glass. If the stomach of my lord is heated with wine and food, he calls for water, boiled down, and cooled with the snow of Scythia. Was I complaining just now that the same wines are not set before you? You drink a different water. Your cups will be served to you by a Gaetulian lackey, or the bony hand of a black Moor, one whom you would not like to run against in the middle of the night, while you are being conveyed through the tombs on the steep Latin way. Before the master stands the flower of Asia, purchased at a price larger than made up the fortune of either warlike Tullus or Ancus; and, in short, all the goods and chattels of the Roman kings. Such being the case, do you look to your Gaetulian Ganymede when you are thirsty. A boy bought for so many thousands is incapable of mixing for poor people: yet his beauty, his age, justify his pride. When does the former reach you? When

quando vocatus adest calidae gelidaeque minister ?
 quippe indignatur veteri parere clienti,
 quodque aliquid poscas, et quod se stante recumbas. 65
 maxima quaeque domus servis est plena superbis.
 ecce, alias quanto porrexit murmure panem
 vix fractum, solidae iam mucida frusta farinae,
 quae genuinum agitent, non admittentia morsum ;
 sed tener et niveus mollique silagine factus
 servatur domino. dextram cohibere memento,
 salva sit artoptae reverentia ! finge tamen te
 improbum, superest illic qui ponere cogat.
 "vis tu consuetis audax conviva canistris
 impleri, panisque tui novisse colorem ?" 75
 "scilicet hoc fuerat, propter quod saepe relicta
 coniuge per montem adversum gelidasque cucurri
 Esquilias, fremeret saeva cum grandine vernus
 Iuppiter et multo stillaret paenula nimbo !" 80
 aspice, quam longo distendat pectore lancem,

63. rogatus.

72. artocopi.

does he come at your call to serve hot and cold water? He is
 indignant forsooth at *the idea of* obeying an old client, and at
 your asking for anything, and at your reclining while he stands.
 Every great house is full of supercilious slaves. See with what
 grumbling another fellow has handed you the bread, broken
 with difficulty, scraps of solid flour, mouldy by this time, so as
 to irritate your grinders by not admitting of a bite. But *bread*
 tender and snow-white and made of soft grain is kept for my lord.
 Be sure you restrain your right hand : respect for the bread-pan
 must be maintained. Imagine yourself, however, to be a trifle
 impudent, there is one standing above you there to make you hand
 over. "Will you, you audacious guest, fill yourself from your usual
 basket, and know the colour of your own bread?" "Forsooth, this
 it was for the sake of which I often left my wife and ran up the
 opposite hill, the cold Esquiline, when the vernal sky sounded
 with the pitiless hail, and my cloak dripped with the frequent
 showers!" See with how long a breast the lobster which is

quae fertur domino squilla, et quibus undique septa
 asparagis, qua despiciat convivia cauda,
 dum venit excelsi manibus sublata ministri.
 sed tibi dimidio constrictus cammarus ovo
 ponitur exigua feralis coena patella.

85

ipse Venafrano pisces perfundit, at hic, qui
 pallidus affertur misero tibi caulis, olebit
 laternam; illud enim vestris datur alveolis, quod
 canna Micipsum prora subvexit acuta,
 propter quod Romae cum Bocchare nemo lavatur,
 quod tutos etiam facit a serpentibus Afros.
 nullus erit domino, quem misit Corsica vel quem
 Tauromenitanae rupes, quando omne peractum est
 et iam defecit nostrum mare, dum gula saevit,
 retibus assiduis penitus scrutante macello
 proxima, nec patimur Tyrrhenum crescere pisces.
 instruit ergo focum provincia, sumitur illinc

90

95

91. Afris, atria.

92. domini.

93. patitur.

carried to my lord distends, *as it were*, the dish, and with what asparagus it is fenced in on all sides, with what a tail it looks down upon the company, while it comes borne aloft by the hands of a tall attendant! But to you a common crab, scantily garnished with half an egg, is served,—a funeral supper on a tiny dish. The host pours over his fish oil from Venafrum; but this sickly cabbage which is brought to you, poor man! will smell of the lamp: for that *oil* is served in your sauce-boats which the canoe of the Micipse has imported with its sharp prow, for fear of which no one in Rome bathes with Bocchar, which even makes the Africans safe from serpents. There will be a mullet for my lord, which Corsica has sent, or the rocks of Tauromenium, since all our seas have been ransacked and have failed by this time, while gluttony rages, the market with unceasing nets searching to the bottom the neighbouring *seas*, and we do not even allow the Tyrrhenian fish to grow. So the provinces supply our kitchen; thence we are furnished with what

quod captator emat Laenas, Aurelia vendat.
 Virroni muraena datur, quae maxima venit
 gurgite de Siculo ; nam dum se continet Auster,
 dum sedet et siccata madidas in carcere pennas,
 contemnunt medium temeraria lina Charybdim. 100
 vos anguilla manet longae cognata colubrae,
 aut glacie aspersus maculis Tiberinus, et ipse
 vernula riparum, pinguis torrente cloaca,
 et solitus mediae cryptam penetrare Suburæ. 105

Ipsi pauca velim, facilem si praebeat aurem.
 nemo petit, modicis quae mittebantur amicis
 a Seneca, quae Piso bonus, quae Cotta solebat
 largiri (namque et titulis et fascibus olim 110
 maior habebatur donandi gloria), solum
 poscimus ut coenes civiliter ; hoc face et esto,
 esto, ut nunc multi, dives tibi, pauper amicis.

Anseris ante ipsum magni iecur, anseribus par

101. pennas.

105. torpente.

the fortune-hunter Laenas may buy, and Aurelia sell *again*. To Virro a lamprey is served, of huge size, which has come from the Sicilian whirlpool ; for while Auster contains himself, while he sits and dries his humid pinions in prison, the adventurous fishing-nets make light of the very centre of Charybdis. An eel awaits you folks, a relative of the long snake, or a Tiburine *pike*, sprinkled with frost-spots, and even the low native of the river banks, fattened by the gushing sewer, and wont to penetrate the drains under the very middle of the Suburra.

I should like a few words with the host, if he would lend me a favourable ear. Nobody asks for the gifts which used to be sent to his humble friends by Seneca, which worthy Piso, which Cotta was in the habit of dispensing : for in old times the glory of giving was held to be greater than even inscriptions of nobility or fasces : all we ask is that you dine with common courtesy. Do this and be—be, as many are nowadays—a rich man for yourself, a poor man for your friends.

Before the host, the liver of a huge goose, fatted poultry the

altilis, et flavi dignus ferro Meleagri
fumat aper, post hunc tradentur tubera, si ver
tunc erit et facient optata tonitrua coenas
maiores. "tibi habe frumentum" Allidius inquit,
"o Libye, disiunge boves, dum tubera mittas."
structorem interea, ne qua indignatio desit,
saltantem spectas et chironomunta volanti
cultello, donec peragat dictata magistri
omnia; nec minimo sane discrimin'e refert,
quo gestu lepores et quo gallina secetur.
duceris planta velut ictus ab Hercule Cacus,
et ponere foris, si quid tentaveris umquam
hiscere, tamquam habeas tria nomina. quando propinat
Virro tibi sumitque tuis contacta labellis
pocula? quis vestrum temerarius usque adeo, quis
perditus, ut dicat regi "bibe"? plurima sunt, quae
non audent homines pertusa dicere laena.

116. spumat; radentur.

size of geese, and a boar smokes worthy of the steel of yellow-haired Meleager; after which truffles will be served, if it should then be spring-time, and the wished-for thunder increases the bill of fare. "Keep your corn to yourself, O Libya!" says Allidius; "unyoke your oxen, provided you send us truffles." Meanwhile, that no *cause* for indignation may be wanting, you behold the carver skipping and waving his hands with flourishes of the knife, until he has gone through all the directions of his professor. Nor, in truth, does it make a trifling difference with what gestures hares, and with what fowls, are cut up. You will be dragged by the heels, like a Cacus knocked on the head by Hercules, and thrust out of doors, if you should ever attempt to open your mouth about anything, as though you had three names! When does Virro drink with you, or take the cup contaminated by your lips? Which of you is so utterly foolhardy, or so lost to shame, as to say to the great man, "Drink"? There are very many things which men dare not say when their

quadringenta tibi si quis deus aut similis dis
et melior fatis donaret homuncio, quantus
ex nihilo fieres, quantus Virronis amicus !

" da Trebio ! pone ad Trebium ! vis, frater, ab ipsis 135
ilibus ? " o nummi, vobis hunc praestat honorem,
vos estis fratres. dominus tamen et domini rex
si vis tu fieri, nullus tibi parvulus aula
luserit Aeneas nec filia dulcior illo.

iucundum et carum sterilis facit uxor amicum. 140
sed tua nunc Migale pariat licet et pueros tres
in gremium patris fundat simul, ipse loquaci
gaudebit nido, viridem thoraca iubebit
afferri minimasque nuces assemque rogatum,
ad mensam quoties parasitus venerit infans. 145
vilibus ancipites fungi ponentur amicis,
boletus domino, sed quales Claudius edit
ante illum uxor, post quem nil amplius edit.

142. semel.

146. portentur.

cloaks have got holes in them. If some god, or some little man like to the gods, and better than the Fates, were to give you four hundred *sestertia*—from a nobody, what a great man you would become, what a great friend of Virro's. " Serve Trebius ! Set before Trebius ! May I help you, *dear brother*, to some of the *tit-bits* of the inside ? " O money ! it is to you he pays this honour ; it is you who are his brother. If, however, you wish to become the lord and king of your lord, let no little Aeneas play in your halls, nor a daughter yet more endearing than he : a barren wife makes an agreeable and valued friend. But, now, though your Migale should bring forth, and pour three boys at a birth into the lap of their father, your patron himself will rejoice in the twittering nest, and will order the green doublet to be brought in, and the filberts, and the small coin begged for, as often as the infant parasite shall come to the table. To his friends of small account, doubtful-looking funguses will be served,—a mushroom to my lord ; aye, such as Claudius ate before that one of his wife's, after which he ate nothing more.

Virro sibi et reliquis Virronibus illa iubebit
 poma dari, quorum solo pascaris odore,
 qualia perpetuus Phaeacum autumnus habebat,
 credere quae possis surrepta sororibus Afris;
 tu scabie frueris mali, quod in aggere rodit
 qui tegitur parma et galea metuensque flagelli
 discit ab hirsuta iaculum torquere capella.
 forsitan impensa Virronem parcere credas;
 hoc agit, ut doleas; nam quae comoedia, mimus
 quis melior plorante gula? ergo omnia flunt,
 si nescis, ut per lacrimas effundere bilem
 cogaris pressoque diu stridere molari.
 tu tibi liber homo et regis conviva videris;
 captum te nidore suae putat ille culinae,
 nec male conjectat. quis enim tam nudus, ut illum
 bis ferat, Etruscum puero si contigit aurum
 vel nodus tantum et signum de paupere loro?
 spes bene coenandi vos decipit. "ecce dabit iam

Virro will order such apples to be handed to himself and the rest of the Virros as will feast you with their odour alone, such as the eternal autumn of the Phaeacians possessed, which you might believe to have been pilfered from the African sisters. You will enjoy a scabby apple, such as on the rampart he (*the monkey*) gnaws who is dressed up with a shield and helmet, and, in dread of the whip, is taught to throw his dart from *the back of a shaggy goat*. Perhaps you believe Virro to be practising economy. *No*; he is acting on purpose to annoy you; for what comedy, what farce is better than disappointed gluttony? So everything is done, if you do not know it, to compel you to give vent to your bile by tears, and gnash long with compressed teeth. You appear to yourself to be a free man, and the great lord's guest. He thinks you are caught by the savour of his kitchen; nor does he conjecture amiss; for who so destitute as to put up with the man a second time if the Etruscan gold *bulla* has fallen to his lot in boyhood, or even a knot merely, and a symbol of freedom made of humble leather? The hope of

semesum leporem atque aliquid de clunibus apri ;
 ad nos iam veniet minor altilis." inde parato
 intactoque omnes et stricto pane tacetis.
 ille sapit, qui te sic utitur. omnia ferre 170
 si potes, et debes ; pulsandum vertice raso
 praebebis quandoque caput, nec dura timebis
 flagra pati his epulis et tali dignus amico.

SATIRA VI.

CREDO Pudicitiam Saturno rege moratam
 in terris visamque diu, cum frigida parvas
 praeberet spelunca domos, ignemque laremque
 et pecus et dominos communi clauderet umbra,
 silvestrem montana torum cum sterneret uxor 5

168. vob.

dining well deceives you. "See, he is just going to give us a half-eaten hare and a trifle from the haunch of a boar; some of the inferior poultry will be coming to us directly." For this reason you are all silent, with your bread ready and untasted, and grasped *in your hands*. He is wise who so uses you. If you are able to bear everything, you ought *to bear everything*. Some day or other you will be holding out your head with shaven crown to be thumped, and won't hesitate to submit to the sharp whip, *showing yourself* worthy of such a banquet and of such a friend !

SATIRE VI.

I CAN believe that chastity tarried on earth, and was long seen in the time of King Saturn; when the cool cave furnished a small dwelling, and enclosed fire and household gods, the herd and its masters in a common shade; when the mountain wife spread a rustic couch with leaves and straw, and the skins of

frondibus et culmo vicinarumque ferarum
 pellibus, haud similis tibi, Cynthia, nec tibi, cuius
 turbavit nitidos extinctus passer ocellos,
 sed potanda ferens infantibus ubera magnis
 et saepe horridior glandem ructante marito. 10
 quippe aliter tunc orbe novo coeloque recenti
 vivebant homines, qui rupto robore nati
 composite luto nulos habuere parentes.
 multa pudicitiae veteris vestigia forsani
 aut aliqua extiterint et sub Iove, sed Iove nondum 15
 barbato, nondum Graecis iurare paratis
 per caput alterius, cum furem nemo timeret
 caulibus et pomis, et aperto viveret horto.
 paulatim deinde ad superos Astraea recessit
 hac comite, atque duae pariter fugere sorores. 20
 antiquum et vetus est alienum, Postume, lectum
 concutere atque sacri genium contemnere fulcri;
 omne aliud crimen mox ferrea protulit aetas,
 viderunt primos argentea secula moechos.

wild beasts of the neighbourhood ; not like to you, Cynthia, nor to you whose bright eyes the death of a sparrow clouded ; but bearing breasts to be quaffed by her huge infants, and often more uncouth than her acorn-belching husband. For indeed men were living differently then, with a new world and sky fresh-made, who, born from the riven oak or compounded of clay, had no parents. Many vestiges of old-world chastity, or some *at least*, may perhaps have existed even under Jove, but Jove not yet bearded, when Greeks were not yet prepared to swear by another's head, when no one feared a thief for his cabbages and apples, and *every one* lived with an unenclosed garden. By degrees afterwards Astraea withdrew to the gods above, with her for a companion, and the two sisters fled at the same time. It is *an ancient and old-world practice*, Postumus, to trespass on another's bed, and to contemn the genius of the sacred couch. Every other crime the period of iron soon produced ; the silver age beheld the first adulterers.

Conventum tamen et pactum et sponsalia nostra
 tempestate paras, iamque a tonsore magistro
 pectoris et dito pignus fortasse dedisti.
 certe sanus eras. uxorem, Postume, ducis ?
 dic, qua Tisiphone, quibus exagitare colubris ?
 ferre potes dominam salvis tot restibus ullam,
 cum pateant altae caligantesque fenestrae,
 cum tibi vicinum se praebeat Aemilius pons ?
 aut si de multis nullus placet exitus, illud
 nonne putas melius, quod tecum pusio dormit,
 pusio, qui noctu non litigat, exigit a te
 nulla iacens illic munuscula, nec queritur quod
 et lateri parcas nec quantum iussit anheles ?
 sed placet Ursidio lex Iulia, tollere dulcem
 cogitat heredem, cariturus turture magno
 mullorumque iubis et captatore macello.
 quid fieri non posse putas, si iungitur ulla
 Ursidio, si moechorum notissimus olim
 stulta maritali iam porrigit ora capistro,

25

30

35

40

Yet you are preparing a marriage covenant and settlements
 and a betrothal in our time, and are already having your hair
 dressed by a master barber, and have perhaps given a pledge for
 her finger. Assuredly you used to be sane. Are you taking to
 yourself a wife, Postumus ? Say by what Tisiphone, by what
 snakes are you driven wild ? Are you able to bear any lady
 paramount when there are so many ropes still in existence ;
 when high and dizzy windows are open ; when the Aemilian
 bridge offers itself close at hand to you ? Or if, out of *so* many
 modes of exit, none pleases you, do you not think this preferable
 that a boy sleeps with you ; a boy who does not dispute at
 night, exacts from you, as he lies there, no little presents, and
 does not complain that you neglect him ? But the Julian law
 pleases Ursidius ; he thinks to rear a sweet heir, though he will
 lose the fine turtle-dove, and the bearded mullets, and *the produce* of the fortune-hunting market. What can you suppose
 impossible, if any woman is coupled to Ursidius, if that once

quem toties texit perituri cista Latini ?
quid, quod et antiquis uxor de moribus illi
quaeritur. o medici, medium pertundite venam !
delicias hominis ! Tarpeium limen adora
pronus et auratam Iunoni caede iuvencam,
si tibi contigerit capitis matrona pudici.
paucae adeo Cereris vittas contingere dignae,
quarum non timeat pater oscula. necte coronam
postibus et densos per limina tende corymbos !
unus Hiberinae vir sufficit ! ociosus illud
extorquebis, ut haec oculo contenta sit uno.
magna tamen fama est cuiusdam rure paterno
viventis. vivat Gabiis, ut vixit in agro,
vivat Fidenis, et agello cedo paterno.
quis tamen affirmat nil actum in montibus aut in
speluncis ? adeo senuerunt Iuppiter et Mars ?

46. nimiam.

most notorious of adulterers, whom the chest of Latinus in danger of his life has so often concealed, is now offering his foolish head to the matrimonial halter? Nay, more, he is looking out for a wife of even antique morality. Oh! doctors, lance him through the middle vein! A pretty fellow! Adore, prostrate, the Tarpeian threshold, and sacrifice a gilded-horned heifer to Juno, if a matron of modest person has fallen to your happy lot. So few there are worthy to handle the fillets of Ceres, whose own fathers do not shrink from their kisses. Bind the garland to your doorposts, and hang thick bunches of flowers across your gateways. A single husband satisfies Hiberina! You will more readily extort this from her, that she should be content with a single eye. However, great is the reputation of a certain some one living on her father's estate. Let her live at Gabii as she has lived in the country, let her live at Fidenae, and I give up the paternal farm. And yet who assures us that nothing has taken place on the hills or in the caves? Have Jupiter and Mars grown so old?

60

Porticibusne tibi monstratur femina voto
digna tuo, cuneis an habent spectacula totis
quod securus ames quodque inde excerpere possis ?
chironomon Ledam molli saltante Bathyllo,
Tuccia vesicae non imperat, Appula gannit
sicut in amplexu subitum et miserabile longum, 65
attendit Thymele ; Thymele tunc rustica disicit.
ast aliae, quoties aulaea recondita cessant,
et vacuo clausoque sonant fora sola theatro,
atque a plebeiis longe Megalesia, tristes
personam thyrsunque tenent et subligar Acci. 70
Urbicus exodio risum movet Atellanae
gestibus Autonoës, hunc diligit Aelia pauper.
solvitur his magno comoedi fibula, sunt quae
Chrysogonus cantare vetent, Hispulla tragœdo
gaudet : an exspectas ut Quintilianus ametur ? 75

75. exspectas.

In all the piazzas can a woman be shown you who comes up to your wishes, or do the public shows contain in all their compartments of seats a being whom you might love in security and thence select? While the effeminate Bathyllus is dancing *the part of* the pantomimic Leda, Tuccia cannot command her passions; Appula gives a gasp, as though in a sexual embrace, sudden and pitiable and long; Thymele watches her, then it is that Thymele *herself*, rustic that she is *in comparison*, learns something. But other ladies, whenever the drop-scene is packed away and at rest, and the law-courts alone resound, while the theatre is empty and closed, and the Megalesia are *still* a long way from the Plebeian games, in their dulness handle the mask and thyrsus and drawers of Accius. Urbicus raises a laugh in the interlude by the gesticulations of Autonoe of the Atellan farce; and the poor Aelia is in love with him. For others, the fibula of the comedian is loosened at a great price: there are some who prevent Chrysogonus from singing: Hispulla delights in a tragedian. Do you suppose that Quintilian will be fallen

accipis uxorem, de qua citharoedus Echion
 aut Glaphyrus fiat pater Ambrosiusque choraules.
 longa per angustos figamus pulpita vicos,
 ornentur postes et grandi ianua lauro,
 ut testudineo tibi, Lentule, conopeo 80
 nobilis Euryalum mirmillonem exprimat infans.

Nupta senatori comitata est Hippia ludium
 ad Pharon et Nilum famosaque moenia Lagi,
 prodigia et mores urbis damnante Canopo.
 immemor illa domus et coniugis atque sororis 85
 nil patriae indulxit, plorantesque improba natos,
 utque magis stupeas, ludos Paridemque reliquit.
 sed quamquam in magnis opibus plumaque paterna
 et segmentatis dormisset parvula cunis,
 contempsit pelagus ; famam contempserat olim, 90
 cuius apud molles minima est iactura cathedras.
 Tyrrhenos igitur fluctus lateque sonantem

in love with? You receive a wife, by whom the harper Echion, or Glaphyrus, and Ambrosius, the choral flute-player, may become a father. Let us erect long scaffoldings along the narrow streets, let the doorposts and gate be adorned with a huge bay, in order that, in your bed inlaid with tortoise-shell, O Lentulus! your noble infant may present the image of Euryalus, the gladiator!

Hippia, married to a senator, accompanied a gladiator to Pharos and the Nile, and the infamous walls of Lagus,—Canopus *itself* condemning the portentous exhibitions, and manners of our city. This woman, unmindful of her home and her husband and her sister, showed no regard for her country, and shamelessly deserted her weeping children, and, to amaze you still more, Paris and the public games. But though, as a child, she had slept in great luxury, on the soft down of her father's house, and in a cradle decked with fringes, she made light of the sea; her reputation she had long made light of, the loss of which is *held to be* very trifling among the soft littlers of the ladies. So then she bore up against the Tuscan waves and the wide-sounding Ionian,

pertulit Ionium constanti pectore, quamvis
 mutandum toties esset mare. iusta pericli
 si ratio est et honesta, timent pavidoque gelantur 95
 pectore, nec tremulis possunt insistere plantis :
 fortem animum praestant rebus, quas turpiter audent.
 si iubeat coniux, durum est descendere navem ;
 tunc sentina gravis, tunc summus vertitur aer :
 quae moechum sequitur, stomacho valet. illa maritum 100
 convomit, haec inter nautas et prandet et errat
 per puppem et duros gaudet tractare rudentes.
 qua tamen exarsit forma, qua capta iuventa
 Hippia, quid vidit, propter quod ludia dici
 sustinuit ? nam Sergiolus iam radere guttur 105
 cooperat et secto requiem sperare lacerto ;
 praeterea multa in facie deformia, sicut
 attritus galea mediisque in naribus ingens
 gibbus, et acre malum semper stillantis ocelli.

108. *galeæ (H. Vales).*

with undaunted breast, although the sea had to be changed so many times. If there be a reason for incurring danger which is just and honourable, they are frightened, and turn ice-cold in their fainting hearts, and cannot stand upon their tottering feet. They bestow their fortitude of soul upon the things which they dare *to do* disgracefully. When the husband bids, it is a dreadful thing to embark in a ship; then the bilge-water is offensive, then the sky is turning upside down: she who follows an adulterer is strong in her stomach. The former is sick all over her husband: the latter dines among the sailors, and strolls about the deck and delights to handle the hard ropes. Yet by what personal beauty was Hippia inflamed, by what youthfulness was she captivated? what did she see for the sake of which she endured to be called the gladiator's woman? For darling Sergius had already begun to shave his throat, and to hope for repose for his wounded arm. Moreover, there were many disfigurements in his face; as, for instance, a place worn by his helmet, and a huge wen in the middle of his nose, and the acrid affliction of an

sed gladiator erat : facit hoc illos Hyacinthos ; 110
 hoc pueris patriaeque, hoc praetulit illa sorori
 atque viro. ferrum est quod amant : hic Sergius idem
 accepta rude coepisset Veiento videri.

Quid privata domus, quid fecerit Hippia, curas ?
 respice rivales divisorum, Claudius audi 115
 quae tulerit. dormire virum cum senserat uxor,
 ausa Palatino tegetem preferre cubili,
 sumere nocturnos meretrix Augusta cucullos,
 linquebat comite ancilla non amplius una,
 et nigrum flavo crinem abscondente galero 120
 intravit calidum veteri centone lupanar
 et cellam vacuam atque suam. tunc nuda papillis
 constitit auratis titulum mentita Lyciscae,
 ostenditque tuum, generose Britannice, ventrem,
 exceptit blanda intrantes atque aera poposcit, 125
 et resupina iacens multorum absorbuit ictus.

ever-trickling eye. But he was a gladiator : this it is that makes Hyacinthi of them ! This it was that she preferred to her boys, and her country, and her sister, and her husband. It is the steel that they love. This same Sergius, if he had received his discharge, would have begun to appear a Veiento.

Are you interested in the affairs of a private family, in the doings of a Hippia ? Look to the rivals of "the gods;" hear what Claudius underwent. As soon as his wife had perceived that her husband was sleeping, the imperial harlot, daring to prefer a coarse bed-rug to her couch on the Palatine, and to put on a nocturnal hood, used to leave with not more than one maid for her companion. Then, with a yellow wig concealing her dark hair, she entered a brothel, kept warm by an old curtain of patchwork, and a cell vacant and devoted to her use. There she took her stand, naked, with gilded nipples, having falsely assumed the ticket of Lycisca, and exhibited the belly which bore you, noble Britannicus. She received such as entered caressingly, and asked for money ; and, lying on her back, submitted to the embraces of many. Before long, the keeper of

mox lenone suas iam dimittente pueras
 tristis abit, et, quod potuit, tamen ultima cellam
 clausit, adhuc ardens rigidae tentigine vulvae,
 et lassata viris nec dum satiata recessit,
 obscurisque genis turpis fumoque lucernae
 foeda lukanaris tulit ad pulvinar odorem.
 hippomanes carmenque loquar coctumque venenum
 privignoque datum? faciunt graviora coactae
 imperio sexus minimumque libidine peccant.

130

Optima sed quare Caesennia teste marito?
 bis quingenta dedit: tanti vocat ille pudicam,
 nec pharetris Veneris macer est aut lampade fervet;
 inde faces ardent, veniunt a dote sagittae.
 libertas emitur: coram licet innuat atque
 rescribat, vidua est, locuples quae nupsit avaro.

140

Cur desiderio Bibulae Sertorius ardet?
 si verum exutias, facies non uxor amatur.

the brothel by this time dismissing his girls, reluctantly she departed, and yet to the best of her power she was the last to close her cell, still burning with the excitement of strong desire; so, fatigued by her lovers, though not yet sated, she retired, and foul with her dirty cheeks, and begrimed with the smoke of the lamp, she bore the odour of the brothel to the imperial couch. Shall I speak of magic potions and incantations and poison prepared and administered to a stepson? They perpetrate still graver crimes when urged by the empire of their sex: the sins they commit through lust are the least.

Then why is Caesennia the best of women on her husband's showing? She brought him twice five hundred sestertia; such is the price at which he calls her chaste, nor is he emaciated by the quivers of Venus, nor does he burn with her torch; this is the source at which his flames are lit, the arrows come from the dowry. She buys her liberty; she may make signals in his presence, and reply to *love-letters*: a rich woman who is married to an avaricious man is *as good as* a single woman.

Why does Sertorius burn with passion for Bibula? If you

tres rugae subeant et se cutis arida laxet,
 fiant obscuri dentes oculique minores, 145
 “ collige sarcinulas,” dicet libertus, “ et exi !
 iam gravis es nobis et saepe emungeris, exi
 ocios et propera : sicco venit altera naso.”
 interea calet et regnat poscitque maritum
 pastores et ovem Canusinam ulmosque Falernas, . 150
 quantulum in hoc ! pueros omnes, ergastula tota,
 quodque domi non est sed habet vicinus ematur.
 mense quidem brumae, quo iam mercator Iason
 clausus et armatis obstat casa candida nautis,
 grandia tolluntur crystallina, maxima rursus 155
 murrina, deinde adamas notissimus et Bernices
 in digito factus pretiosior ; hunc dedit olim
 barbarus incestae, dedit hunc Agrippa sorori,
 observant ubi festa mero pede sabbata reges,
 et vetus indulget senibus clementia porcis. 160

search out the truth, it is the face, not the wife, that is loved. Let *but* three wrinkles make their appearance, and the dry skin shrivel itself, let her teeth become black and her eyes smaller, “ Pack up your traps,” the freedman will say, “ and be off. You are grown offensive to us, and you blow your nose *too often*; be off at once, and make haste. Another wife is coming with a dry nose.” Meanwhile she is fiery and imperious, and asks her husband for shepherds and sheep from Canusium and Falernian elms—a mere trifle this!—for all the boys *she sees*, for whole gangs of slaves, and what is not in the house, and a neighbour has got, must be bought *for her*. In the winter months, indeed, when now *the fresco* of merchant Jason is hidden, and the white booth shuts in the armed sailors, large crystal vases are carried off *by her*, and again huge pieces of porcelain, and then a diamond of great repute, made more precious *by having been worn* on the finger of Berenice. This a barbarian *king* once gave to his incestuous love. This Agrippa gave to his sister, where kings observe their festive Sabbaths with naked feet, and long-established clemency is indulgent to aged pigs.

Nullane de tantis gregibus tibi digna videtur ?
 sit formosa decens dives fecunda, vetustos
 porticibus disponat avos, intactior omni
 crinibus effusis bellum dirimente Sabina,
 rara avis in terris nigroque simillima cygno, 165
 quis ferat uxorem, cui constant omnia ? malo,
 malo Venusinam, quam te, Cornelia mater
 Gracchorum, si cum magnis virtutibus affers
 grande supercilium et numeras in dote triumphos.
 tolle tuum, precor, Hannibalem victumque Syphacem 170
 in castris et cum tota Carthagine migra !
 “ parce, precor, Paean, et tu depone sagittas ;
 nil pueri faciunt, ipsam configite matrem !”
 Amphion clamat, sed Paean contrahit arcum.
 extulit ergo greges natorum ipsumque parentem, 175
 dum sibi nobilior Latonae gente videtur
 atque eadem scrofa Niobe fecundior alba.
 quae tanti gravitas, quae forma, ut se tibi semper

166. feret.

Does no woman, *then*, out of such large herds, appear to you worthy ? Let her be handsome, graceful, rich, fruitful ; let her distribute her ancient forefathers in her corridors ; more chaste than any of the Sabine women, who, with streaming locks, decided the war—a rare bird upon earth, and very much resembling a black swan—who could bear a wife in whom all qualities are conjoined ? I prefer—*yes*, I prefer—a Venusian *country-woman* to you, Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, if, with your great virtues, you bring your lofty pride and reckon your triumphs in your dowry. Be off, I pray, with your Hannibal and your Syphax conquered in the camp, and tramp with the whole of your Carthage. “Be merciful, I pray you, Paean ; and do you, *Diana*, lay down your arrows. The boys are doing nothing ; transfix the mother herself !” Amphion cries ; but Paean bends his bow. So Niobe bore to their graves her herds of children and their parent himself, while she seemed to herself more noble than the race of Latona, and, at the same time, more

imputet? huius enim rari summique voluptas
nulla boni, quoties animo corrupta superbo

plus aloes quam mellis habet. quis deditus autem usque adeo est, ut non illam, quem laudibus effert,
horreat inque diem septenis oderit horis ?

Quaedam parva quidem, sed non toleranda maritis.
nam quid rancidius, quam quod se non putat ulla
formosam, nisi quae de Tusca Graecula facta est,
de Sulmonensi mera Cecropis? omnia Graece,
cum sit turpe magis nostris nescire Latine.

hoc sermone pavent, hoc iram gaudia curas,
hoc cuncta effundunt animi secreta. quid ultra?
concubunt Graece. dones tamen ista puellis,
tune etiam, quam sextus et octagesimus annus
pulsat, adhuc Graece? non est hic sermo pudicus
in vetula. quoties lascivum intervenit illud

185. num (Heinr) ; putet.

192. tunc etiam.

prolific than the white sow. What dignity, what beauty can be of such great price, that she should always reckon herself your creditor? For all pleasure in these rare and consummate advantages is *rendered* null, whenever, spoilt by her pride of soul, she has more of the aloe than the honey. Who, rather, is so utterly made over as not to loathe her whom he extols with his praises, as not to hate her for seven hours in the day?

There are some things, small *in themselves*, it is true, but intolerable to husbands. For what more nauseous than that not one of them thinks herself beautiful, unless from a Tuscan she has become a Greekling; from a native of Sulmo, a pure Athenian. Everything in Greek, whereas it is a greater disgrace to our people to be ignorant of Latin. In this language they give vent to their fears; in this they pour forth their anger, joys, cares—all the secrets of their souls. What more *can they do?* They embrace in the Greek fashion. Yet one may concede such things to girls. But do you, too, whom your six-and-eightieth year is buffeting, still speak Greek? That language is not decent in an old woman. How often does that wanton *Zan*,

ζων καὶ ψυχή! modo sub lodiice relictis 195
uteris in turba. quod enim non excitet inguen
vox blanda et nequam? digitos habet. Ut tamen omnes
subsident pennae, dicas haec mollius Haemo
quamquam et Carpophoro. Facies tua computat annos.

Si tibi legitimis pactam iunctamque tabellis
non es amaturus, ducendi nulla videtur
causa, nec est quare coenam et mustacea perdas,
labente officio crudis donanda, nec illud,
quod prima pro nocte datur, cum lance beata
Dacicus et scripto radiat Germanicus auro. 205
si tibi simplicitas uxoria, deditus uni
est animus, summitte caput cervice parata
ferre iugum : nullam invenies quae parcat amanti ;
ardeat ipsa licet, tormentis gaudet amantis
et spoliis. igitur longe minus utilis illi 210

197. *digitos valet* (Heinr.). 198. *pinnae*.

και Ζυχή (my life and soul !) come in ! You use in the crowd words you have just left under the counterpane. Whose passions, indeed, would not be excited by the coaxing and naughty expression ? It seems to have fingers ; yet so that, for all that, every one's pinions droop, though you speak these words more softly than Haemus or Carpophorus. Your face reckons up your years !

If you are not likely to love her who is engaged and united to you by a lawful contract, there seems to be no reason for marrying; nor is there any object in your wasting a supper, and the wedding-cakes which will have to be bestowed, at the close of their attendance, on people *already* surfeited, or that *present* which is given for the first night, when in the rich dish "Dacicus" and "Germanicus" glitter on the inscribed gold coin. If yours is an uxorious simplicity, your soul is surrendered to one person. Bow down your head, with neck prepared to bear the yoke; you will find none to spare the man who loves her. Though she be enamoured herself, she delights in tormenting and plundering the loved one. Therefore, a wife will be

uxor, quisquis erit bonus optandusque maritus.
 nil umquam invita donabis coniuge, vendes
 hac obstante nihil, nihil, haec si nolet, emetur;
 haec dabit affectus, ille excludetur amicus
 iam senior, cuius barbam tua ianua vidit.
 testandi cum sit lenonibus atque lanistis
 libertas et iuris idem contingat arenae,
 non unus tibi rivalis dictabitur heres.

215

“pone crucem servo.” “meruit quo crimine servus
 supplicium? quis testis adest? quis detulit? audi; 220
 nulla umquam de morte hominis cunctatio longa est.”
 “o demens, ita servus homo est? nil fecerit, esto:
 hoc volo, sic iubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas.”

Imperat ergo viro, sed mox haec regna relinquit
 permutatque domos et flammæa conterit, inde 225
 avolat et spreti repetit vestigia lecti.

214. excludatur. 218. ditabitur. 223. Sic volo.

226. evolat, advolat.

far less advantageous to him who is likely to be a good and desirable husband. You will give nothing away, at any time, without the consent of your wife; you will sell nothing if she opposes; nothing will be bought if she disapproves. She will prescribe your regards. Yonder old friend will be denied admittance, whose *youthful* beard your gate beheld. While pimps and trainers have the liberty to make a will, and the same amount of right is enjoyed by the arena, *the name of* more than one rival will be dictated to you as a legatee. “Put up a cross for the slave.” “On what charge has the slave deserved punishment? Who presents himself as a witness? Who has informed against him? Hear *what he has to say!* No delay is *too* long when the death of a man is in question.” “O driveller! so then a slave is a man? He has done nothing, *you say*—granted! Such is my will, so I order it; my pleasure must stand for a reason.”

She rules over her husband accordingly. But soon she leaves these realms of hers, and changes her homes, and wears out her

ornatas paulo ante fores, pendentia linquit
vela domus et adhuc virides in limine ramos.
sic crescit numerus, sic fiunt octo mariti
quinque per autumnos, titulo res digna sepulcri. 230

Desperanda tibi salva concordia socrum.
illa docet spoliis nudi gaudere mariti;
illa docet missis a corruptore tabellis
nil rude nec simplex describere, decipit illa
custodes aut aere domat. tunc corpore sano 235
advocat Archigenen onerosaque pallia iactat;
abditus interea latet et secretus adulter,
impatientis morae pavet et praeputia dicit.
scilicet exspectas ut tradat mater honestos
atque alios mores quam quos habet? utile porro 240
filiolam turpi vetulæ producere turpem.

Nulla fere causa est, in qua non femina litem

237. *securus.*

239. *exspectas.*

240. *aut alios.*

bridal-veils; thence she flies away and returns to seek again her imprint in the bed she had spurned. She leaves the doors ornamented *but* a little while before, the hanging draperies on the house, and the boughs still green over the threshold. So the number grows; so it is that eight husbands are manufactured in five autumns—a thing worthy of an inscription on her tomb!

You must give up all hope of concord while your mother-in-law is alive. She it is who teaches how to delight in the spoils of a helpless husband; she it is who teaches how to write no ignorant nor innocent reply to notes sent by the seducer; she deceives your spies, or overcomes them with a bribe; then, though sound in health, she (*the daughter*) calls in Archigenes, and tosses the bed-clothes as too heavy for her. Meanwhile, the adulterer lies concealed, hidden away and all alone, and, impatient of delay, is in a tremor of anticipation. Can you expect, forsooth, that the mother will teach good morals, or any others than her own? Besides, it is useful to a wicked old woman to bring up her young daughter to be wicked *too*.

There is scarce any cause in which a woman has not set the

moverit. accusat Manilia, si rea non est.
componunt ipsae per se formantque libellos,
principium atque locos Celso dictare paratae.

245

Endromidas Tyrias et femineum ceroma
quis nescit? vel quis non vidit vulnera pali?
quem cavat assiduis sudibus scutoque lacescit,
atque omnes implet numeros, dignissima prorsus
florali matrona tuba, nisi si quid in illo
pectore plus agitat veraeque paratur arenae.
quem praestare potest mulier galeata pudorem,
quae fugit a sexu? vires amat. haec tamen ipsa
vir nolle fieri; nam quantula nostra voluptas!
quale decus, rerum si coniugis auctio fiat,
balteus et manicae et cristae crurisque sinistri
dimidium tegmen! vel si diversa movebit
proelia, tu felix ocreas vendente puella!

250

255

248. rudibus (Lipsius).

257. tegimen.

suit going. Manilia is the prosecutrix, if she is not the defendant. They themselves compose, unaided, and fashion Plaints, prepared to dictate exordium and "points" to Celsus himself.

Who does not know the wrappers of Tyrian purple, and the ointment for female use? Or who has not seen the wounds inflicted on the training-post, which she pierces with perpetual foil, and excites with her shield, while she goes through all her exercises; a matron truly most worthy of the trumpet of the Floralia, unless, indeed, she meditates something more in that breast of hers, and is being prepared for a real arena. What sense of shame can a woman exhibit who wears a helmet, and flies from her sex? She loves strength. Yet this very woman would be unwilling to be turned into a man; for how small, *in comparison*, is our pleasure! What a pretty thing if an auction of your wife's property were to take place—the belt, and gauntlets, and crests, and a half covering for the left leg; or if she takes to other sorts of fighting, happy fellow *you will be*, with your young wife selling her greaves. These are the women

hae sunt quae tenui sudant in cyclade, quarum
delicias et panniculus bombycinus urit. 260
aspice quo fremitu monstratos perferat ictus,
et quanto galeae curvetur pondere, quanta
poplitibus sedeat, quam denso fascia libro,
et ride, positis scaphium cum sumitur armis.
dicite vos neptes Lepidi caecive Metelli, 265
Gurgitis aut Fabii, quae ludia sumpserit umquam
hos habitus? quando ad palum gemat uxor Asyli?

Semper habet lites alternaque iurgia lectus,
in quo nupta iacet; minimum dormitur in illo.
tunc gravis illa viro, tunc orba tigride peior, 270
cum simulat gemitus occulti conscia facti,
aut odit pueros, aut ficta pellice plorat,
uberibus semper lacrimis semperque paratis
in statione sua, atque exspectantibus illam,
quo iubeat manare modo. tu credis amorem, 275

who perspire under a robe of thin material, whose delicate charms even a small rag of silk oppresses with heat. See, with what a cry she deals home the thrusts which have been shown her; how she is bent beneath the great weight of her helmet, what huge leggings, *bound* with what thick bark, are seated on her knees—and laugh, when laying down her arms, she takes up the chamber-pot. Tell us, ye grand-daughters of Lepidus, or of blind Metellus, or of Fabius Gurses, what gladiator's wife ever assumed such attire as this? When did the wife of Asylus gasp at the training-post?

The bed in which the bride lies is always the scene of quarrels and mutual recriminations: there is very little sleep to be got there. Then is she a torment to her husband; then is she worse than a tigress deprived of her young; when she counterfeits groans, though conscious of her hidden guilt, or loathes the slave-boys, or cries over a fictitious rival, with tears always copious, and always ready at their station, and awaiting her signal to flow in whatever way she orders them. You think it is all love; you are delighted with yourself then, you hedge-

tu tibi tunc curruca places fletumque labellis
 exsorbes, quae scripta et quas lecture tabellas,
 si tibi zelotypae retegantur scrinia moechae.
 sed iacet in servi complexibus aut equitis. dic,
 dic aliquem, sodes, hic, Quintiliane, colorem. 280
 "haeremus, dic ipsa." "olim convenerat" inquit
 "ut faceres tu quod velles, nec non ego possem
 indulgere mihi. clames licet et mare coelo
 confundas, homo sum." nihil est audacius illis
 deprensis : iram atque animos a crimine sumunt. 285

Unde haec monstra tamen vel quo de fonte requiris ?
 praestabat castas humilis fortuna Latinas
 quondam, nec vitiis contingi parva sinebat
 tecta labor somnique breves et vellere Tusco
 vexatae duraeque manus ac proximus urbi 290
 Hannibal et stantes Collina turre mariti.
 nunc patimur longae pacis mala, saevior armis

276. uruca. 277. quot. 285. animum de crimine. 291. in turre.

sparrow, and dry her tears with your lips—*you* who would read such letters and such billets-doux, if the desk of this jealous adulteress were thrown open to you ! But she lies in the embraces of a slave or a knight. Give us, give us, I pray you, Quintilian, some colourable excuse in this case. "I am at a loss. Give one yourself." "It had long since been agreed upon between us," says she, "that you should do what you choose, and that I too might please myself. You may clamour, if you please, and confound sea with sky, I am a human being." There is nothing more audacious than they are when caught in the act. They derive fury and courage from their crime itself.

Yet do you seek to know whence, or from what source, *came* these prodigies ? In days of yore, their humble fortune preserved the Latin women chaste, and their lowly roofs were kept from the contamination of vice by toil, by short slumbers, by hands galled and hardened with the Tuscan fleece, and Hannibal close to the city, and their husbands standing *on guard* on the Colline tower. Now we suffer the evils of long peace ; luxury,

luxuria incubuit victumque ulciscitur orbem.
 nullum crimen abest facinusque libidinis, ex quo
 paupertas Romana perit, hinc fluxit ad istos 295
 et Sybaris colles, hinc et Rhodes et Miletos
 atque coronatum et petulans madidumque Tarentum.
 prima peregrinos obscena pecunia mores
 intulit, et turpi fregerunt secula luxu
 divitiae molles. quid enim Venus ebria curat? 300
 inguinis et capitis quae sint discrimina, nescit
 grandia quae mediis iam noctibus ostrea mordet,
 cum perfusa mero spumant unguenta Falerno,
 cum bibitur concha, cum iam vertigine tectum
 ambulat et geminis exsurgit mensa lucernis. 305
 i nunc et dubita qua sorbeat aera sanna
 Tullia, quid dicat notae collactia Maura,
 Maura Pudicitiae veterem cum praeterit aram;
 noctibus hic ponunt lecticas, micturiunt hic
 effigiemque deae longis siphonibus implent, 310

295. Indos, Istros.

more cruel than war, broods over us and avenges a conquered world. No crime is wanting, or deed, of lust, from the time that Roman poverty came to an end; henceforth Sybaris flowed to these hills, and Rhodes and Miletus, and garlanded, saucy, drunken Tarentum. Filthy money first brought in foreign manners, and voluptuous wealth enervated the age with foul luxury. For what does Venus in her cups care for? She does not know the difference between one part of the person and another, who at very midnight bites huge oysters, when unguents foam mixed with neat Falernian, when they drink out of the perfume-jar, when the ceiling has begun to go round and round, and the table rises up with its lamps doubled. Go now and doubt with what a sneer Tullia snuffs the air, or what her foster-sister says to the notorious Maura, when Maura passes by the ancient altar of chastity. Here they set down their litters at night, here they make water, and bedew the effigy of the goddess with copious streams of moisture, and by turns indulge

inque vices equitant ac luna teste moventur,
 inde domos abeunt; tu calcas luce reversa
 coniugis urinam magnos visurus amicos.
 nota bonaे secreta deae, cum tibia lumbos
 incitat et cornu pariter vinoque feruntur
 attonitae crinemque rotant ululantque Priapum
 maenades. o quantus tunc illis mentibus ardor
 concubitus! quae vox saltante libidine! quantus
 ille meri veteris per crura madentia torrens!
 lenonum ancillas posita Saufelia corona
 provocat et tollit pendentis praemia coxae,
 ipsa Medullinae fluctum crissantis adorat:
 palmam inter dominas virtus natalibus aequat.
 nil ibi per ludum simulabitur, omnia fient
 ad verum, quibus incendi iam frigidus aevo
 Laomedontiades et Nestoris hernia possit.
 tunc prurigo morae impatiens, tunc femina simplex,

315

320

325

316. Priapo, Priapi, ululante Priapo.

324. tibi.

in their wanton practices, with the moon for a witness. Then they go off home; you, when daylight has returned, meet with traces of your wife, on your way to visit your great friends. Notorious are the secret rites of Bona Dea, when the pipe stimulates the loins, and the Maenades, inspired alike by the horn-instrument and by wine, whirl their locks and howl out Priapus. Oh, how great is then the sexual desire in these minds! What a voice *is theirs* with the lust dancing *within them!* What a torrent is that of old wine over their soaking legs! Saufelia, a prize being proposed, challenges the brothel-keepers' girls, and carries off the victory in the amatory contest. She herself admires the lascivious motions of the wanton Medullina. Among these great ladies, the prowess shown puts such a victory on an equality with the glories of birth. There, nothing will be feigned in sport; everything will be done to the life, by which the son of Laomedon, already frozen with age, or the ruptured Nestor might be fired. Then there is lechery impatient of delay, then there is woman without any disguise. And a shout

ac pariter toto repetitus clamor ab antro :
 “ iam fas est ; admitte viros ! ” iam dormit adulter,
 illa iubet sumpto iuvenem properare cucullo ; 330
 si nihil est, servis incurritur ; abstuleris spem
 servorum, venit et conductus aquarius ; hic si
 quaeritur et desunt homines, mora nulla per ipsam,
 quominus imposito clunem summittat asello.
 atque utinam ritus veteres et publica saltem 335
 his intacta malis agerentur sacra ! sed omnes
 neverunt Mauri atque Indi, quae psaltria penem
 maiorem quam sunt duo Caesaris Anticatones,
 illuc, testiculi sibi conscious unde fugit mus,
 intulerit, ubi velari pictura iubetur,
 quaecumque alterius sexus imitata figuram est. 340
 et quis tunc hominum contemptor numinis ? aut quis
 simpuvium ridere Numae nigrumque catinum
 et Vaticano fragiles de monte patellas
 ausus erat ? sed nunc ad quas non Clodius aras ? 345

328. it toto ; repetitur. 329. dormitat. 332. veniat, veniet.

is repeated in unison from the whole den, “ Now is the appointed time, admit the men.” If her gallant is already asleep, she orders the youth to hurry *thither*, with his hood on. If there be none, they make a rush upon the slaves. Take away the hope of slaves, and even a hired water-carrier makes his appearance. If such an one is sought *in vain*, and men fail, they will fly to any expedient. And I would that at least our ancient rites and public religious ceremonies were conducted free from such scandals ; but all the Moors and Indians know what “ female musician ” introduced his person, larger than are two Anticatones of Caesar, into that place, whence even a mouse, conscious of being a male, runs away, where a picture is ordered to be veiled in every case where it represents the form of the opposite sex. Yet who of men was at that time a contemner of divine power ? or who had dared to laugh at the ladle of Numa, or the dark earthenware dish, or the brittle vessels from the Vatican hill ? But now at what altars is there not a Clodius ?

Audio quid veteres olim moneatis amici.
 "pone seram, cohibe." sed quis custodiet ipsos
 custodes? cauta est et ab illis incipit uxor.
 iamque eadem summis pariter minimisque libido,
 nec melior, silicem pedibus quae conterit atrum,
 quam quae longorum vehitur cervice Syrorum.

350

Ut spectet ludos, conductit Ogulnia vestem,
 conductit comites sellam cervical amicas
 nutricem et flavam, cui det mandata, puellam.
 haec tamen argenti superest quodcumque paterni
 levibus athletis et vasa novissima donat;
 multis res angusta domi, sed nulla pudorem
 paupertatis habet, nec se metitur ad illum,
 quem dedit haec posuitque modum. tamen utile quid sit
 prospiciunt aliquando viri, frigusque famemque
 formica tandem quidam expavere magistra;
 prodiga non sentit pereuntem femina censem,

355

360

I hear what you, my old friends, have long since been advising.
 "Fasten the bolt, put her under restraint." But who is to keep
 watch over the watchers themselves? The wife is cunning and
 begins with them. And now there is the same wantonness in
 the highest and in the lowest as well; nor is she better who
 wears the dark stone pavement with her feet, than the one who
 is carried on the heads of tall Syrians.

In order to witness the games, Ogulnia hires a dress, hires
 attendants, a sedan, a cushion, female friends, a nurse, and a
 yellow-haired girl to give her orders to. Yet this woman gives
 away whatever remains of the family plate and the last of her
 vessels to smooth athletes. Many of them are in straitened
 circumstances at home; but none of them respects her poverty,
 nor measures herself to the standard which it has allotted and
 assigned her. Yet men do occasionally look forward to what
 may be for their advantage, and some, with the ant for their
 teacher, have at length felt a dread of cold and hunger. An
 extravagant woman does not perceive that her fortune is wasting
 away and, as though the coin would always sprout with fresh

ac velut exhausta redivivus pullulet arca
nummus et e pleno tollatur semper acervo,
non umquam reputant quanti sibi gaudia constent. 365

Sunt quas eunuchi imbellis ac mollia semper
oscula delectent et desperatio barbae,
et quod abortivo non est opus ; illa voluptas
summa tamen, quod iam calida matura iuventa
inguina traduntur medicis, iam pectine nigro. 370
ergo spectatos ac iussos crescere primum
testiculos, postquam coeperunt esse bilibres,
tonsortis damno tantum rapit Heliodorus.
conspicuus longe cunctisque notabilis intrat
balnea, nec dubie custodem vitis et horti
provocat a domina factus spado. dormiat ille 375
cum domina, sed tu iam durum, Postume, iamque
tondendum eunicho Bromium committere noli.

Si gaudet cantu, nullius fibula durat
vocem vendentis praetoribus, organa semper
in manibus, densi radiant testudine tota. 380

365. reputat.

371. exspectatos.

379. dura est.

life from the exhausted strong-box, and there would always be a full heap to take from, they never reckon what a great price their pleasures cost them.

There are women whom unwarlike eunuchs, and kisses ever effeminate, delight, and the despair of a beard, and the absence of any need for abortives. Yet the height of their pleasure is when a youth already glowing with manhood is submitted to Heliodorus, who performs an operation to the loss of the barber alone. Conspicuous from afar, and remarkable to all, he enters the baths, and challenges without question the guardian of our vines and gardens—made into an eunuch by his mistress. Let him sleep with his mistress ; but do not you, Postumus, entrust Bromius, by this time an adult and ready to have his locks shorn, to the eunuch.

If she delights in singing, the fibula of no one who sells his voice to the Praetor can last. Musical instruments are always

sardonyches, crispo numerantur pectine chordae,
 quo tener Hedymeles operam dedit, hunc tenet, hoc se
 solatur gratoque indulget basia plectro.
 quaedam de numero Lamiarum ac nominis alti 385
 cum farre et vino Ianum Vestamque rogabat,
 an Capitolinam deberet Pollio querum
 sperare et fidibus promittere. quid faceret plus
 aegrotante viro, medicis quid tristibus erga
 filiolum ? stetit ante aram, nec turpe putavit 390
 pro cithara velare caput, dictataque verba
 pertulit, ut mos est, et aperta palluit agna.
 dic mihi nunc, quaeso, dic, antiquissime divum,
 respondes his, Iane pater ? magna otia coeli ;
 non est, quod video, non est quod agatur apud vos. 395
 haec de comoedis te consultit, illa tragedum
 commendare volet, varicosus fiet haruspex.

392. protulit.

395. ut video ; quid agatur.

in her hands ; the numerous sardonyxes sparkle all over the tortoise-shell ; the chords are run over by the vibrating quill with which soft Hedymeles performed : this she holds, with this she solaces herself, and favours with kisses the dear plectrum. A lady of the order of the Lamiae, and of lofty name, used to ask of Janus and Vesta, with meal and wine *offerings*, whether Pollio ought to hope for the Capitoline oak-crown and promise it to his lyre. What more could she have done if her husband had been ill ; what *more* if the physicians had looked sad about her little son ? She stood before the altar and thought it no disgrace to veil her head for a harper, and went through the words dictated to her, according to the usage, and turned pale when the lamb was opened. Tell me now, I pray you, tell me, most ancient of the gods, Father Janus, do you reply to these people ? There must be great leisure in heaven : there is not, that I can see, there is not any business than can be transacted among you *gods*. This woman consults you about comedians ; another will be wanting to recommend a tragedian. The soothsayer will become varicose.

Sed cantet potius, quam totam pervolet urbem
 audax et coetus possit quam ferre virorum
 cumque paludatis ducibus praesente marito 400
 ipsa loqui recta facie strictisque mamillis.
 haec eadem novit quid toto fiat in orbe,
 quid Seres, quid Thraces agant, secreta novercae
 et pueri, quis amet, quis diripiatur adulter.
 dicet quis viduam praegnantem fecerit et quo 405
 mense, quibus verbis concubat quaeque, modis quot.
 instantem regi Armenio Parthoque cometen
 prima videt, famam rumoresque illa recentes
 excipit ad portas, quosdam facit, isse Niphaten
 in populos magnoque illic cuncta arva teneri 410
 diluvio, nutare urbes, subsidere terras,
 quocumque in trivio, cuicunque est obvia, narrat.

Nec tamen id vitium magis intolerabile, quam quae

399. quae.

401. siccisque.

404. decipiatur.

413. hoc vitium.

But let her sing rather than that she should fly brazen-faced through the whole city, and be able to support assemblages of men, and speak in person to generals in their full-dress cloaks, in the presence of her husband, with bold visage and breasts unsheathed. This same woman knows what is taking place all over the world ; what the Seres, what the Thracians are doing ; the secrets of the stepmother and the youth ; who is in love, what gallant is being struggled for. She will tell you who got a single woman with child, and in what month ; with what words every woman submits to caresses, and in how many ways. She is the first to see the comet which threatens the Armenian and Parthian king ; she intercepts at the city gates the news and the latest reports ; some she invents ; that the Niphates has overwhelmed *whole* populations, and that all the country there is occupied by a vast deluge, that cities are tottering, that tracts of land are sinking down, she relates, in every cross-way, to every one she meets.

And yet this plague is not more intolerable than she who is

vicinos humiles rapere et concidere loris
 exorata solet. nam si latratibus alti 415
 rumpuntur somni, "fustes huc ocius," inquit,
 "afferte," atque illis dominum iubet ante feriri,
 deinde canem. gravis occursu, teterima vultu,
 balnea nocte subit, conchas et castra moveri
 nocte iubet, magno gaudet sudare tumultu, 420
 cum lassata gravi ceciderunt brachia massa,
 callidus et cristae digitos impressit aliptes
 ac summum dominae femur exclamare coegit.
 convivae miseri interea somnoque fameque
 urgentur; tandem illa venit rubicundula, totum 425
 oenophorum sitiens, plena quod tenditur urna
 admotum pedibus, de quo sextarius alter
 ducitur ante cibum, rabidam facturus orexim.
 dum redit et lotu terram ferit intestino,
 marmoribus rivi properant, aurata Falernum 430
 pelvis olet; nam sic, tamquam alta in dolia longus

428. rapidum.

431. aut lata.

wont to seize her poor neighbours and cut them to pieces with whips, in spite of their prayers. For if her sound slumbers are broken by barkings, "Quick, bring the cudgels here," she says, and she orders the owner to be first beaten with them, and then his dog. Terrible to meet, most awful in visage, she enters the baths by night; she orders her oil-jars and camp *equipage* to be moved by night; she delights to perspire in a great tumult, when her arms have dropped wearied with the heavy dumb-bells, and the cunning anointer has impressed his fingers on her person, and has made the top of his mistress's leg smack. In the meanwhile, her wretched guests are tormented by sleepiness and hunger. At last she appears, all in a glow, thirsting for a whole flagon, which is filled to the brim with a full measure of three gallons, and put at her feet, and of this a second pint is tossed off before her meal, to produce a ravenous appetite. As it returns and strikes the earth with the washings of her inside, the rivulets run along the marble floor, the gilded pan smells of

deciderit serpens, bibt et vomit. ergo maritus
nauseat atque oculis bilem substringit opertis.

Illa tamen gravior, quae cum discumbere coepit,
laudat Virgilium, periturae ignoscit Elissae,

435

committit vates et comparat, inde Maroneim

atque alia parte in trutina suspendit Homerum.

cedunt grammatici, vincuntur rhetores, omnis

turba tacet, nec causidicus nec praeco loquatur,

altera nec mulier: verborum tanta cadit vis,

440

tot pariter pelves ac tintinnabula dicas

pulsari. iam nemo tubas, nemo aera fatiget;

una laboranti poterit succurrere lunae.

non habeat matrona, tibi quae iuncta recumbit,

dicendi genus, aut curtum sermone rotato

445

torqueat enthymema, nec historias sciāt omnes,

sed quaedam ex libris et non intelligat. odi

hanc ego, quae repetit volvitque Palaemonis artem,

Falernian; for she drinks and vomits just like a serpent that has tumbled into a tall cask. So her husband turns sick, and compresses his bile with closed eyes.

Yet she is *still* more offensive, who, as soon as she has taken her seat at table, praises Virgil, forgives the doomed Elissa (*Dido*), matches together poets, and compares them; on one side, suspends Maro, and, on the other side, Homer in the scales. Grammarians give way, teachers of rhetoric are beaten, all the assemblage is silent, not even a lawyer nor a public-crier may speak, nor *indeed* another woman; such a power of words falls from her, you would say so many pans, so many bells were being struck at the same time. Let no one henceforth fatigue trumpets or brasses; single-handed she will be able to succour the moon in labour. Let not the matron who shares your marriage-bed possess "a style" of oratory, or hurl with well-rounded speech a curtailed "enthymema," nor let her know all histories, but let there be some things from books which she even does not understand. I hate the woman who is *always* referring back to and consulting the principles of Palaemon,

servata semper lege et ratione loquendi,
 ignotosque mihi tenet antiquaria versus,
 nec curanda viris opicae castigat amicæ
 verba; soloecismum liceat fecisse marito.
 imponit finem sapiens et rebus honestis;
 nam quae docta nimis cupid et facunda videri,
 crure tenuis medio tunicas succingere debet,
 caedere Silvano porcum, quadrante lavari. 455

Nil non permittit mulier sibi, turpe putat nil,
 cum virides gemmas collo circumdedit et cum
 auribus extensis magnos commisit elenchos.
 intolerabilius nihil est, quam femina dives. 460
 interea foeda aspectu ridendaque multo
 pane tumet facies aut pinguia Poppæana
 spirat, et hinc miseri viscantur labra mariti.
 ad moechum veniunt lota cute. quando videri

464. veniet.

always observing the *strict* law and rule of speech, and has by heart, the female antiquarian, verses unknown to me, and corrects the expressions of her female friend as barbarous, which not even men would attend to. Let a husband be allowed to commit a solecism! A wise person places a limit even to things good *in themselves*. For she who desires to appear too learned and too eloquent should gird up a tunic to the middle of her leg, sacrifice a pig to Silvanus, and bathe for a quadrans *at the public baths*.

There is nothing which a woman does not permit herself, nothing which she thinks discreditable, when she has encircled her neck with green gems, and when she has inserted huge pearls in her stretched ears. There is nothing more insufferable than a rich woman. Meanwhile, foul of aspect and ridiculous her face is puffed out with a quantity of bread, or is redolent of the greasy Poppæan paste, and by this the lips of her wretched husband are glued. They come to the lover with a clean skin. When is she desirous of appearing handsome at home? It is

vult formosa domi? moechis foliata parantur,
 his emitur quidquid graciles huc mittitis Indi.
 tandem aperit vultum et tectoria prima reponit,
 incipit agnoscere, atque illo lacte fovetur,
 propter quod secum comites educit asellas,
 exsul Hyperboreum si dimittatur ad axem.
 sed quae mutatis inducitur atque fovetur
 tot medicaminibus coctaeque siliginis offas
 accipit et madidae, facies dicetur an ulcus?

Est pretium curae penitus cognoscere, toto
 quid faciant agitantque die. si nocte maritus
 aversus iacuit, periit libraria, ponunt
 cosmetae tunicas, tarde venisse Liburnus
 dicitur et poenas alieni pendere somni
 cogitur, hic frangit ferulas, rubet ille flagello,
 hic scutica, sunt quae tortoribus annua praestent.
 verberat atque obiter faciem linit, audit amicas

474. Est operae pretium.

479. flagellis.

for her lovers that unguents are procured; for them is bought whatever you, ye slender Indians, send hither. At length she opens out her face, and removes the first coverings; she begins to be recognisable, and bathes in that milk, for the sake of which she would take out she-asses as her suite, if she were sent in exile to the Hyperborean regions. But shall a thing which is overlaid and fomented with so many different medicaments, and which receives poultices of boiled and wet flour, be termed a face or a sore?

It is worth while to investigate closely what it is they are doing and busying themselves about all day. If at night her husband has lain with his back to her, her female secretary is undone; the valets of the wardrobe have to take off their tunics, the Liburnian is declared to have come late, and is made to pay the penalty of another's sleep; one has switches broken on his back, another grows red under the scourge, another under the whip; there are women who pay annual salaries to the torturers. She flogs, and meanwhile anoints her face, listens to her female

aut latum pictae vestis considerat aurum
 et caedit, longi relegit transversa diurni
 et caedit, donec lassis caedentibus “exi!”
 intonet horrendum iam cognitione peracta. 485
 praefectura domus Sicula non mitior aula.
 nam si constituit solitoque decentius optat
 ornari et properat iamque exspectatur in hortis
 aut apud Iasiaca potius sacraria lenae,
 disponit crinem, laceratis ipsa capillis,
 nuda humero Psecas infelix nudisque mamillis. 490
 “altior hic quare cincinnus?” taurea punit
 continuo flexi crimen facinusque capilli.
 quid Psecas admisit? quaenam est hic culpa puellae,
 si tibi displicuit nasus tuus? altera laevum 495
 extendit pectitque comas et volvit in orbem.
 est in concilio materna admotaque lanis

491. humeros; nudo humero (Rup. and Heinr.)

496. flectit.

497. consilio.

497. matrona.

friends, or examines the broad gold *border* of an embroidered dress, and strikes, and reads again the crossed entries on her large account-book, and strikes on, until, the strikers being wearied out, “Begone!” she thunders, in a dreadful tone, the inquisition being now at an end.

The government of her house is no milder than *that* of a Sicilian court. For if she has made an assignation, and wishes to be toiletted more becomingly than usual, and is in a hurry, and is already expected in the gardens, or rather near the chapels of the procress Isis, unhappy Psecas arranges her hair, with her own locks torn, with naked shoulder and naked breasts. “Why is this curl too high?” Instantly the bull’s hide punishes the crime and guilt of a misplaced hair. What has Psecas done? What is the girl’s fault in this, if your own nose is not to your taste? Another on the left draws out the hair and combs it, and rolls it into a circle. In the council is one who had belonged to her mother, who, having served her time with the crisping-pin, has a rest, and has been removed to

emerita quae cessat acu ; sententia prima
 huius erit, post hanc aetate atque arte minores
 censemunt, tamquam famae discrimin agatur 500
 aut animae. tanta est quaerendi cura decoris,
 tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum
 aedificat caput. Andromachen a fronte videbis ;
 post minor est, credas aliam. cedo, si breve parvi
 sortita est lateris spatium breviorque videtur 505
 virgine Pygmaea, nullis adiuta cothurnis,
 et levis erecta consurgit ad oscula planta ?
 nulla viri cura interea nec mentio fiet
 damnorum, vivit tamquam vicina mariti,
 hoc solo propior, quod amicos coniugis odit 510
 et servos, gravis est rationibus.

Ecce furentis

Bellonae matrisque deum chorus intrat et ingens
 semivir, obscene facies reverenda minori,
 mollia qui rapta secuit genitalia testa

501. tanti.

509. marito.

514. rupta.

the wool department : the first opinion will be given by her ; after her, her inferiors in age and in art will vote as if a question of reputation or life were at stake, so great is the trouble she takes in quest of beauty ; with so many tiers does she load, with so many continuous stories does she build up on high her head. In front you will see Andromache ; behind she is shorter. You would think her another person. Tell me *how it will be* if she has received from nature but a scant dimension of small flank, and without the aid of buskins seems shorter than a Pigmy virgin, and must spring up lightly on tiptoe to be kissed. No care for her husband all this time, nor will mention be made of his losses ; she lives as though she were her husband's neighbour, in this alone nearer to him, that she hates her consort's friends and his slaves, and is a drag upon his income.

Behold ! the chorus of the frantic Bellona, and the mother of the gods, makes its entrance, and the huge eunuch,—a face to be revered by the lesser filthy ones,—who has long since cut

iam pridem, cui rauca cohors, cui tympana cedunt
plebeia et Phrygia vestitur bucca tiara. 515
grande sonat metuique iubet Septembris et Austri
adventum, nisi se centum lustraverit ovis
et xerampelinas veteres donaverit ipsi,
ut quidquid subiti et magni discriminis instat,
in tunicas eat et totum semel expiet annum. 520
hibernum fracta glacie descendet in amnem,
ter matutino Tiberi mergetur et ipsis
verticibus timidum caput abluet, inde superbi
totum regis agrum nuda ac tremebunda cruentis
erepet genibus, si candida iusserit Io ; 525
ibit ad Aegypti finem calidaque petitas
a Meroe portabit aquas, ut spargat in aedem
Isidis, antiquo quae proxima surgit ovili
credit enim ipsius dominae se voce moneri.
en animam et mentem, cum qua di nocte loquantur ! 530

524. vorticibus.

530. moveri.

off his soft parts with a hurried potsher'd, to whom the hoarse
troop, to whom the timbrels of the herd give place, and whose
cheek is covered with his Phrygian tiara. He talks big, and
bids her dread the approach of September and the south wind,
unless she shall have purified herself with a hundred eggs, and
shall have presented to himself her cast-off murrey-coloured
dresses, that whatever unforeseen or mighty peril is at hand
may pass into the tunics, and make expiation for the whole
year at once. She will descend into the wintry river, after
breaking the ice; she will plunge thrice in the morning Tiber,
and bathe her timid head in its very eddies; thence, naked and
shivering, she will crawl forth with bleeding knees over the
whole field of the proud king, if white Io has commanded her;
she will go to the extremity of Egypt, and bring water fetched
from hot Meroe, to sprinkle on the Temple of Isis, which rises
close to the ancient sheepfold. For she believes herself to be
admonished by the voice of the goddess herself—a pretty soul
and mind for the gods to hold converse with by night! So,

ergo hic praecipuum summumque meretur honorem,
qui grege linigero circumdatus et grege calvo
plangentis populi currit derisor Anubis.

ille petit veniam, quoties non abstinet uxor

535

concubitu sacris observandisque diebus,

magnaue debetur violato poena cadurco,

et movisse caput visa est argentea serpens.

illius lacrimae meditataque murmura praestant

ut veniam culpae non abnuat ansere magno

540

scilicet et tenui popano corruptus Osiris.

Cum dedit ille locum, cophino foenoque relicto

arcana Iudaea tremens mendicat in aurem,

interpres legum Solymarum et magna sacerdos

arboris ac summi fida internuntia coeli.

545

implet et illa manum, sed parcus; aere minuto

qualiacumque voles Iudaei somnia vendunt.

spondet amatorem tenerum vel divitis orbi

testamentum ingens, calidae pulmone columbae

tractato, Armenius vel Commagenus haruspex;

550

543. arcanum (Heinr.)

then, this is he who deserves the first and highest honour—Anubis, who, surrounded by his linen-clad herd, and his bald-headed herd, runs along mocking at the wailing people. He it is that sues for pardon, as often as the wife does not abstain from connection on days which are sacred and to be observed, and a great penalty is owing for a violation of the sheets, and the silver serpent has been seen to move its head; his are the tears and practised mumblings which ensure that Osiris will not refuse his pardon to her fault, when bribed, forsooth, with a fat goose and a thin sacrificial cake.

When he has given place, a shivering Jewess, laying aside basket and hay, begs into her secret ear, interpreter of the laws of Solyma, great priestess of the tree, and faithful ambassador from highest heaven! She, too, fills her hand, but more sparingly: for a minute coin the Jews sell you whatever kind of dreams you wish. The soothsayer from Armenia or Comma-

pectora pullorum rimabitur, exta catelli,
interdum et pueri; faciet, quod deferat ipse.

Chaldaeis sed maior erit fiducia; quidquid
dixerit astrologus, credent a fonte relatum
Hammonis, quoniam Delphis oracula cessant 555
et genus humanum damnat caligo futuri.
praecipuus tamen est horum, qui saepius exsul,
cuius amicitia conducendaque tabella
magnus civis obit et formidatus Othoni.
inde fides artis, sonuit si dextera ferro 560
laevaque, si longo castrorum in carcere mansit.
nemo mathematicus genium indemnatus habebit,
sed qui paene perit, cui vix in Cyclada mitti
contigit et parva tandem caruisse Seriphio.
consultit ictericæ lento de funere matris, 565
ante tamen de te Tanaquil tua, quando sororem

551. rimatur et. 559. formidandus.

gene guarantees a young lover, or a huge inheritance from some childless rich man, after handling the bowels of a dove still warm: he inspects the breasts of chickens and the entrails of a puppy, sometimes of a boy too; he will do *deeds* which he himself will inform about.

But in Chaldaeans the confidence will be still greater; whatever the astrologer has spoken they will believe to have been brought back from the spring of Hammon, since at Delphi the oracles are silent, and darkness as to the future is the punishment of the human race. The chief, however, of these men is he who has been oftentimes an exile, through whose friendship and venal tablets a great citizen, and one dreaded by Otho, perished. Thence comes faith in his art, if his right hand and left have clanked with fetters, if he has remained a long while in the camp-prison. No astrologer who has not been condemned will be deemed to have a genius, but *only* he who has all but met his death, who has barely had the good fortune to be sent to one of the Cyclades, and to be set free at last from small Seriphus. Your Tanaquil consults him about the tardy

efferat et patruos, an sit victurus adulter
post ipsam; quid enim maius dare numina possunt?
haec tamen ignorat quid sidus triste minetur
Saturni, quo laeta Venus se proferat astro,570
qui mensis damnis, quae dentur tempora lucro;
illius occursus etiam vitare memento,
in cuius manibus, ceu pinguia sucina, tritas
cernis ephemeridas, quae nullum consulit et iam
consulitur, quae castra viro patriamque petente575
non ibit pariter numeris revocata Thrasylli.
ad primum lapidem vectari cum placet, hora
sumitur ex libro; si prurit frictus ocelli
angulus, inspecta genesi collyria poscit.
aegra licet iaceat, capiendo nulla videtur580
aptior hora cibo, nisi quam dederit Petosiris.
si mediocris erit, spatium lustrabit utrumque
metarum, et sortes ducet frontemque manumque

580. capiendo.

581. cibi.

approach of her jaundiced mother's death, yet, before that, about you; when will she bury her sister and her uncles? will her lover survive her? for what greater boon can the deities bestow? Yet this woman ignores what Saturn's dismal planet portends, in what constellation happy Venus presents herself, what month is to be set down to losses, what seasons to gain. But with that woman be mindful to shun even a chance meeting in whose hands you perceive, like clammy amber, the well-worn calendars; who consults no one, and is by this time herself consulted; who, if her husband is going to the camp or his native place, will not go with him if recalled by the calculations of Thrasyllus. When it is her fancy to be carried as far as the first mile-stone, the *lucky* hour is taken from a book; if the corner of her eye itches when rubbed, she consults her horoscope before calling for salve. Though she be lying sick, no time seems more suitable for taking food than that which Petosiris has directed. If she be a common person, she will traverse the space on both sides of the goals, and will draw lots, and will hold out her

praebebit vati crebrum poppysma roganti.
 divitibus responsa dabunt Phryx augur et Indus 585
 conductus, dabit astrorum mundique peritus
 atque aliquis senior, qui publica fulgura condit.
 plebeium in circo positum est et in aggere fatum.
 quae nullis longum ostendit cervicibus aurum,
 consultit ante phalas delphinorumque columnas, 590
 an saga vendenti nubat caupone relicto.

Hae tamen et partus subeunt discrimen et omnes
 nutricis tolerant fortuna urgente labores,
 sed iacet aurato vix ulla puerpera lecto.
 tantum artes huius, tantum medicamina possunt, 595
 quae steriles facit atque homines in ventre necandos
 conducit. gaude, infelix, atque ipse bibendum
 porridge, quidquid erit; nam si distendere vellet
 et vexare uterum pueris salientibus, esses

585. dabit; inde.

589. nudia.

596. sterilem.

face and hands to the seer who calls for a frequent smacking-kiss. To the rich a Phrygian or Indian augur, hired *for the purpose*, will give responses, or one experienced in the stars and the sky, or some old man who buries the public thunderbolts. The destiny of the plebeian is settled in the circus or at the rampart. She who has no long golden ornaments to show on her neck inquires in front of the pillars and the dolphin-bearing columns whether she shall leave the tavern-keeper and marry the clothesman.

Yet these not only undergo the dangers of child-bearing, but also support all the labours of nursing, to which their lot compels them: but scarce any woman lies in confinement on a gilded bed. Such power have the arts, such power have the drugs of her who produces sterility, and contracts for hire to slaughter human beings in the womb. Rejoice, unhappy man, and yourself hand it to your wife to drink, whatever it may be; for if she chose to distend and torture her womb with leaping boys, you would perhaps be the father of a blackamoor: before long,

Aethiopis fortasse pater, mox decolor heres
impleret tabulas numquam tibi mane videndus.

600

Transeo suppositos et gaudia votaque saepe
ad spurcos decepta locus, atque inde petitos
Pontifices, Salios, Scaurorum nomina falso
corpo laturos. stat Fortuna improba noctu
arridens nudis infantibus, hos fovet omnes
involvitque sinu, domibus tunc porrigit altis
secretumque sibi mimum parat, hos amat, his se
ingerit utque suos ridens producit alumnos.

605

Hic magicos afferit cantus, hic Thessala vendit
philtra, quibus valeant mentem vexare mariti
et solea pulsare nates; quod desipis, inde est,
inde animi caligo et magna oblivio rerum,
quas modo gessisti. tamen hoc tolerabile, si non
et furere incipias, ut avunculus ille Neronis,

610

615

603. saepe petitos.

606. blandis.

609. semper producit.

611. valeat.

a dark-coloured heir would fill *the chief place in* your will, a fellow you would not like to meet in the morning.

I pass over supposititious children, and the joys and vows so often cheated at the muddy pools, and the high priests and Salii thence obtained, destined to bear the names of the Scauri in their counterfeit persons. Mischievous Fortune stands by night smiling on the naked babes; all these she cherishes and folds in her bosom: then she presents them to noble houses, and prepares for herself a secret farce. These she loves, on these she presses her attentions, and laughingly brings them on as her own children.

This fellow brings magical incantations; this one sells Thessalian philtres, by which they may have the power to confuse the mind of a husband, and beat his backside with a slipper. That you drivell comes from this; thence comes haziness of mind and entire forgetfulness of the actions you have just performed. Yet this is durable, if you do not begin to rave as well, like that uncle of Nero for whom Caesonia made an infusion of the

cui totam tremuli frontem Caesonia pulli
infudit; quae non faciet quod principis uxor?
ardebant cuncta et fracta compage ruebant
non aliter quam si fecisset Iuno maritum
insanum. minus ergo nocens erit Agrippinae 620
boletus, siquidem unius praecordia pressit
ille senis tremulumque caput descendere iussit
in coelum et longa manantia labra saliva;
haec poscit ferrum atque ignes, haec potio torquet,
haec lacerat mixtos equitum cum sanguine patres. 625
tanti partus equae, tanti una benefica constat!

Oderunt natos de pellice; nemo repugnet,
nemo vetet, iam iam privignum occidere fas est.
vos ego, pupilli, moneo, quibus amplior est res,
custodite animas et nulli credite mensae; 630
livida materno fervent adipata veneno.
mordeat ante aliquis quidquid porrexerit illa

626. quanti una venefica; quantum.

whole forehead of a shivering foal. What woman will not do what the Prince's wife did? All things were in flames and falling in ruin, with joints dissevered, not otherwise than if Juno had made her husband mad. Less baneful, then, will be the mushroom of Agrippina, inasmuch as that stopped the breath of a single old man, and bade his trembling pate, and lips distilling long streams of saliva, to descend into heaven. The former potion calls for sword and flames, the former causes tortures and tears to pieces senators, mingled in the slaughter of knights. So great is the cost of a mare's foal, so great that of a single sorceress.

Women hate children born of their husband's mistress: nobody opposes that, nobody forbids it; long since it is lawful to murder a stepson. You I warn, ye wards, who have a good property, keep watch over your lives, and trust to no table: the dainties which will make you livid burn with the maternal poison. Let some one taste before you whatever is handed by her who brought you forth: let your trembling tutor first sip

quae peperit, timidus praegustet pocula pappas.
 fingimus haec altum satira sumente cothurnum
 scilicet, et finem egressi legemque priorum 635
 grande Sophocleo carmen bacchamur hiatu
 montibus ignotum Rutulis coeloque Latino ?
 nos utinam vani ! sed clamat Pontia " feci,
 confiteor, puerisque meis aconita paravi,
 quae deprena patent. facinus tamen ipsa peregi." 640
 tune duos una, saevissima viperæ, coena ?
 tune duos ? " septem, si septem forte fuissent."

Credamus tragicis quidquid de Colchide saeva
 dicitur et Procne. nil contra conor; et illæ
 grandia monstra suis audebant temporibus, sed 645
 non propter nummos. minor admiratio summis
 debetur monstris, quoties facit ira nocentem
 hunc sexum; rabie iecur incendente feruntur
 praecipites, ut saxa iugis abrupta, quibus mons

643. torva.

the wine-cup. Do we invent these things, forsooth, our satire assuming the lofty buskin of tragedy, and, transgressing the bounds and the laws of our predecessors, are we raving in the deep tones of a Sophocles some mighty strain unknown to the Rutulian hills and the sky of Latium ? Ah ! would that we were unreal ! But Pontia is crying out, " I did it, I confess, and prepared aconite for my boys, which facts are discovered and patent : at any rate I have accomplished the deed with my own hand." You, then, fellest of vipers, *killed two children* at one meal ? You *killed two* ? "Aye ; seven, if there had chanced to be seven *there*."

Let us believe all that is related by the tragic writers of the fierce Colchian or Procne : I make no attempt to dispute it : and these women, *no doubt*, were guilty of great prodigies of crime in their day—but not for the sake of money. Less wonder is due to the most monstrous acts, in cases where rage makes this sex criminal : with fury consuming their vitals, they are borne headlong, like rocks torn from the heights, from which the

subtrahitur clivoque latus pendente recedit. 650
 illam ego non tulerim, quae computat et scelus ingens
 sana facit. spectant subeuntem fata mariti
Alcestim et, similis si permutatio detur,
 morte viri cupiant animam servare catellae.
 occurrent multae tibi Belides atque Eriphylae 655
 mane, Clytaemnestram nullus non vicus habebit.
 hoc tantum refert, quod Tyndaris illa bipennem
 insulsam et fatuam dextra laevaque tenebat;
 at nunc res agitur tenui pulmone rubetae,
 sed tamen et ferro, si praegustabit Atrides 660
 Pontica ter victi cautus medicamina regis.

mountain is withdrawn, while its side recedes from the hanging declivity. The woman I cannot endure is she who calculates and commits a great crime in her full senses. They see, *at the play*, Alcestis undergoing death for her husband, and if a similar substitution were accorded them, they would wish, at the price of a husband's death, to save the life of a lapdog. Many Belides and Eriphylae will run up against you of a morning; no street that will not have its Clytaemnestra. The only difference is this, that the daughter of Tyndarus in question wielded a stupid senseless axe with right and left hand; but nowadays the business is done with the delicate lung of a toad—and yet with the steel too, if *her* wary Atrides shall have tasted beforehand some of the antidotes from Pontus of the thrice-conquered king.



SATIRA VII.

Espes et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum.
solus enim tristes hac tempestate Camenas
respexit, cum iam celebres notique poetae
balneolum Gabiis, Romae conducere furnos
tentarent, nec foedum alii nec turpe putarent
praecones fieri, cum desertis Aganippes
vallibus esuriens migraret in atria Clio.
nam si Pieria quadrans tibi nullus in umbra
ostendatur, ames nomen victumque Machaerae,
et vendas potius commissa quod auctio vendit
stantibus, oenophorum tripodes armaria cistas,
Alcithoen Pacci, Thebas et Terea Fausti.
hoc satius, quam si dicas sub iudice "vidi,"
quod non vidisti. faciant equites Asiani,
quamquam et Cappadoces faciant equitesque Bithyni,

8. area.

SATIRE VII.

THE hope, as well as the motive, of our studies is in Caesar only, for he alone has regarded the Camenae, sorrowful in this age, when celebrated and well-known poets have for some time been trying to hire a small bath at Gabii or bakehouses at Rome ; while others have not thought it base or dishonouring to turn public criers, when, deserting the valleys of Aganippe, hungry Clio has migrated to the auction-rooms. For if never a farthing be exhibited to you in the Pierian shade, be content with the name and calling of Machaera, and sell in preference what a forced auction sells to the bystanders—a wine-jar, three-legged tables, cupboards, chests, the “*Alcithoe*” of Paccius, the “*Thebes*” and “*Tereus*” of Faustus. This is better than for you to say before the judge, “I saw”—what you did not see, though Asiatic knights may do it, and Cappadocian and

altera quos nudo traducit Gallia talo.
 nemo tamen studiis indignum ferre laboreni
 cogetur posthac, nectit quicumque canoris
 eloquium vocale modis laurumque momordit.
 hoc agite, o iuvenes ! circumspicit et stimulat vos 20
 materiamque sibi ducis indulgentia quaerit.
 si qua aliunde putas rerum exspectanda tuarum
 praesidia, atque ideo croceae membrana tabellae
 impletur, lignorum aliquid posce ocios et quae
 componis dona Veneris, Telesine, marito, 25
 aut claude et positos tinea pertunde libellos.
 frange miser calamos vigilataque proelia dele,
 qui facis in parva sublimia carmina cella,
 ut dignus venias hederis et imagine macra.
 spes nulla ulterior ; didicit iam dives avarus 30
 tantum admirari, tantum laudare disertos,
 ut pueri Iunonis avem. sed defluit aetas

22. spectanda.

23. crocea tabella.

25. conscribis.

28. Sella (Vales).

30. nam.

Bithynian knights, whom Gallo-Graecia exposes to view with naked feet. No one, however, will henceforth be compelled to submit to labour unbecoming his studies, who sets the eloquence of words to harmonious metres, and has chewed the bay. Stick to your work, young men ; the kind favour of the Emperor is looking round and stimulating you, and seeking materials *for its exercise*. If you think that encouragement for your pursuits is to be expected from any other quarter—and it is with that view that the parchment in its yellow boards is being filled—call for a trifle of firewood with all speed, and present what you are composing, Telesinus, to the husband of Venus, or shut up your books and let the worm perforate them where they lie. Break your pens, poor wretch, and rub out the battles you have spent your nights on, you who write sublime poems in a small closet, that you may turn out worthy of the ivy *crown* and a lean bust. There is no hope beyond ; the stingy rich man has long learnt only to admire, only to praise the learned, as boys

et pelagi patiens et cassidis atque ligonis.
taedia tunc subeunt animos, tunc seque suamque
Terpsichoren odit facunda et nuda senectus.

35

Accipe nunc artes ne quid tibi conferat iste
quem colis, et Musarum et Apollinis aede relicta,
ipse facit versus atque uni cedit Homero
propter mille annos, et, si dulcedine famae
succensus recites, maculosas commodat aedes.
haec longe ferrata domus servire iubetur,
in qua sollicitas imitatur ianua portas.
scit dare libertos extrema in parte sedentes
ordinis et magnas comitum disponere voces.
nemo dabit regum, quanti subsellia constant
et quae conducto pendent anabathra tigillo
quaequa reportandis posita est orchestra cathedris.
nos tamen hoc agimus tenuique in pulvere sulcos

40

45

40. Maculonus, Maculonia.

48. tenuesque.

do the bird of Juno. But the time of life is flowing by which can bear *the fatigues* of the sea, and the helmet, and the spade. Disgust then steals over the mind ; then old age, eloquent and naked, hates itself and its own muse.

Hear now the artful contrivances, not to bestow anything upon you, of him whom you court, after having deserted the Temple of the Muses and Apollo. The great man himself makes verses, and yields to Homer alone, on account of his thousand years ; and if, excited by the sweets of fame, you recite, he lends you a dirty apartment. Yonder house, long barred up, is ordered to serve your purpose, in which the door resembles the gates of a city in a time of trouble. He knows how to give you his freedmen, sitting at the extreme back of the rows, and to dispose *about* the loud voices of his hangers-on. *But* none of these rich men will give you what the benches cost you, or the hired wooden seats, rising one above another, which hang *from the walls*, and the orchestra, which is set with chairs, which will have to be returned. Yet we work at these things, and draw furrows in the soft dust, and turn up the sea-

ducimus et litus sterili versamus aratro.
 nam si discedas, laqueo tenet ambitiosi
 consuetudo mali, tenet insanabile multos
 scribendi cacoethes et aegro in corde senescit.
 sed vatem egregium, cui non sit publica vena,
 qui nihil expositum soleat deducere, nec qui
 communi feriat carmen triviale moneta,
 hunc, qualem nequeo monstrare et sentio tantum,
 anxietate carens animus facit, omnis acerbi
 impatiens, cupidus silvarum aptusque bibendis
 fontibus Aonidum. neque enim cantare sub autro
 Pierio thyrsus potest contingere moesta
 paupertas atque aeris inops, quo nocte dieque
 corpus eget: satur est, cum dicit Horatius "euoe!"
 quis locus ingenio, nisi cum se carmine solo
 vexant et dominis Cirrae Nysaeque feruntur
 pectora vestra duas non admittentia curas?
 magnae mentis opus nec de lodice paranda

50. ambitiosum.

58. avidusque.

65. nostra.

50

55

60

65

shore with sterile plough. For if you try to get away, the habit of the ambitious mischief holds you in a noose; the incurable disease of writing holds many, and attains to old age in the sickened heart. But a poet above the herd, whose vein is not of a vulgar kind, who is wont to spin nothing commonplace, nor to coin a trivial poem at the public mint, such an one, whom I am unable to designate, and can only imagine, is produced by a mind freed from anxiety, exempt from all *the bitterness of life*, longing for the woods, and fitted to drink from the fountains of the Aonides. Nor, of a truth, can poverty, sorrowful and without money, of which by night and day the body stands in need, sing under the Pierian grotto, or handle the thyrsus. Horace is full, when he cries Euoe! What place is there for genius, save when your breasts, not admitting two cares, torment themselves with the poetical strain alone, and are carried along by the lords of Cirra and Nysa? It was the work of a great mind, and one not per-

attonitae, currus et equos faciesque deorum
aspicere et qualis Rutulum confundat Erinnys.
nam si Virgilio puer et tolerabile deesset
hospitium, caderent omnes a crinibus hydri,
surda nihil gemeret grave buccina, poscimus ut sit
non minor antiquo Rubrenus Lappa cothurno,
cuius et alveolos et laenam pignerat **Atreus**.
non habet infelix Numitor quod mittat amico,
Quintillae quod donet habet, nec defuit illi
unde emeret multa pascendum carne leonem
iam domitum ; constat leviori bellua sumptu
nimirum, et capiunt plus intestina poetae.
contentus fama iaceat Lucanus in hortis
marmoreis, at Serrano tenuique Saleio
gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est ?
curritur ad vocem iucundam et carmen amicæ
Thebaidos, laetam cum fecit Statius urbem

69. desit.

plexed about the procuring of a blanket, to behold the chariots and horses and faces of the gods, and in what shape Erinnys appalled the Rutulian. For if a slave and tolerable quarters had been wanting to Virgil, all the snakes would have fallen from her locks, the voiceless trumpet would have sounded no deep tone. We demand that Rubrenus Lappa should not fall short of the buskin of the ancients, while his "*Atreus*" has obliged him to pawn his sauce-boats and his cloak. Numitor, poor fellow, has nothing to send to a friend, but he has something to present to Quintilla ; nor was he short of the wherewithal to buy a lion, and a tamed one too, to be fed with much meat. Doubtless the beast stands in at a lighter outlay, and a poet's intestines are more capacious ! Content with his fame, let Lucan repose in his gardens adorned with marbles ; but to Serranus and starving Saleius, what will be *the value of* ever so much glory, if it be glory and nothing else ? There is a rush to the delightful voice, and the strains of the welcome "*Thebais*," when Statius has made the city glad, and appointed a day for

promisitque diem : tanta dulcedine captos
 afficit ille animos tantaque libidine vulgi 85
 auditur ; sed cum fregit subsellia versu,
 esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendat Agaven.
 ille et militiae multis largitur honorem,
 semestri vatum digitos circumligat auro.
 quod non dant proceres, dabit histrio. tu Camerinos 90
 et Bareas, tu nobilium magna atria curas ?
 praefectos Pelopea facit, Philomela tribunos.
 haud tamen invideas vati quem pulpita pascunt.
 quis tibi Maecenas, quis nunc erit aut Proculeius
 aut Fabius, quis Cotta iterum, quis Lentulus alter ? 95
 tunc par ingenio pretium, tunc utile multis
 pallere et vinum toto nescire Decembri.
 Vester porro labor fecundior, historiarum
 scriptores ? petit hic plus temporis atque olei plus.
 namque oblitera modi millesima pagina surgit 100
 99. petitur plus. 100. nullo quippe modo.

reciting. So greatly does he charm their enthralled minds, and with such eagerness on the part of the crowd is he listened to ; but when he has made the benches resound with his verse, he starves unless he sells his virgin "Agave" to Paris. He (*Paris*), besides, confers upon many, military honours, and surrounds the fingers of poets with the gold ring of a six months' *command*. What the great do not give, a player will give. Do you devote your attention to the Camerini and the Bareae and the spacious halls of nobles ? "Pelopea" makes prefects ; "Philomela," tribunes. Yet do not be angry with the poet whom the boards feed. Who will be a Maecenas to you ? who will be, nowadays, either a Proculeius or a Fabius ? who a Cotta over again ? who a second Lentulus ? Then, there were rewards on a par with genius ; then it was of service to many to grow pale, and to ignore wine through the whole of December.

Is your labour, again, more fruitful, ye writers of histories ? This is one which demands more time and more *midnight oil* ; for, oblivious of bounds, the thousandth page springs up for you

omnibus et multa crescit damnosa papyro ;
 sic ingens rerum numerus iubet atque operum lex.
 quae tamen inde seges, terrae quis fructus apertae ?
 quis dabit historico, quantum daret acta legenti ?

“ Sed genus ignavum, quod lecto gaudet et umbra.” 105
 dic igitur, quid causidicis civilia praestent
 officia et magno comites in fasce libelli ?
 ipsi magna sonant, sed tunc cum creditor audit
 praecipue, vel si tetigit latus acrior illo,
 qui venit ad dubium grandi cum codice nomen. 110
 tunc immensa cavi spirant mendacia folles
 conspuiturque sinus ; veram deprendere messem
 si libet, hinc centum patrimonia causidicorum,
 parte alia solum russati pone Lacernae.
 consedere duces, surgis tu pallidus Ajax 115
 dicturus dubia pro libertate, bubulco
 iudice. rumpe miser tensum iecur, ut tibi lasso

101. talibus.

105. tecto.

112. verum.

all, and grows, ruinous from the quantity of paper. So the vast number of events enjoins, and the conditions of these works. Yet what is the harvest from all this? what the fruit from the ground that has been opened? Who will give an historian as much as he would give to one to read the news of the day?

“ But the race is an idle one, which delights in the couch and the shade.” Say, then, what do their services to the citizens, and the briefs which accompany them in a huge bundle, bring in to the lawyers? They talk big, of themselves, but particularly when the creditor is listening, or if some one still more eager than he has nudged them in the side, who comes to sue for a doubtful debt with a large account-book. Then the lawyer’s hollow bellows exhale enormous lies, and his breast is all spluttered over. If you wish to ascertain the real harvest, put on one side the fortunes of a hundred lawyers, and on the other that of the red charioteer Lacerna alone. “ The chiefs” have taken their seats; you rise a pale “ Ajax,” to speak for the liberty of your client, which is disputed, with a neatherd for

figanter virides, scalarum gloria, palmae.
 quod vocis pretium? siccus petasunculus et vas
 pelamydum, aut veteres, Afrorum epimenia, bulbi,120
 aut vinum Tiberi devectum, quinque lagenae
 si quater egisti; si contigit aureus unus,
 inde cadunt partes ex foedere pragmaticorum.
 Aemilio dabitur quantum libet, et melius nos
 egimus. huius enim stat currus aeneus, alti125
 quadriuges in vestibulis, atque ipse feroci
 bellatore sedens curvatum hostile minatur
 eminus et statua meditatur proelia lusca.
 sic Pedo conturbat, Matho deficit, exitus hic est
 Tongilli, magno cum rhinocerote lavari130
 qui solet et vexat lutulenta balnea turba
 perque forum iuvenes longo premit assere Medos,
 empturis pueros argentum murrina villas;

119. ficus.

120. Maurorum.

124. petit, petet, licet.

judge. Burst, poor wretch, your strained vitals, that, when you are spent, green palm branches may be put up for you, the glory of your staircase! What is the reward of your voice? A dry little flitch of bacon, and a jar of small thunny-fish, or some old roots, the monthly allowance of African slaves, or wine brought down the Tiber, five bottles if you have pleaded four times. If a single gold piece has fallen to your happy lot, the shares of the attorneys have to be deducted according to agreement. Aemilius will get as much as he pleases, and yet we pleaded better than he; but then he has his chariot of bronze, and a lofty team of four standing in his courtyard, and he himself sitting on his fierce charger aims his bending lance threateningly with his hand, and meditates fight in *the person of* his statue with one eye closed. So it is that Pedo is bankrupt, Matho fails; this is the end of Tongillus, who is in the habit of bathing with a large rhinoceros-horn, and who infests the baths with a mud-stained crowd of attendants, and along the Forum presses on the young Medes, *his bearers*, with long litter-pole, to buy slaves, plate, porcelain, villas; for his deceptive purple, with its

spondet enim Tyrio stlataria purpura filo.
 et tamen est illis hoc utile, purpura vendit
 causidicum, vendunt amethystina, convenit illis
 et strepitu et facie maioris vivere census,
 sed finem impensae non servat prodiga Roma.
 fidimus eloquio? Ciceroni nemo ducentos
 nunc dederit nummos, nisi fulserit annulus ingens. 135
 respicit haec primum qui litigat, an tibi servi
 octo, decem comites, an post te sella, togati
 ante pedes. ideo conducta Paulus agebat
 sardonyche, atque ideo pluris quam Cossus agebat,
 quam Basilus. rara in tenui facundia panno. 140
 quando licet Basilo flentem producere matrem?
 quis bene dicentem Basilum ferat? accipiat te
 Gallia vel potius nutricula causidicorum
 Africa, si placuit mercedem imponere linguae.

Declamare doces? o ferrea pectora Vetti, 145

134. splendet.

139. ut redeant veteres.

149. ponere.

Tyrian tissue, gets him credit. And yet this is of service to them: his purples puff the lawyer, his violet-coloured garments puff him: it suits these people to live with the bustle and the appearance of a larger fortune *than they have*. But prodigal Rome observes no bounds in her expenditure. Do we trust to eloquence? No one nowadays would give Cicero two hundred sesterces, unless a huge ring glittered *on his finger*. The man who goes to law first looks to this, whether you have eight slaves, ten attendants, a sedan following you, clients in togas before you. It was on this account that Paulus used to plead with a hired sardonyx-ring, and on this account that he used to plead for a higher fee than Cossus or than Basilus. Eloquence is *held to be rare under a threadbare garment*. When is Basilus allowed to produce *in court* a weeping mother? Who can endure Basilus even though he speak well? Let Gaul receive you, or rather Africa, the nursing-mother of lawyers, if you have decided to put a price upon your tongue.

Do you teach declamation? Oh! iron *must be the breast of*

cum perimit saevos classis numerosa tyrannos !
 nam quaecumque sedens modo legerat, haec eadem stans
 perferet atque eadem cantabit versibus isdem.
 occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros.
 quis color et quod sit causae genus atque ubi summa 155
 quaestio, quae veniant diversa parte sagittae,
 nosse velint omnes, mercedem solvere nemo.
 "mercedem appellas ? quid enim scio ?" culpa docentis
 scilicet arguitur, quod laeva in parte mamillae
 nil salit Arcadico iuveni, cuius mihi sexta 160
 quaque die miserum dirus caput Hannibal implet,
 quidquid id est de quo deliberat, an petat urbem
 a Cannis, an post nimbos et fulmina cautus
 circumagat madidas a tempestate cohortes.
 "quantum vis stipulare, et protinus accipe quod do, 165
 ut toties illum pater audiat." haec alii sex
 vel plures uno conclamat ore sophistae,

153. proferet ; idem (Iahn).

159. si laeva parte (Fulgent).

Vettius, when his numerous class destroys savage tyrants. For whatever he (*the boy*) has just read, seated, the very same things he will go through standing up, and will drawl forth the same things in the same verses. "Cabbage repeated" kills the wretched schoolmasters. What may be the colour *to be given* to a cause, to what class it belongs, where lies the principal issue, what shafts may come from the opposite side—all wish to know, but no one to come down with payment. "You claim payment? why, what do I know?" The fault is charged on the teacher, forsooth, that there is nothing beating on the left side of the breast of this Arcadian youth, whose dreadful "Hannibal" fills my wretched head every sixth day, whatever it is about which he deliberates, whether he shall march to the city from Cannae, or, made cautious after the storms and the thunderbolts, shall wheel round his soaked cohorts from the tempest. "Bargain for any sum you please, and forthwith take what I hand you, on condition that his *own* father hear him as many times." These things half a dozen or more sophists

et veras agitant lites raptore relicto ;
 fusa venena silent, malus ingratusque maritus,
 et quae iam veteres sanant mortaria caecos. 170
 ergo sibi dabit ipse rudem, si nostra movebunt
 consilia, et vitae diversum iter ingredietur,
 ad pugnam qui rhetorica descendit ab umbra,
 summula ne pereat, qua vilis tessera venit
 frumenti ; quippe haec merces lautissima tenta, 175
 Chrysogonus quanti doceat vel Pollio quanti
 lautorum pueros, artem scindens Theodori.
 balnea sexcentis et pluris porticus, in qua
 gestetur dominus, quoties pluit. anne serenum
 exspectet spargatque luto iumenta recenti ? 180
 hic potius, namque hic mundae nitet ungula mulae.
 parte alia longis Numidarum fulta columnis
 surgat et algentem rapiat coenatio solem.
 quanticumque domus, veniet qui fercula docte

177. scindes (Iahn).

besides cry out together with one voice, and pursue real lawsuits, leaving "the ravisher"; "outpoured poisons" are no longer heard of, nor "the wicked and ungrateful husband," nor "the drugs which restore to soundness old blind men." Therefore, he who descends to the fight from his scholastic seclusion, will present himself with his own discharge, if my counsels can move him, that the little sum may not be thrown away for which the cheap corn-ticket is sold, since this is the richest return *he gets*. Inquire on what terms Chrysogonus, or on what terms Pollio teaches the sons of rich men, ridiculing the art of Theodorus. Their baths cost six hundred sestertia, and still more the covered way for my lord to be driven about in whenever it rains. Is he to wait for fine weather, and *then* bespatter his steeds with the fresh mud? *No*; here rather *let him drive*, for here the hoof of his clean mule glistens. On the other side, supported by tall columns of Numidian marble, let his dining-room rear itself and catch the winter sun. However great the cost of his house, there will be some one to arrange

componat, veniet qui pulmentaria condat.
hos inter sumptus sestertia Quintiliano,
ut multum, duo sufficient: res nulla minoris
constabit patri, quam filius. unde igitur tot
Quintilianus habet saltus? exempla novorum
fatorum transi. felix et pulcher et acer,
felix et sapiens et nobilis et generosus
appositam nigrae lunam subtexit alutae,
felix orator quoque maximus et iaculator;
et, si perfrixit, cantat bene. distat enim quae
sidera te excipient modo primos incipientem
edere vagitus et adhuc a matre rubentem.
si fortuna volet, fies de rhetore consul;
si volet haec eadem, fies de consule rhetor.
Ventidius quid enim? quid Tullius? anne aliud quam
sidus et occulti miranda potentia fati?
servis regna dabunt, captivis fata triumphos.

106. ex matre.

201. triumphum.

his table skilfully—there will be some one to concoct made-dishes. Amidst these lavish outlays, two sestertia, as a large fee, will be *deemed* sufficient for Quintilian: no article costs a father less than his own son. “Whence, then, does Quintilian possess so many pastures?” Pass over examples of unprecedented good fortune. The lucky man is handsome and bold; the lucky man is wise as well as noble and highly-born, and sews on to his black shoe the crescent-shaped appendage of a senator. The lucky man is the greatest of orators and arguers likewise; even if he has got a cold, he declaims well. For it makes a difference what stars welcome you, just beginning to utter your first cries, and still red from your mother. If Fortune shall will it, from a rhetorician you will become a consul; if this same *Fortune* shall will it, from a consul you will become a rhetorician. For what was Ventidius? what Tullius? Were they anything else than *examples* of their star and the marvellous power of a hidden destiny? The fates bestow kingdoms on slaves and triumphs on captives. Yet this lucky man is, at

felix ille tamen corvo quoque rarer albo.
 poenituit multos vanae sterilisque cathedrae,
 sicut Thrasymachi probat exitus atque Secundi
 Carinatis : et hunc inopem vidistis, Athenae, 205
 nil praeter gelidas ausae conferre cicutas.
 di, maiorum umbris tenuem et sine pondere terram
 spirantesque crocos et in urna perpetuum ver,
 qui praeceptorem sancti voluere parentis
 esse loco. metuens virgae iam grandis Achilles 210
 cantabat patriis in montibus ; et cui non tunc
 eliceret risum citharoedi cauda magistri ?
 sed Rufum atque alias caedit sua quemque iuventus,
 Rufum, qui toties Ciceronem Allobroga dixit.
 Quis gremio Enceladi doctique Palaemonis affert 215
 quantum grammaticus meruit labor ? et tamen ex hoc
 quodecumque est, minus est autem quam rhetoris aera,
 discipuli custos praemordet Acoenonetus

214. quem.

218. *dkouúrnyros.*

the same time, rarer than a white raven. Many have grown weary of the vain and profitless teacher's chair, as the end of Thrasymachus proves, and that of Secundus Carinas : and you beheld one in poverty, O Athens ! on whom you dared to bestow nothing besides cold hemlock ! Ye gods ! grant to the shades of our ancestors an earth light and without weight, and fragrant crocuses, and perpetual spring in their urns, who willed that a preceptor should hold the place of a revered parent. Achilles, already full-grown, sang on his paternal mountains in awe of the rod ; and yet in whom, even then, would not the tail of the harper-teacher have provoked a laugh ? But now Rufus and others are beaten, each of them by his own pupils : Rufus, who has so often called Cicero "the Allobrogian !"

Who brings to the lap of Enceladus or learned Palaemon as much as their labour, as teachers of grammar, has merited ? And yet from this sum, whatever it is (and it is less, at any rate, than the rhetorician's pay), Acoenonetus, the pupil's pedagogue, takes a bite beforehand, and the steward breaks off a *slice*

et qui dispensat frangit sibi. cede, Palaemon,
 et patere inde aliquid decrescere, non aliter quam 220
 institor hibernae tegetis niveique cadurci,
 dummodo non pereat, mediae quod noctis ab hora
 sedisti, qua nemo faber, qua nemo sederet
 qui docet obliquo lanam ducere ferro ;
 dummodo non pereat totidem olfecisse lucernas, 225
 quot stabant pueri, cum totus decolor esset
 Flaccus et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni.
 rara tamen merces, quae cognitione tribuni
 non egeat. sed vos saevas imponite leges,
 ut praceptoris verborum regula constet, 230
 ut legat historias, auctores noverit omnes
 tamquam unguis digitosque suos, ut forte rogatus,
 dum petit aut thermas aut Phoebi balnea, dicat
 nutricem Anchisae, nomen patriamque novercae
 Archemori, dicat quot Acestes vixerit annos, 235
 quot Siculus Phrygibus vini donaverit urnas.

219. franget.

235. Anchomoli.

for himself. Yield, Palaemon, and suffer something to be abated from it, just like the salesman of winter rugs and white quilts, provided it be not pure waste that you have sat up from the hour of midnight, at which no workman, no one would sit up, who teaches how to card wool with the crooked iron ; provided it be not pure waste that you have smelt as many lamps as there were boys standing by, with their whole Flaccus discoloured, and the smoke clinging to the blackened Maro. Even then, rare is the payment which does not require a decision of the tribune. But do you *parents* impose severe laws, that the preceptor be perfect in the rules of syntax, that he read all histories, know all authors like his own nails and fingers ; that, asked at haphazard, while he is repairing to the Thermae or the baths of Phoebus, he should be able to tell you the nurse of Anchises, the name and country of the stepmother of Archemorus ; that he should tell you how many years Acestes lived—how many flagons of wine the Sicilian *king* gave to the Phrygians. Insist that he

exigite ut mores teneros ceu pollice ducat,
 ut si quis cera vultum facit, exigite ut sit
 et pater ipsius coetus, ne turpia ludant,
 ne faciant vicibus. "non est leve tot puerorum
 observare manus oculosque in fine trementes."
 "haec," inquit, "cures; et cum se verterit annus
 accipe victori populus quod postulat aurum!"

240

SATIRA VIII.

STEMMATA quid faciunt? quid prodest, Pontice, longo
 sanguine censeri, pictos ostendere vultus
 maiorum et stantes in curribus Aemilianos
 et Curios iam dimidios humerosque minorem
 Corvinum et Galbam auriculis nasoque carentem?

5

4. humeroque.

mould their youthful morals, as it were with his thumb, just as one fashions a face out of wax; insist that he be a father even to the whole flock, that they may not play obscenely or adopt dirty practices. "It is no light thing to watch the hands and eyes, tremulous at the end, of so many boys." "You attend to these things," says *the father*, "and when the year is turned, receive *from me* as much gold as the people demands for a victor *in the circus*."

SATIRE VIII.

WHAT do pedigrees avail? Of what advantage is it, Ponticus, to be estimated by the antiquity of your race, and to exhibit the painted countenances of your ancestors, and Aemiliani standing in their chariots, and Curii now in halves, and Corvinus short of his shoulders, and Galba wanting ears and a nose? What profit

quis fructus, generis tabula iactare capaci
 Corvinum, posthac multa contingere virga
 fumosos equitum cum dictatore magistros,
 si coram Lepidis male vivitur ? effigies quo
 tot bellatorum, si luditur alea pernox 10
 ante Numantinos, si dormire incipis ortu
 luciferi, quo signa duces et castra movebant ?
 cur Allobrogicis et magna gaudeat ara
 natus in Herculeo Fabius lare, si cupidus, si
 vanus et Euganea quantumvis mollior agna, 15
 si tenerum attritus Catinensi pumice lumbum
 squalentes traducit avos, emptorque veneni
 frangenda miseram funestat imagine gentem ?
 tota licet veteres exornent undique cerae
 atria, nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus. 20
 Paulus vel Cossus vel Drusus moribus esto,
 hos ante effigies maiorum pone tuorum,
 praecedant ipsas illi te consule virgas.

is there in boasting of Corvinus on your capacious family-roll, and, after him, in reaching, through many a bough, smoke-dried Masters of the Horse and Dictators, if, in presence of the Lepidi, one leads a bad life ? To what purpose the effigies of so many warriors, if the dice are being played all night long before the Numantini ; if you begin to sleep *only* at the rising of Lucifer, when they, in the command of armies, were moving their standards and their camps ? Why should a Fabius, born in the household of Hercules, plume himself on Allobrogici and the great altar, if he be covetous, empty, and ever so much more effeminate than a lamb of Euganea ; if, with soft loins, polished by Catanian pumice-stone, he exposes to contempt his rugged sires, and, a purchaser of poison, defiles his unhappy race by his image, which will have to be broken up ? Though ancient wax images set off the whole of your halls in every direction, the sole, the only nobility is virtue. Be a Paulus or a Cossus or a Drusus in your character ; put that before the effigies of your ancestors ; let that go before the Fasces themselves, when you

prima mihi debes animi bona. sanctus haberi
 iustitiaeque tenax factis dictisque mereris, 25
 agnosco procerem; salve, Gaetulice, seu tu
 Silanus, quocumque alio de sanguine, rarus
 civis et egregius patriae contingis ovanti,
 exclamare libet, populus quod clamat Osiri
 invento. quis enim generosum dixerit hunc qui 30
 indignus genere et praeclaro nomine tantum
 insignis? nanum cuiusdam Atlanta vocamus,
 Aethiopem cygnum, pravam extortamque pueram
 Europen, canibus pigris scabieque vetusta
 levibus et siccae lambentibus ora lucernae 35
 nomen erit pardus tigris leo, si quid adhuc est
 quod fremat in terris violentius. ergo cavebis
 et metues ne tu sis Creticus aut Camerinus.

His ego quem monui? tecum est mihi sermo, Rubelli
 Plaute. tumes alto Drusorum stemmate, tamquam 40

33. parvam.

38. ne tu sic.

40. Blande; sanguine.

are Consul. First, you owe me the virtues of the soul. Do you deserve in word and deed to be held an upright man of unflinching integrity? I recognise the nobleman. All hail, Gaeticulus, or if you be a Silanus, or from whatever other stock you may come, you fall to the happy lot of your rejoicing country, a rare and remarkable citizen. One is disposed to shout out what the people shout when Osiris is found. For who would call him noble that is unworthy of his race, and distinguished only by an illustrious name? We call some one's dwarf Atlas; an Ethiopian, a swan; a crooked deformed girl, Europe; lazy curs, hairless from inveterate mange, and licking the edges of a dry lamp, have for names, "Panther," "Tiger," "Lion,"—or if there be anything else which roars with greater fury in the world. You will have to take care then, and fear lest you be a Creticus or Camerinus *on the same principle*.

Whom have I been admonishing in these words? My talk is with you, Rubellius Plautus. You are puffed up with the lofty pedigree of the Drusi, just as if you yourself had achieved

feceris ipse aliquid propter quod nobilis esses,
 ut te conciperet quae sanguine fulget Iuli,
 non quae ventoso conducta sub aggere texit.
 "vos humiles," inquis, "vulgi pars ultima nostri,
 quorum nemo queat patriam monstrare parentis,
 ast ego Cecropides." vivas et originis huius
 gaudia longa feras! tamen ima plebe Quiritem
 facundum invenies; solet hic defendere causas
 nobilis indocti; veniet de plebe togata,
 qui iuris nodos et legum aenigmata solvat.
 hic petit Euphraten iuvenis domitique Batavi
 custodes aquilas armis industrius; at tu
 nil nisi Cecropides truncoque simillimus hermae;
 nullo quippe alio vincis discrimine, quam quod
 illi marmoreum caput est, tua vivit imago.
 dic mihi, Teucrorum proles, animalia muta
 quis generosa putet, nisi fortia? nempe volucrem

45

50

55

57. putat.

something, on account of which you were noble, *and* to cause you to be conceived by one who shines with the blood of Iulus, *and* not one who weaves for hire under the windy rampart. "You are nobodies," you say, "the dregs of our populace, of whom not one could tell the birthplace of his parent. But I am a Cecropid!" Long life to you, and long may you enjoy the delights of such a descent; and yet, in this lowest herd, you will chance to find an eloquent Roman. It is he who is wont to plead the causes of the nobleman who is unlearned. From the toga'd crowd will come one who will solve the knotty points of law and enigmas of the statutes. This one hies to the Euphrates when in his prime, and to the eagles that guard the conquered Batavi, assiduous in arms; while you are nothing but a Cecropid, and most like a pedestal with Hermes' head, since in no other point of difference have you the advantage than in *the fact* that his head is of marble, and your image is possessed of life. Tell me, descendant of the Teuci, who thinks dumb animals "noble" unless they be stout?

sic laudamus equum facili cui plurima palma
 fervet et exsultat rauco victoria circo.
 nobilis hic, quocumque venit de gramine, cuius 60
 clara fuga ante alios et primus in aequore pulvis ;
 sed venale pecus Corythae posteritas et
 Hirpini, si rara iugo Victoria sedit.
 nil ibi maiorum respectus, gratia nulla
 umbrarum ; dominos pretiis mutare iubentur 65
 exiguis, trito ducunt epiredia collo
 segnipedes dignique molam versare Nepotis.
 ergo ut miremur te, non tua, primum aliquid da
 quod possim titulis incidere, praeter honores
 quos illis damus ac dedimus quibus omnia debes. 70

Haec satis ad iuvenem, quem nobis fama superbum
 tradit et inflatum plenumque Nerone propinquo ;
 rarus enim ferme sensus communis in illa
 fortuna ; sed te censeri laude tuorum,

58. facile, facilis.

66. tritoque trahunt.

Assuredly we praise a horse as swift, on the ground that many a palm of *triumph* glows for the easy winner, while victory exults in the hoarse circus. He is noble, from whatever pasture he comes, whose speed is distinguished before the others, whose dust is first on the plain. But the descendants of Corytha and Hirpinus are *but* cattle for sale if victory has sat rarely on their yoke. In their case there is no regard for ancestors, no favour to be gained from shades ; they are forced to change their owners for small prices ; they draw carts, with galled neck, slow of foot, and worthy only to turn the mill of Nepos. Therefore, that we may admire you, and not yours, first give me something which I may be able to inscribe among your titles besides those honours which we give, and *always* have given, to those to whom you owe everything.

Enough on the youth whom fame reports to us as proud and puffed up and full of his relationship to Nero. Indeed, a sense of what is due to others is commonly rare in that condition of life. But I should be loath, Ponticus, for you to be estimated

- Pontice, noluerim sic ut nihil ipse futurae
laudis agas. miserum est aliorum incumbere famae,
ne collapsa ruant subductis tecta columnis.
stratus humi palmes viduas desiderat ulmos.
esto bonus miles, tutor bonus, arbiter idem
integer. ambiguae si quando citabere testis
incertaeque rei, Phalaris licet imperet ut sis
falsus et admoto dictet periuria tauro,
summum crede nefas animam praeferre pudori
et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.
dignus morte perit, coenet licet ostrea centum
Gaurana et Cosmi toto mergatur aeno.
exspectata diu tandem provincia cum te
rectorem accipiet, pone irae frena modumque,
pone et avaritiae, miserere inopum sociorum.
ossa vides regum vacuis exsucta medullis.
respicie quid moneant leges, quid curia mandet,

by the renown of your belongings, on the understanding that you yourself should do nothing *worthy* of future renown. It is a wretched thing to lean for support on the reputation of others, lest the roof should fall in ruin when the pillars are withdrawn. The vine trailing on the ground longs in vain for the unwedded elms. Be a good soldier, a good guardian, an upright arbitrator; if ever you be summoned as a witness in a doubtful and uncertain matter, though Phalaris *himself* command you to speak false, and dictate perjuries with his bull set by you, deem it the height of impiety to prefer existence to honour, and for the sake of *mere* life to sacrifice the objects of living. He that deserves death has perished *already*, though he sup on a hundred oysters from Gaurus, and be plunged in a whole copper of Cosmus's *perfumes*. When, in the course of time, the province so long expected shall receive you for its ruler, put a check and a limit on your violence and on your avarice as well; have mercy on our indigent allies. You see the *very* bones of kings sucked dry, with the marrow extracted. Bear in mind what the laws enjoin, what the Senate orders, what great rewards await the

praemia quanta bonos maneant, quam fulmine iusto
 et Capito et Numitor ruerint damnante senatu,
 piratae Cilicum. sed quid damnatio confert,
 cum Pansa eripiat quidquid tibi Natta reliquit ? 95
 praeconeem, Chaerippe, tuis circumspice pannis,
 iamque tace ; furor est post omnia perdere naulum.
 non idem gemitus olim neque vulnus erat par
 damnorum, sociis florentibus et modo victis.
 plena domus tunc omnis et ingens stabat acervus 100
 nummorum, Spartana chlamys, conchylia Coa,
 et cum Parrhasii tabulis signisque Myronis
 Phidiacum vivebat ebur, nec non Polycleti
 multus ubique labor, rarae sine Mentore mensae.
 inde Dolabellae atque hinc Antonius, inde 105
 sacrilegus Verres ; referebant navibus altis
 occulta spolia et plures de pace triumphos.
 nunc sociis iuga pauca boum, grex parvus equarum

105. Dolabella est.

108. parva.

good, by how just a thunderbolt both Capito and Numitor were crushed, those pirates of the Cilicians, when the Senate condemned them. But what does their condemnation avail you, *provincial*, if Pansa is to wrest away whatever Natta has left you ? Look round you, Chaerippus, for one to cry your rags for sale, and hold your tongue at once. It is madness, after everything *else*, to lose your passage-money to *Rome*. There was not the same groaning formerly, nor were the wounds caused by spoliation as great, when our allies were *still* flourishing, and but recently conquered. Then every house was full, and a huge pile of money was standing ; the Spartan shawl, purple dresses from Cos, and, with the paintings of Parrhasius and the statues of Myro, the ivory of Phidias seemed alive, and Polycletus' handiwork, too, was everywhere in plenty ; there were few tables without a Mentor. Then here come Dolabellas, and there Antony, and there sacrilegious Verres : they used to carry back in lofty ships their hidden spoils, and a good many *trophies of triumphs* won from peace. Now, our allies will

et pater armenti capto eripetur agello,
 ipsi deinde lares, si quod spectabile signum, 110
 si quis in aedicula deus unicus. haec etenim sunt
 pro summis, nam sunt haec maxima. despicias tu
 forsitan imbelles Rhodios unctamque Corinthum
 despicias merito; quid resinata iuventus
 cruraque totius facient tibi levia gentis? 115
 horrida vitanda est Hispania, Gallicus axis
 Illyricumque latus; parce et messoribus illis,
 qui saturant urbem circo scenaeque vacantem.
 quanta autem inde feres tam dirae praemia culpae,
 cum tenues nuper Marius discinxerit Afros? 120
 curandum imprimis ne magna iniuria fiat
 fortibus et miseris. tollas licet omne quod usquam est
 auri atque argenti, scutum gladiumque relinques
 et iaculum et galeam; spoliatis arma supersunt.

109. eripiatur.

have their few yokes of oxen, the small stock of brood-mares, and the father of the herd, carried off from a captured farm, and the very Lares afterwards, if there be any image worth looking at, if there be any solitary divinity in the little shrine. These things, indeed, stand for the highest prizes, for these are the greatest *now to be got*. You despise, it may be, the unwarlike Rhodians, and perfumed Corinth. You despise them with reason. What can resin-smeared youths, or the depilated legs of a whole nation do to you? But rugged Spain must be avoided, and the clime of Gaul and the Illyrian sea-board. Spare, too, those harvesters who glut the city, giving its time to the circus and the theatre. Moreover, what so great prizes will you get from that quarter *in return* for so dreadful a crime, seeing that Marius has recently stripped the impoverished Africans of their *very* girdles? You must take especial care that no deep injury be inflicted on those who are brave as well as poor; though you take from them all the gold and silver they have anywhere, you will *still* leave them shield and sword, javelins and helmet. To the plundered there still remain arms!

Quod modo proposui, non est sententia, verum
 credite me vobis folium recitare Sibyllae.
 si tibi sancta cohors comitum, si nemo tribunal
 vendit acersecomes, si nullum in coniuge crimen,
 nec per conventus et cuncta per oppida curvis
 unguibus ire parat nummos raptura Celaeno,
 tunc licet a Pico numeres genus, altaque si te
 nomina delectant, omnem Titanida pugnam
 inter maiores ipsumque Promethea ponas,
 de quocumque voles proavum tibi sumito libro.
 quod si praecipitem rapit ambitio atque libido,
 si frangis virgas sociorum in sanguine, si te
 delectant hebetes lasso lictore secures,
 incipit ipsorum contra te stare parentum
 nobilitas claramque facem praeferre pudendis.
 omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
 crimen habet, quanto maior qui peccat habetur.

125. verum est.

131. tu licet, tum licet.

133. pingas.

What I have just set forth is not a mere aphorism ; believe that I am reciting to you a veracious leaf of the sibyl. If you have an upright suite of attendants, if no long-haired young favourite sells your judgments, if your wife is free from guilt, and is not preparing to go through the district courts and through all the towns to swoop upon the coins with crooked talons, like another Celaeno, then—albeit you reckon your descent from Picus, or, if lofty names delight you, though you place the whole array of the Titans among your forefathers, and Prometheus himself,—take to yourself a progenitor from whatever book you please. But—if ambition and lust hurry you on headlong, if you break rods in the blood of our allies, if you delight in axes blunted with an executioner tired out,—the nobility of your parents themselves begins to rise up against you, and to hold out a bright torch to *light up* your shameful deeds. Every vice of the soul carries with it a condemnation the more glaring the higher the standing of the person who sins. Of what use is it for you to brag about yourself to me, if you are in the

quo mihi te solitum falsas signare tabellas
in templis quae fecit avus statuamque parentis
ante triumphalem ? quo, si nocturnus adulter
tempora Santonico velas adoperta cucullo ?

145

Praeter maiorum cineres atque ossa volucri
carpento rapitur pinguis Lateranus, et ipse,
ipse rotam adstringit multo sufflamine consul,
nocte quidem, sed luna videt, sed sidera testes
intendunt oculos. finitum tempus honoris
cum fuerit, clara Lateranus luce flagellum
sumet et occursum numquam trepidabit amici
iam senis, ac virga prior annuet atque maniplos
solvet et infundet iumentis hordea lassis.
interea dum lanatas torvumque iuvencum
more Numa caedit Iovis ante altaria, iurat
solam Eponam et facies olida ad praesepia pictas.
sed cum pervigiles placet instaurare popinas,

150

155

147. Damasippus.

153. innuet.

155. robumque.

habit of setting your seal to forged wills in the temples your grandfather built, and before the triumphal statue of your parent? Of what use, if, as a nocturnal adulterer, you veil your brows, concealed by a Santon cowl?

Past the ashes and bones of his ancestors fat Lateranus is whirled in his rapid coach, and with his own hands—with his own hands—a consul!—locks his wheel with the frequent drag-chain; by night, it is true, but the moon sees him, but the stars strain on him their eyes, witnesses of the act. When the time of his magistracy is completed, Lateranus will take up his whip in the bright light of day, and will never be frightened at meeting an elderly friend, but will be the first to salute him with his whip, and will untie the trusses, and will administer the barley to his tired steeds. All this time, while he sacrifices woolly victims and a stalwart heifer, after the rite of Numa, before the altar of Jove, he swears by Epona alone, and the faces painted up over the stinking stalls. But when he is pleased to repair again to the taverns open all night, the Syrophenician, reeking

obvius assiduo Syrophoenix udus amomo
currit, Idumaeae Syrophoenix incola portae,
hospitis affectu dominum regemque salutat,
et cum venali Cyane succincta lagena.

160

Defensor culpae dicet mihi “fecimus et nos
haec iuvenes.” esto. desisti nempe, nec ultra
fovisti errorem. breve sit quod turpiter audes,
quaedam cum prima resecentur crimina barba,
indulge veniam pueris. Lateranus ad illos
thermarum calices inscriptaque lintea vadit
maturus bello, Armeniae Syriaeque tuendis
amnibus et Rheno atque Istro; praestare Neronem
securum valet haec aetas. mitte ostia, Caesar,
mitte, sed in magna legatum quaere popina.
invenies aliquo cum percussore iacentem,
permixtum nautis et furibus ac fugitivis,
inter carnifices et fabros sandapilarum

165

170

175

167. Damasippus.

with constant perfume, runs out to meet him, the Syrophoenician who comes from the gate of Idumaea; with the eagerness of a host he salutes him as my lord and king, and *with him* bustling Cyane with her bottle for sale.

An apologist for his fault will say to me, “We too did these things when we were young.” Granted; but, of course, you left them off, and did not longer indulge in your folly. Let that be brief which you dare to your discredit; there are some offences which should be cut short with the first beard. Make allowance for boys. *But* Lateranus goes to those drinking-bouts at the baths, and those inscribed curtains of the *brothels*, when *of an age* ripe for war, for guarding the rivers of Armenia and Syria, the Rhine and the Danube. His is a time of life which is good for assuring the safety of Nero. Send to the mouths of the Tiber, Caesar, but seek for your general in some large tavern. You will find him reclining with some cut-throat or other, mixed up with sailors and thieves and runaway slaves, among executioners and makers of cheap coffins, and the now

et resupinati cessantia tympana Galli.
 aequa ibi libertas, communia pocula, lectus
 non alius cuiquam, nec mensa remotior ulli.
 quid facias talem sortitus, Pontice, servum ?
 nempe in Lucanos aut Tusca ergastula mittas. 180
 at vos, Troiugenae, vobis ignoscitis, et quae
 turpia cerdoni, Volesos Brutumque decebunt.
 quid si numquam adeo foedis adeoque pudendis
 utimur exemplis, ut non peiora supersint ?
 consumptis opibus vocem, Damasippe, locasti 185
 sipario, clamosum ageres ut phasma Catulli ;
 Laureolum velox etiam bene Lentulus egit,
 iudice me dignus vera cruce. nec tamen ipsi
 ignoscas populo ; populi frons durior huius,
 qui sedet et spectat triscurria patriciorum, 190
 planipedes audit Fabios, ridere potest qui
 Mamerorum alapas. quanti sua funera vendant,

192. vulnera, munera (Dobree).

silent timbrel of the eunuch-priest lying on his back. There there is equal liberty ; the drinking-cups are in common, no separate couch, nor table set apart for any one. What would you do, Ponticus, if chance had made you the owner of a slave of such a character ? Of course you would send him to Lucania, or to the Tuscan bridewells. But you, ye Troiugenae, excuse yourselves, and what would be disgraceful in a journeyman will become Volesi or a Brutus ! What if we can never employ examples so foul and so shameful that worse do not remain behind ? Your fortune squandered, Damasippus, you let out your voice to the stage, to act the noisy "ghost" of Catullus. Nimble Lentulus acted Laureolus, and well too ; in my judgment, worthy of a real cross. Nor yet can you excuse the populace itself : the sense of shame must be very tough of that populace which sits and looks at the treble buffooneries of patricians, listens to Fabii with naked feet, which can laugh at the stage-slaps bestowed on the Mameri. At what price they sell their lives, what matters ?

quid refert? vendunt nullo cogente Nerone,
nec dubitant celsi praetoris vendere ludis.
finge tamen gladios inde atque hinc pulpita pone, 195
quid satius? mortem sic quisquam exhorruit, ut sit
zelotypus Thymeles, stupidi collega Corinthi?
res haud mira tamen citharoedo principe mimus
nobilis. haec ultra quid erit, nisi ludus? et illud
dedecus urbis habes, nec mirmillonis in armis, 200
nec clipeo Gracchum pugnantem aut falce supina,
damnat enim tales habitus, et damnat et odit,
nec galea faciem abscondit; movet ecce tridentem,
postquam vibrata pendentia retia dextra
nequidquam effudit, nudum ad spectacula vultum 205
erigit et tota fugit agnoscendus arena.
credamus tunicae, de faucibus aurea cum se
porrigat et longo iactetur spira galero.

195. poni.

199. illio.

203. frontem.

They sell them with no Nero to compel them [nor do they hesitate to sell them at the games of the praetor seated on high]. Imagine, however, a violent death on one side, and put the stage on the other. Which is preferable? Is any one so terrified at death as to become the "jealous husband" of Thymele, or the fellow-player of Corinthus, "the heavy man"? Yet it is nothing wonderful, with an emperor as a harper, for a nobleman to be an actor. Beyond this what remains but the gladiatorial show? And you have that disgrace to the city and Gracchus fighting, not in the arms of a Mirmillo, nor with shield or upraised short sword [for he condemns such an equipment, both condemns and hates it]; nor does he hide his face in a helmet. See! he brandishes a trident; after he has made a false cast with the nets hanging from his poised right hand, he raises his uncovered face to the spectators and flies—easily to be recognised—right through the arena. There is no mistaking the tunic, when it stretches with its gold *fringe* from his neck, and the strings flutter from the tall cap. So, then, the

ergo ignominiam graviorem pertulit omni
vulnere cum Graccho iussus pugnare secutor

210

Libera si dentur populo suffragia, quis tam
perditus, ut dubitet Senecam praeferre Neroni ?
cuius supplicio non debuit una parari
simia nec serpens unus nec culeus unus.

par Agamemnonidae crimen, sed causa facit rem
dissimilem ; quippe ille deis auctoribus ulti
patris erat caesi media inter pocula, sed nec
Electrae iugulo se polluit aut Spartani
sanguine coniugii, nullis aconita propinquis
miscuit, in scena numquam cantavit Orestes,
Troica non scripsit. quid enim Verginius armis
debuit ulcisci magis, aut cum Vindice Galba ?
quid Nero tam saeva crudaque tyrannide fecit ?
haec opera atque hae sunt generosi principis artes,
gaudentis foedo peregrina ad pulpita cantu

215

220

225

223. quod.

225. saltu.

secutor suffered a disgrace worse than any wound in being ordered to fight with Gracchus.

If the right of free voting were granted to the people, who so abandoned that he would hesitate to prefer Seneca to Nero ? for whose punishment not one ape *only*, nor one serpent, nor one sack should have been prepared. The crime of Agamemnon's son was of a like kind ; but the motive makes the case different, inasmuch as he, at the instigation of the gods, was the avenger of his own father, slaughtered in the midst of his wine-cups ; but he neither stained himself with the murder of Electra, nor the blood of his Spartan wife. Orestes did not mix aconite for any of his relations ; he never sang on the stage ; he did not write "Troica." For what was there that Verginius ought rather to have avenged with his arms, or Galba in conjunction with Vindex ? What did Nero achieve in *all* his savage and cruel tyranny ? These are the works, these are the accomplishments of a high-born prince, delighting to prostitute himself by disgraceful singing on a foreign stage, and to earn a Greek

prostitui Graiaeque apium meruisse coronae.
maiorum effigies habeant insignia vocis,
ante pedes Domiti longum tu pone Thyestae
syrma vel Antigones tu personam Menalippes
et de marmoreo citharam suspende colosso.

230

Quid, Catilina, tuis natalibus atque Cethegi
inveniet quisquam sublimius? arma tamen vos
nocturna et flamas domibus templisque parastis,
ut Braccatorum pueri Senonumque minores,
ausi quod liceat tunica punire molesta.
sed vigilat consul vexillaque vestra coerces.
hic novus Arpinas, ignobilis et modo Romae
municipalis eques, galeatum ponit ubique
praesidium attonitis et in omni gente laborat.
tantum igitur muros intra toga contulit illi
nominis ac tituli, quantum non Leucade, quantum
Thessaliae campis Octavius abstulit udo

235

240

233. paratis. 235. deceat. 239. in omni monte.
241. in Leucade (sibi Leucade. Jahn).

parsley-wreath! Let the effigies of your ancestors possess the insignia of your vocal powers! Before the feet of a Domitius do you place the long train of Thyestes or Antigone, and the mask of Menalippe, and suspend your harp on some colossal statue of marble.

What, O Catiline! will any one find loftier than your birth and that of Cethagus? And yet you prepared nocturnal arms and flames for our houses and temples, as though you had been sons of the Bracci, or descendants of the Senones, daring a deed which it would be lawful to punish with the tunic of pitch. But the Consul is on the watch, and restrains your bands. This upstart from Arpinum, of no noble birth, and but recently a municipal knight at Rome, posts everywhere an armed guard for the terrified *inhabitants*, and labours on behalf of all our populations. So it was that within the city walls the toga conferred upon him such a name and title as not from Leucas, *not* from the plains of Thessalia, did Octavius carry off with his

caedibus assiduis gladio ; sed Roma parentem,
Roma patrem patriae Ciceronem libera dixit.

Arpinas alias Volscorum in monte solebat 245

poscere mercedes, alieno lassus aratro ;
nodosam post haec frangebat vertice vitem,
si lentus pigra muniret castra dolabra.

hic tamen et Cimbros et summa pericula rerum

excipit, et solus trepidantem protegit urbem, 250

atque ideo, postquam ad Cimbros stragemque volabant
qui numquam attigerant maiora cadavera corvi,
nobilis ornatur lauro collega secunda.

plebeiae Deciorum animae, plebeia fuerunt

nomina : pro totis legionibus hi tamen et pro 255

omnibus auxiliis atque omni pube Latina

sufficiunt dis infernis terraeque parenti ;

pluris enim Decii, quam quae servantur ab illis.

ancilla natus trabeam et diadema Quirini

et fasces meruit regum ultimus ille bonorum. 260

sword reeking with continual slaughter. But Rome called Cicero her parent ; Rome *called him* the father of his country, when she was free. Another native of Arpinum was wont on the Volscian hills to work for hire, toiling at another's plough ; after that, he used to have the knotty vine-switch broken on his head in case he was lazy with sluggish axe in fortifying the camp. Yet this man takes upon himself the Cimbri, and the most critical state of affairs, and single-handed protects the trembling city. And, therefore—after the ravens, that had never lighted upon larger carcases, flew to the slaughtered Cimbri—his colleague, a nobleman, is decorated *only* with the second laurel. The souls of the Decii were plebeian, their names plebeian ; yet these are an equivalent for whole legions, and for all the auxiliaries, and for all the Latin youth, in the eyes of the infernal gods and mother earth. For the Decii are of more value than what is saved by them ! One born of a female slave won the trabea and the diadem and the fasces of Quirinus, *Ser-tius*, that last of the good kings. They that were loosening the

prodita laxabant portarum claustra tyrannis
 exsilibus iuvenes ipsius consulis et quos
 magnum aliquid dubia pro libertate deceret,
 quod miraretur cum Coclite Mucius et quae
 imperii fines Tiberinum virgo natavit. 265
 occulta ad patres produxit crimina servus
 matronis lugendus; at illos verbera iustis
 afficiunt poenis et legum prima securis.

Malo pater tibi sit Thersites, dummodo tu sis
 Aeacidae similis Vulcanaque arma capessas, 270
 quam te Thersitae similem producat Achilles.
 et tamen ut longe repetas longeque revolvas
 nomen, ab infami gentem deducis asylo:
 maiorum primus quisquis fuit ille tuorum,
 aut pastor fuit aut illud quod dicere nolo. 275

betrayed bolts of the city-gates to the exiled tyrants were the youthful sons of the Consul himself, the very men from whom some great exploit on behalf of *still* doubtful liberty was to be expected, such as Mucius in unison with Cocles might admire, and the virgin who swam the Tiber, *then* the limit of our empire. He that revealed to the senators the secret crime was a slave, *one day* to be lamented by matrons, while stripes inflict upon the others a just punishment, and the axe the first *that was used under the reign of laws*.

I would prefer that your father were Thersites, provided you resemble Aeacides, and can wield the arms of Vulcan's making, than that Achilles should beget you in the likeness of Thersites. And after all, from whatever distance you trace back, and from whatever distance you unroll your name, you derive your family from an ignoble repair. That first of your ancestors, whoever he was, was either a shepherd, or something which I decline to mention.

SATIRA IX.

SCIRE velim quare toties mihi, Naevole, tristis
 occursas fronte obducta ceu Marsya victus.
 quid tibi cum vultu, qualem deprensus habebat
 Ravola, dum Rhodopes uda terit inguina barba ?
 nos colaphum incutimus lambenti crustula servo. 5
 non erat hac facie miserabilior Crepereius
 Pollio, qui triplicem usuram praestare paratus
 circuit et fatuos non invenit. unde repente
 tot rugae ? certe modico contentus agebas
 vernam equitem, conviva ioco mordente facetus 10
 et salibus vehemens intra pomeria natis.
 omnia nunc contra, vultus gravis, horrida siccae
 silva comae, nullus tota nitor in cute, qualem
 Bruttia praestabat calidi tibi fascia visci,
 sed fruticante pilo neglecta et squalida crura. 15

14. praestabat calidi circumlita fascia visci.

SATIRE IX.

I SHOULD wish to know, Naevolus, why you meet me so often, looking sad, with clouded brow, like a vanquished Marsyas. What business have you with a face such as Ravola had when caught in the act of drivelling over the charms of Rhodope ? [We administer a thump to a slave who licks pastry.] Crepereius Pollio was not more pitiable than that countenance of yours ; he that went round prepared to offer treble interest and found no dupes. Whence of a sudden so many wrinkles ? Assuredly you used to play the genteel buffoon, content with little, a diner-out, humorous with your biting jokes, and lively with your smart sayings of town production. Everything is now the reverse ; a dismal visage, a bristling thicket of dry hair, none of that sleekness of the whole skin, such as the Bruttian plaster of warm pitch used to insure you, but legs neglected and foul

quid macies aegri veteris, quem tempore longo
 torret quarta dies olimque domestica febris ?
 deprendas animi tormenta latentis in aegro
 corpore, deprendas et gaudia ; sumit utrumque
 inde habitum facies. igitur flexisse videris 20
 propositum et vitae contrarius ire priori.
 nuper enim, ut repeto, fanum Isidis et Ganymeden
 Pacis, et advectae secreta palatia Matris
 et Cererem—nam quo non prostat femina templo ?—
 notior Aufidio moechus celebrare solebas, 25
 quodque taces, ipsos etiam inclinare maritos.

“ Utile et hoc multis vitae genus, at mihi nullum
 iude operae pretium, pingues aliquando lacernas,
 munimenta togae, duri crassique coloris
 et male percussas textoris pectine Galli 30
 accipimus, tenue argentum venaeque secundae.

17. torquet.

22. Ganymedis (Valla).

25. scelerare.

26. quod taceo atque.

with sprouting hair. What means this emaciation *like that* of a sick old man, whom, for a great while past, a quartan ague parches, and a fever that has long since made its home in him ? You can detect the torments of a mind concealed in a sick body, just as you can detect its joys ; from this source, the face takes either complexion. You seem, then, to have changed your course of life, and to be going counter to your former habits. For not long ago, as I remember, you used to frequent the sanctuary of Isis, and the Ganymede of the temple of Peace, and the secret palaces of the imported mother of *the gods*, and Ceres (for in what temple does not woman prostitute herself ?) a more noted adulterer than Aufidius, and—which you are silent about—you used actually to corrupt the husbands themselves.

“ Even this kind of life is profitable to many, but to me there has been no return for my labour from it. I receive at times a coarse cloak, as a protection to my toga, of rough and rude complexion, and clumsily stricken by the comb of the Gallic weaver, or a thin piece of silver of inferior metal. The Fates

fata regunt homines, fatum est et partibus illis,
 quas sinus abscondit. nam si tibi sidera cessant,
 nil faciet longi mensura incognita nervi,
 quamvis te nudum spumanti Virro labello 35
 viderit ed blandae assidue densaeque tabellae
 sollicitent, *αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα κίναδος.*
 quod tamen ulterius monstrum, quam mollis avarus ?
 ‘haec tribui, deinde illa dedi, mox plura tulisti,’
 computat ac cevet. ‘ponatur calculus, adsint 40
 cum tabula pueri, numera sestertia quinque
 omnibus in rebus,—numerentur deinde labores !
 an facile et primum est agere intra viscera penem
 legitimum atque illic hesternae occurrere coenae ?
 servus erit minus ille miser, qui foderit agrum, 45
 quam dominum. sed tu sane tenerum et puerum te
 et pulchrum et dignum cyatho coeloque putabas !
 vos humili asseculae, vos indulgebitis umquam
 cultori, iam nec morbo donare parati ?
 en cui tu viridem umbellam, cui sucina mittas 50

rule mankind. There is a fate even in those parts which the folds of the toga conceal. For if the stars fail you, your manly powers, though unprecedented, will do nothing for you, though Virro, with watering lip, has seen you naked, and coaxing and numerous billets-doux are constantly assailing you; ‘for a man of his stamp draws on others.’ Yet what monster can surpass an effeminate who is a miser? ‘This I bestowed on you, then that I gave you, and soon after you had more.’ He reckons up and acts the wanton. ‘Let the counters be set out; let the lads come here with the reckoning-table; count out five sestertia in all.’ Let my services be counted up afterwards! Pray, is it an easy matter, or in accordance with one’s tastes, to minister to his lusts? . . . But you, I suppose, thought yourself tender and a boy, and handsome and worthy of the cup of *Jove* and of heaven. Will you, *and such as you*, ever show favour to a humble hanger-on or follower, when you are not even prepared to give on behalf of your diseased taste? Here is a fellow for you to send a green

grandia, natalis quoties redit aut madidum ver
 incipit et strata positus longaque cathedra
 munera feminineis tractat secreta kalendis !
 dic, passer, cui tot montes, tot praedia servas
 Appula, tot milvos intra tua pascua lassos ? 55
 te Trifolinus ager fecundis vitibus implet
 suspectumque iugum Cumis et Gaurus inanis ;
 nam quis plura limit victuro dolia musto ?
 quantum erat exhausti lumbos donare clientis
 iugeribus paucis ! meliusne hic rusticus infans,
 cum matre et casulis et collusore catello, 60
 cymbala pulsantis legatum fiet amici ?
 ‘improbus es, cum poscis,’ ait. sed pensio clamat
 ‘posce !’ sed appellat puer unicus, ut Polyphe-
 mi lata acies, per quam sollers evasit Ulixes. 65
 alter emendus erit, namque hic non sufficit, ambo

63. aia.

parasol to, or large pieces of amber, as often as his birthday recurs, or when rainy spring commences, and, deposited in his pillow'd and long ladies' chair, he handles secret presents *sent him* on the female kalends !

“Tell me, you sparrow, for whom are you keeping so many hills, so many Apulian farms, so many hawks wearied *in flying* across your pastures? The territory of Trifolium enriches you with its fruitful vines, and the heights looked up to by Cumae and hollow Gaurus. For who seals up more casks of new wine destined to a long life? How great a matter would it have been to present the loins of your worn-out client with a few acres! Will it be better that this rustic child, with his mother, and the hovels, and the little dog his playmate, should become the inheritance of a cymbal-beating friend? ‘You are an impudent fellow to beg,’ he says; but my house-rent cries out, Beg! but my slave calls out, a solitary one, like the big eye of Polyphe-*mus*, by *putting out* which, crafty Ulysses made his escape. Another slave will have to be bought, for this one is not equal to his work; both of them will have to be fed. What

pascendi. quid agam bruma spirante? quid, oro,
 quid dicam scapulis puerorum aquilone Decembri
 et pedibus? ‘durate atque exspectate cicadas?’
 verum, ut dissimules, ut mittas cetera, quanto 70
 metiris pretio, quod, ni tibi deditus essem
 devotusque cliens, uxor tua virgo maneret?
 scis certe, quibus ista modis, quam saepe rogaris
 et quae pollicitus. fugientem saepe puellam
 amplexu rapui; tabulas quoque ruperat et iam 75
 signabat, tota vix hoc ego nocte redemi
 te plorante foris. testis mihi lectulus et tu,
 ad quem pervenit lecti sonus et dominae vox.
 instabile ac dirimi coeptum et iam paene solutum
 coniugium in multis domibus servavit adulter. 80
 quo te circumagas? quae prima aut ultima ponas?
 nullum ergo meritum est, ingrate ac perfide, nullum,
 quod tibi filiolus vel filia nascitur ex me?

68. servorum mense.

80. servabit.

shall I do when winter is abroad? What, pray, what shall I say to the shoulders and feet of my slaves in the north wind of December? ‘Bear up, and wait for the grasshoppers?’ But though you should disguise, though you should pass over my other services, at what price do you estimate this, that unless I had been your submissive and devoted client, your wife would remain a virgin? You assuredly know in what ways, and how often, you asked those services of me, and what you promised. I caught in my embrace your young wife, who was often trying to escape; she had even broken her marriage tablets, and was just signing *new ones*. I scarcely settled this matter in a whole night, when you were blubbering outside the door. The bed is my witness, and you, whom the sound of the bed reached, and the voice of my lady. In many a household has an unstable union, and one beginning to be broken up, and already well-nigh dissolved, been preserved by a lover. Which way will you turn yourself? what will you reckon first and what last? Is it no service, then, you ungrateful and perfidious man, is it none,

tollis enim et libris actorum spargere gaudes
 argumenta viri. foribus suspende coronas, 85
 iam pater es, dedimus quod famae opponere possis,
 iura parentis habes, propter me scriberis heres,
 legatum omne capis nec non et dulce caducum;
 commoda praeterea iungentur multa caducis,
 si numerum, si tres implevero." iusta doloris, 90
 Naevole, causa tui, contra tamen ille quid affert?

" Neglit atque alium bipedem sibi quaerit asellum.
 haec soli commissa tibi celare memento,
 et tacitus nostras intra te fige querelas;
 nam res mortifera est inimicus pumice levis. 95
 qui modo secretum commiserat, ardet et odit,
 tamquam prodiderim quidquid scio, sumere ferrum,
 fuste aperire caput, candelam apponere valvis
 non dubitat; nec contemnas aut despicias, quod

84. titulis actorum (Servius).

that a little son or daughter is born to you by means of me? For you rear them, and delight to spread abroad, through the gazettes, proofs of your virility. Hang garlands over your doors, you are a father now. I have given you something which you may oppose to rumour; you have the privileges of a parent; through me you can be written down as heir; you can take a legacy in its entirety; aye, and a pleasant windfall as well. Many advantages, besides, will be joined to the windfall if I make up the number, if I make up three."

The cause of your grievance is a just one, Naevolus; but what does he allege in return?

" He neglects me, and looks out for another two-legged ass for himself. All this, which is intrusted to yourself alone, be mindful to keep secret, and in silence implant my complaints in your breast, for an enemy who smoothes himself with pumice-stone is a deadly thing. He that has just intrusted his secret to me rages and hates me, just as though I had divulged whatever I know. He does not hesitate to employ steel, to open one's head with a cudgel, to apply a candle to one's doors. Nor should you make

his opibus numquam cara est annona veneni.
 ergo occulta tege, ut curia Martis Athenis." 100
 o Corydon, Corydon, secretum divitis ullum
 esse putas? servi ut taceant, iumenta loquentur
 et canis et postes et marmora. claude fenestras,
 vela tegant rimas, iunge ostia, tollite lumen
 e medio, taceant omnes, prope nemo recumbat;
 quod tamen ad cantum galli facit ille secundi,
 proximus ante diem caupo sciit, audiet et quae
 finixerunt pariter librarius archimagiri
 carptores. quod enim dubitant componere crimen 110
 in dominos, quoties rumoribus ulciscuntur
 baltea? nec deerit qui te per compita quaerat
 nolentem et miseram vinosus inepti aurem.
 illos ergo roges quidquid paulo ante petebas
 a nobis, taceant illi sed prodere malunt 115
 arcanum, quam surrepti potare Falerni,

106. jaceant; clamant.

107. secundum.

light of, or neglect, *the fact* that to these rich people the price of poison is never *too* high. So, then, keep these things *as secret as the court of Mars at Athens.*"

O Corydon, Corydon! do you think there can be any rich man's secret? Though the slaves should hold their tongues, the beasts of burden will talk, and the dog, and the gate-posts, and the marbles. Shut the windows, cover the chinks with curtains, fasten the doors, remove the light, let all be silent, let no one lie near the place, yet what he does at the second cock-crowing the nearest tavern-keeper will know before day, and will hear what the secretary and the head cooks and the carvers have invented at the same time. For what charge do they hesitate to concoct against their masters, as often as they avenge their strappings by lies? Nor will there be wanting *some* one who will hunt you out against your will through the crossways, and drench your miserable ear with his drunken tales. Beg of these, then, what you were asking of me a short while ago: let them hold their tongues. Why, they would rather publish

pro populo faciens quantum Saufeia bibebat.
vivendum recte est cum propter plurima, tum his
praecipue causis, ut linguas mancipiorum
contemnas, nam lingua mali pars pessima servi.
deterior tamen hic, qui liber non erit illis,
quorum animas et farre suo custodit et aere.

“ Idiciro ut possim linguam contemnere servi,
utile consilium modo, sed commune dedisti;
nunc mihi quid suades post damnum temporis et spes 125
deceptas? festinat enim decurrere velox
flosculus angustae miseraeque brevissima vitae
portio; dum bibimus, dum certa unguenta puellas
poscimus, obrepit non intellecta senectus.”
ne trepida, numquam pathicus tibi deerit amicus
stantibus et salvis his collibus, undique ad illos
convenient et carpentis et navibus omnes

118. tunc his.

120. nec lingua.

132. convenient.

a secret than swill as much stolen Falernian as Saufeia used to drink when sacrificing for the people. One should lead an upright life, as well on very many *other* accounts, as also especially for this reason, that you may despise the tongues of your slaves, for his tongue is the worst part of a bad slave. Yet he is worse still who is not free in respect of those whose lives he preserves with his own bread and *his own* money.

[“ That I may be able, therefore, to despise the tongue of my slave.] The advice you have just given is useful, but it is general. Now what do you recommend in my case, after the loss of my time, and the disappointment of my hopes? For the short-lived blossom, and contracted span of our bounded and miserable existence is hastening to an end. While we are drinking, while we are calling for garlands, perfumes, maidens, old age steals up unperceived.”

Don't be frightened. You will never lack a pathic friend while these hills are standing fast. To them will converge from every quarter, in carriages and in ships, all those who scratch

qui digito scalpunt uno caput. altera maior
spes superest, tu tantum erucis imprime dentem.

“ Haec exempla para felicibus ; at mea Clotho 135
et Lachesis gaudent, si pascitur inguine venter.
o parvi nostrique Lares, quos thure minuto
aut farre et tenui soleo exorare corona,
quando ego figam aliquid, quo sit mihi tuta senectus
a tegete et baculo ? viginti millia fenus 140
pignoribus positis, argenti vascula puri,
sed quae Fabricius censor notet, et duo fortis
de grege Moesorum, qui me cervice locata
securum iubeant clamoso insistere circo.
sit mihi praeterea curvus caelator et alter 145
qui multas facies fingat cito. sufficient haec,
quando ego pauper ero. votum miserable, nec spes
his saltem ; nam cum pro me Fortuna rogatur,

138. exornare.

145. servus.

139. fingam.

146. pingat.

their heads with one finger. You have still better prospects in store for you : do you only imprint your teeth upon rocket.

“ Furnish these instructions to luckier men : my Clotho and Lachesis are well pleased if my belly is fed by my trade. O my small, my own Lares ! whom I am wont to supplicate with a trifle of frankincense, or meal, and a poor garland, when shall I spear anything by which my old age may be secure from the mat and staff of the beggar ? Twenty thousand *sesterces* income on mortgage, some small vases of silver, uncased, but such as Fabricius the censor would condemn, and two stout fellows of the Moesian herd, who, with their necks placed under me, should bid me take up my position without apprehension in the noisy circus. I should like to have, besides, a graver bending over his work, and another slave to mould me quickly a number of casts : this must suffice, since I shall still be poor. A pitiable wish, and yet there is no hope of even this ; for when Fortune is invoked for me, she has stuck into her ears wax

affixit ceras illa de nave petitas,
quae Siculos cantus effugit remige surdo."

150

SATIRA X.

OMNIBUS in terris, quae sunt a Gadibus usque
Auroram et Gangen, pauci dignoscere possunt
vera bona atque illis multum diversa, remota
erroris nebula. quid enim ratione timemus
aut cupimus? quid tam dextro pede concipis, ut te
conatus non poeniteat votique peracti?
evertere domos totas optantibus ipsis
di faciles; nocitura toga, nocitura petuntur
militia; torrens dicendi copia multis
et sua mortifera est facundia, viribus ille

10

fetched from that ship (*of Ulysses*) which escaped the Sicilian siren-songs with its deaf rowers."

SATIRE X.

In all the lands which exist, from Gades even to Aurora and the Ganges, there are few who are able to distinguish between real blessings and things widely opposite to them, when the mist of error is removed. For what is it that we fear, or desire, rationally? What *purpose* do you conceive so auspiciously that you have not to regret your undertaking, and the accomplishment of your wish? The favouring gods have destroyed whole families by *granting* their own prayers; things destined to be hurtful in peace are asked for, and things destined to be hurtful in war. To many, a torrent-like abundance of speech and their own eloquence is fatal: there was one who perished from presuming on his strength and his wonderful arms. But more still

confisus periit admirandisque lacertis.
 sed plures nimia congesta pecunia cura
 strangulat et cuncta exsuperans patrimonia census,
 quanto delphinis balaena Britannica maior.
 temporibus diris igitur iussuque Neronis 15
 Longinum et magnos Senecae praedivitis hortos
 clausit, et egregias Lateranorum obsidet aedes
 tota cohors; rarus venit in coenacula miles.
 pauca licet portes argenti vascula puri,
 nocte iter ingressus gladium contumque timebis 20
 et motae ad lunam trepidabis arundinis umbram;
 cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator.
 prima fere vota et cunctis notissima templis
 divitiae, crescant ut opes, ut maxima toto
 nostra sit arca foro. sed nulla aconita bibuntur 25
 fictilibus; tunc illa time, cum pocula sumes
 gemmata et lato Setinum ardebit in auro.

xx. admirandusque.

are choked by their money heaped together with too much care, and their property exceeding all *other* fortunes, by as much as a British whale is larger than dolphins. Hence it was that in a time of terror, and by the order of Nero, a whole cohort surrounded *the house of Longinus* and the vast gardens of the enormously wealthy Seneca, and besieged the splendid mansion of the Laterani. The soldier rarely comes into a garret. Though you carry but a few small cups of unchased silver when starting on a night-journey, you will be afraid of the sword and the pike, and will tremble at the shadow of a reed moving in the moonlight; *while* the traveller who has nothing upon him will sing in the face of the robber. The first of prayers, commonly, and the best known in all the temples, are for wealth, that our money may increase, that our strong-box may be the largest in the whole forum. But no aconite is drunk from earthenware; then fear it when you take up jewelled cups, and the Setine glows in the broad gold. Do you not, after this, approve *the fact* that, of the sages, one used to laugh as often as he moved

iamne igitur laudas, quod de sapientibus alter
ridebat, quoties de limine moverat unum
protuleratque pedem, flebat contrarius auctor ? 30
sed facilis cuivis rigidi censura cachinni ;
mirandum est, unde ille oculis sufficerit humor,
perpetuo risu pulmonem agitare solebat
Democritus, quamquam non essent urbibus illis
praetexta et trabeae fasces lectica tribunal. 35
quid si vidisset praetorem curribus altis
exstantem et medio sublimem in pulvere circi
in tunica Iovis, et pictae Sarrana ferentem
ex humeris aulaea togae magnaenque coronae
tantum orbem, quanto cervix non sufficit ulla ? 40
quippe tenet sudans hanc publicus et, sibi consul
ne placeat, curru servus portatur eodem.
da nunc et volucrem sceptro quae surgit eburno,
illinc cornicines, hinc praecedentia longi
agminis officia et niveos ad frena Quirites, 45

29. a limine.

30. alter.

37. medii.

and advanced one foot over the threshold, and the opposite authority used to weep? But easy to any one is the censure of a sardonic laugh; the wonder is whence that moisture could have come in sufficient quantities to the eyes of *the other*. Democritus used to shake his lungs with perpetual laughter, though there did not exist in those cities the praetexta or trabeae, or fasces, or litters, or a tribunal. What if he had seen the Praetor standing up in his lofty chariot, and on high, in the midst of the dust of the circus, in the tunic of Jove, and wearing the Tyrian hangings of an embroidered toga *depending* from his shoulders, and a huge crown of such a circumference as no single neck is equal to!—seeing that the public slave holds this, all in a sweat, and, lest the Consul should be *too much* pleased with himself, rides in the same chariot. Add to this the bird which rises from his ivory sceptre; on that side the trumpeters, on this the clients preceding him in long array, and the Quirites *all* in white by his bridle, whom the dole buried

defossa in loculis quos sportula fecit amicos.
 tum quoque materiam risus invenit ad omnes
 occursus hominum, cuius prudentia monstrat
 summos posse viros et magna exempla datus
 vervecum in patria crassoque sub aere nasci. 50
 ridebat curas, nec non et gaudia vulgi,
 interdum et lacrimas, cum fortunae ipse minaci
 mandaret laqueum mediumque ostenderet unguem.

Ergo supervacua aut perniciosa petuntur,
 propter quae fas est genua incerare deorum. 55
 quosdam praecipitat subiecta potentia magnae
 invidiae ; mergit longa atque insignis honorum
 pagina ; descendunt statuae restemque sequuntur.
 ipsas deinde rotas bigarum impacta securis
 caedit, et immeritis franguntur crura caballis. 60
 iam strident ignes, iam follibus atque caminis
 ardet adoratum populo caput, et crepat ingens

55. incerare (Madvig).

in their purses has made his friends. Even in his day he found material for laughter in every encounter of human beings; *he* whose wisdom shows that men the most eminent, and destined to furnish lofty examples, may be born in the country of wethers and under a dull sky. He used to laugh at the cares, and the joys too, of the vulgar, sometimes even at their tears, since he himself, when Fortune threatened him, would bid her be hanged, and point the finger of scorn at her.

So then superfluous or pernicious things are asked for, on behalf of which it is our fate to wax the knees of the gods. Some, their power, exposed to great envy, hurls down headlong; the long and illustrious record of their honours sinks them; their statues come down and are dragged behind a rope. Then the very wheels of their *triumphal* chariots are smashed by the violent blows of the axe, and the legs of the innocent horses are broken. Now the flames roar, now the head that was worshipped by the people glows with the bellows and the furnace, and great Sejanus crackles. Then out of the face

Seianus, deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda
 fiunt urceoli pelves sartago matellae.
 pone domi lauros, duc in Capitolia magnum 65
 cretatumque bovem, Seianus ducitur unco
 spectandus ! gaudent omnes. " quae labra, quis illi
 vultus erat ! numquam, si quid mihi credis, amavi
 hunc hominem ; sed quo cecidit sub crimine ? quisnam
 delator ? quibus indiciis, quo teste probavit ? " 70
 " nil horum, verbosa et grandis epistola venit
 a Capreis." " bene habet, nil plus interrogo. sed quid
 turba Remi ? " " sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et odit
 damnatos. idem populus, si Nurtia Tusco
 favisset, si oppressa foret secura senectus 75
 principis, hac ipsa Seianum diceret hora
 Augustum. iam pridem, ex quo suffragia nulli
 vendimus, effudit curas ; nam qui dabat olim
 imperium fasces legiones omnia, nunc se

64. patellae.

70. probabit.

78. effugit.

which was second in the whole world are manufactured little jugs, basins, frying-pans, chamber utensils. Hang up bays on your house, lead into the Capitol the large bull whitened with chalk. Sejanus is being dragged along by the hook, *such a sight!* Every one is delighted. " What lips, and what an expression he had ! Never, if you will believe me, did I like that man." " But under what charge has he fallen ? Who was the informer ? By what evidence, by what witnesses did he prove *the charge ?*" " Nothing of the sort. A verbose and lengthy letter came from Capreae." " All right. I ask no more. But what does the crowd of Remus *do ?*" " It follows Fortune, as it always does, and hates those who are condemned. This same people, if Nurtia had favoured the Tuscan, if the old Emperor had been fallen upon when off his guard, would at this very hour be calling Sejanus, Augustus. Long ago, since we left off selling our votes, it has cast away all *public* cares. For that *people* which once upon a time used to bestow military command, the fasces, legions, everything, now limits its desires, and

continet atque duas tantum res anxius optat, 80
 panem et circenses." " perituros audio multos."
 " nil dubium, magna est fornacula, pallidulus mi
 Brutidius meus ad Martis fuit obvius aram.
 quam timeo, victus ne poenas exigat Ajax
 ut male defensus ! curramus praecipites et, 85
 dum iacet in ripa, calcemus Caesaris hostem."
 " sed videant servi, ne quis neget et pavidum in ius
 cervice obstricta dominum trahat." hi sermones
 tunc de Seiano, secreta haec murmura vulgi.
 visne salutari sicut Sejanus, habere 90
 tantumdem, atque illi summas donare curules,
 illum exercitibus praeponere, tutor haber
 principis angusta Caprearum in rupe sedentis
 cum grege Chaldaeo ? vis certe pila, cohortes,
 egregios equites et castra domestica. quidni 95
 haec cupias ? et qui nolunt occidere quemquam,

88. astricta.

93. augusta.

anxiously longs for two things only—bread and the games of the circus." " I hear that many are doomed to die." " Not a doubt of it : the 'little furnace' is a spacious one. My friend Brutidius met me at the altar of Mars, looking a trifle pale. How I fear that 'worsted Ajax' will wreak vengeance, as having been badly defended. Let us run with all speed and trample on the foe of Caesar while he *still* lies on the river bank." " Aye, and let our slaves see *us do it*, that none may deny it, and drag his trembling master to trial with a rope about his neck." Such were the remarks at that time about Sejanus, such were the secret whispers of the populace. Do you wish to have court paid you like Sejanus ? to possess as much *as he did*, and to bestow on one the highest curule offices, to set another at the head of armies, to be esteemed the guardian of the sovereign seated on the narrow rock of Capreae with his pack of Chaldeans ? Of course you would like *to have* chief-centurionships, cohorts, picked cavalry, the household troops. Why should you not desire these things ? Even those who do not wish to kill any

posse volunt. sed quae praeclera et prospera tanti,
 ut rebus laetis par sit mensura malorum ?
 huius, qui trahitur, praetextam sumere mavis
 an Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse potestas 100
 et de mensura ius dicere, vasa minora
 frangere pannosus vacuis aedilis Ulubris ?
 ergo quid optandum foret ignorasse fateris
 Seianum ; nam qui nimios optabat honores
 et nimias poscebat opes, numerosa parabat 105
 excelsae turris tabulata, unde altior esset
 casus et impulsae praeceps immane ruinae.
 quid Crassos, quid Pompeios evertit, et illum,
 ad sua qui domitos deduxit flagra Quirites ?
 summus nempe locus nulla non arte petitus 110
 magna que numinibus vota exaudita malignis.
 ad generum Cereris sine caede ac vulnere pauci
 descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni.

97. tantum.

112. sanguine.

one wish to have the power to do it. But what brilliant fortune, what prosperity, can be of such great value *as to be worth the condition* that the measure of misfortunes should be equal to the good luck ? Would you prefer to assume the praetexta of him who is being dragged along, or to be the magistrate of Fidenae or Gabii, and to pronounce decisions about measures, and to break up pots below the standard, a ragged aedile in empty Ulubrae ? You admit, then, Sejanus to have been ignorant of what would have been desirable *for him* : for he that desired too great honours, and asked for too much wealth, was preparing story upon story of a lofty tower from which his fall should be the greater, and frightful the headlong descent of the stricken ruin. What was it that destroyed the Crassi, what the Pompeys, and him that brought the Quirites in subjection under his lash ? Assuredly it was the highest position sought by every art, and their ambitious prayers heard too well by the unkind deities. Few kings descend to Ceres' son-in-law without slaughter and wounds, few tyrants by a bloodless death.

Eloquium ac famam Demosthenis aut Ciceronis
 incipit optare et totis quinquatribus optat, 115
 quisquis adhuc uno partam colit asse Minervam,
 quem sequitur custos angustae vernula capsae.
 eloquio sed uteisque perit orator, utrumque
 largus et exundans leto dedit ingenii fons.
 ingenio manus est et cervix caesa, nec umquam 120
 sanguine causidici maduerunt rostra pusilli.
 "o fortunatam natam me consule Romam!"
 Antoni gladios potuit contemnere, si sic
 omnia dixisset. ridenda poemata malo,
 quam te conspicuae, divina Philippica, famae, 125
 volveris a prima quae proxima. saevus et illum
 exitus eripuit, quem mirabantur Athenae
 torrentem et pleni moderantem frena theatri.
 dis ille adversis genitus fatoque sinistro,
 quem pater ardentis massae fuligine lippus 130

116. parcam (Heins).

Whoever pays his court to Minerva, purchased as yet by *only* a single As, whom a little slave follows in charge of his small satchel, begins to long, and longs all through the quinquatopian holidays, for the eloquence and fame of a Demosthenes or a Cicero. Yet it was through their eloquence that both of these orators perished: both of them the copious and overflowing fount of their genius gave over to destruction. It was genius whose hand and neck were struck; the tribunes have never been moistened by the blood of an insignificant pleader. "O fortunate Rome, born under my consulship!" He might have despised the swords of Antony, if all his utterances had been like this. I prefer these ridiculous poems to thee, divine Philippic of distinguished fame, that art unrolled next to the first. Him, too, a cruel end carried off, whom Athens used to admire flowing like a torrent and moderating *as* with a curb the crowded theatre. With gods adverse and fate inauspicious was he born, whom his father, blear-eyed with the soot of the glowing mass,

a carbone et forcipibus gladiosque parante
incude et luteo Vulcano ad rhetora misit.

Bellorum exuviae, truncis affixa tropaeis
lorica et fracta de casside buccula pendens
et curtum temone iugum victaeque triremis
aplustre et summo tristis captivus in arcu
humanis maiora bonis creduntur. ad hoc se
Romanus Graiusque et barbarus induperator
erexit, causas discriminis atque laboris

inde habuit. tanto maior famae sitis est quam
virtutis; quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam,
praemia si tollas? patriam tamen obruit olim
gloria paucorum et laudis titulique cupidio
haesuri saxis cinerum custodibus, ad quae
discutienda valent sterilis mala robora fici,
quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulcris.
expende Hannibalem, quot libras in duce summo

135

140

145

137. sed haec se.

sent from the coals and pincers and sword-forging anvil and
dirty Vulcan to the teacher of rhetoric.

The spoils of war, the cuirass affixed to the trunk-shaped
trophies, the cheek-piece hanging from the broken helmet, the
chariot shorn of its pole, the stern-ornament of the vanquished
trireme, the melancholy captive on the top of the arch, are held
to be greater than human blessings. To this the Roman and
Greek and barbarian commander directs his efforts; thence he
gets the incentives for his dangers and his labours. So much
greater is the thirst for fame than for virtue; for who embraces
virtue *for herself* if you take away the rewards? Yet at times
the glory of a few has been the ruin of their country, the craving
for renown and an epitaph to cleave to the stones, guardians
of their ashes, which the mischievous strength of the barren
fig-tree has the power to rend asunder, inasmuch as sepul-
chres themselves have fates assigned them. Weigh Hannibal;
how many pounds will you find in the consummate general?

invenies ? hic est quem non capit Africa Mauro
 percussa Oceano Niloque admota tepenti,
 rursus ad Aethiopum populos altosque elephantos. 150
 additur imperiis Hispania, Pyrenaeum
 transilit. opposuit natura Alpemque nivemque,
 diducit scopulos et montem rumpit aceto.
 iam tenet Italiam, tamen ultra pergere tendit.
 "actum," inquit, "nihil est, nisi Poeno milite portas 155
 frangimus et media vexillum pono Subura."
 o qualis facies et quali digna tabella,
 cum Gaetula ducem portaret bellua luscum !
 exitus ergo quis est ? o gloria ! vincitur idem
 nempe et in exsiliū praeceps fugit atque ibi magnus 160
 mirandusque cliens sedet ad praetoria regis,
 donec Bithyno libeat vigilare tyranno.
 finem animae, quae res humanas miscuit olim,
 non gladii, non saxa dabunt, nec tela, sed ille

149. perfusa.

153. deducit, diduxit.

Yet this is he whom not even Africa can contain, beaten by the Mauritanian ocean, and stretching to the warm Nile, and back again to the nations of the Aethiopians and the tall elephants. Spain is added to his rule; he bounds across the Pyrenees; nature has opposed to him the Alps and their snows; he severs the rocks and cleaves the mountains with vinegar. Already he holds Italy; yet he aims at proceeding further. "Nothing has been achieved," he says, "unless we force the city gates with the soldiers of Carthage, and I plant my standard in the middle of the Suburra." Oh! what a face, and what a picture it would have been a subject for—a Gaetulian elephant carrying the one-eyed General! What, then, is his end? O glory! This same man is conquered, to be sure, and flies headlong into exile, and there seats himself, a great and wonder-moving client, by the palace of the king, till such time as it please his Bithynian majesty to wake. Not swords, not rocks, nor darts will put an end to the existence which once embroiled all humanity, but

165

Cannarum vindex et tanti sanguinis ultor
 annulus. i demens et saevas curre per Alpes,
 ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias !
 unus Pellaeo iuveni non sufficit orbis
 aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi,
 ut Gyari clausus scopolis parvaque Seripho ;
 cum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem,
 sarcophago contentus erit. mors sola fatetur,
 quantula sint hominum corpuscula. creditur olim
 velificatus Athos et quidquid Graecia mendax
 audet in historia, constratum classibus isdem
 suppositumque rotis solidum mare, credimus altos
 defecisse amnes epotaque flumina Medo
 prandente, et madidis cantat quae Sostratus alis.
 ille tamen qualis rediit Salamine relicta,
 in Corum atque Eurum solitus saevire flagellis
 barbarus, Aeolio numquam hoc in carcere passos,

170

175

180

that ring the avenger of Cannae, the punisher of so much bloodshed. Go, madman, and run over the savage Alps—to please schoolboys and become *the subject of a declamation*!

One world is not enough for the young man of Pella; the poor fellow is restless in the narrow limits of the universe, as though imprisoned by the rocks of Gyarus, or in small Seriphus. When, however, he shall have entered the city fortified by brickmakers, he will be content with a sarcophagus. Death alone discloses how diminutive are the puny bodies of men. Athos is believed to have been once sailed over—and whatever else lying Greece ventures on in the way of history; *it is believed* that the sea was bridged by these same fleets, and made solid and passed over by wheels. We believe that deep streams failed, and that rivers were drunk dry by the Medes at their dinner, and whatever Sostratus sings with moistened wings. Yet in what a guise did that famous barbarian return, after leaving Salamis, who had been wont to rage with whips against Corus and Eurus, that had never suffered this *treatment* in their Aeolian cavern, who had bound the earth-shaker *Neptune* himself in

ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennosigaeum !
 mitius id sane, quod non et stigmate dignum
 crederet. huic quisquam vellet servire deorum !
 sed qualis rediit ? nempe una nave, cruentis 185
 fluctibus ac tarda per densa cadavera prora.
 has toties optata exegit gloria poenas !

“ Da spatum vitae, multos da, Iuppiter, annos ! ”
 hoc recto vultu solum hoc et pallidus optas.
 sed quam continuis et quantis longa senectus 190
 plena malis ! deformem et tetrum ante omnia vultum
 dissimilemque sui, deformem pro cute pellem,
 pendentesque genas et tales aspice rugas,
 quales, umbriferos ubi pandit Tabraca saltus,
 in vetula scalpit iam mater simia bucca. 195
 plurima sunt iuvenum discrimina, pulchrior ille
 hoc, atque ille alio, multum hic robustior illo ;
 una senum facies, cum voce trementia membra

183. quid? non et.

184. credidit.

198. labra.

chains ! Surely it was merciful *on his part* that he did not think him deserving of being branded into the bargain. Here was a man whom any of the gods would have been glad to be the slave of ! But in what a guise did he return ? With a single ship, to be sure, the waves all bloody ; his prow retarded by the multitude of corpses. Such penalties has prayed-for glory oftentimes exacted !

Grant length of life ! grant, O Jupiter, many years ! For this alone you pray in health and in sickness ; but how unremitting and how great are the ills with which a long old age is filled ! Behold, first of all, the ugly and offensive face, unlike itself ; the ugly hide in place of skin, and the flabby cheeks and the wrinkles, such as those which—there where Tabraca extends its shade-bearing jungles—the mother ape scratches on her aged jowl. There are many points of difference between young men : this one is handsomer than that, and he than another ; one is much sturdier than another. Old men have but one aspect : limbs trembling in unison with their voice, a pate that has

et iam leve caput madidique infantia nasi
frangendus misero gingiva panis inermi ; 200
usque adeo gravis uxori natisque sibique,
ut captatori moveat fastidia Cossio.
non eadem vini atque cibi torpente palato
gaudia ; nam coitus iam longa oblivio, vel si
coneris, iacet exiguus cum ramice nervus 205
et, quamvis tota palpetur nocte, iacebit
anne aliquid sperare potest haec inguinis aegri
canities ? quid, quod merito suspecta libido est,
quae Venerem affectat sine viribus. aspice partis
nunc damnum alterius ; nam quae cantante voluptas, 210
sit licet eximius citharoedus, sitve Seleucus
et quibus aurata mos est fulgere lacerna ?
quid refert, magni sedeat qua parte theatri,
qui vix cornicines exaudiet atque tubarum
concentus ? clamore opus est, ut sentiat auris, 215

200. miseris.

202. moveant.

205. conetur.

214. exaudiat.

become smooth, the *second* infancy of a drivelling nose. The wretched creature has to break his bread with a toothless gum. To such an extent is he burdensome to his wife and children and himself, as to excite the nausea even of the fortune-hunter Cossus. His pleasure in wine and food is no longer the same, through the torpor of his palate. Sexual connection has long since been forgotten, or, if the attempt be made, despite every effort, he will be powerless. Can this grey decrepitude of sickly lust expect anything *else* ? and, moreover, do we not look with just suspicion on the lechery which affects sexual love, without the power ?

Observe now the loss of another faculty. For what pleasure has he in a musician, though he be a distinguished harpist, or even a Seleucus, or one of those who are wont to glitter in a gold-embroidered cloak ? What matters it in what part of the vast theatre he sits, who will scarce hear distinctly even the horn-blowers or the concert of trumpets ? It is necessary to

quem dicat venisse puer, quot nunciet horas.
 praeterea minimus gelido iam in corpore sanguis
 febre calet sola, circumsilit agmine facto
 morborum omne genus, quorum si nomina quaeras,
 promptius expediam quot amaverit Hippia moechos, 220
 quot Themison aegros autumno occiderit uno,
 quot Basilus socios, quot circumscripterit Hirrus
 pupillos, quot longa viros exsorbeat uno
 Maura die, quot discipulos inclinet Hamillus ;
 percurram citius quot villas possideat nunc, 225
 quo tondente gravis iuveni mihi barba sonabat.
 ille humero, hic lumbis, hic coxa debilis, ambos
 perdidit ille oculos et luscis invidet, huius
 pallida labra cibum accipiunt digitis alienis.
 ipse ad conspectum coenae diducere rictum 230
 suetus, hiat tantum, ceu pullus hirundinis, ad quem
 ore volat pleno mater iejuna. sed omni

226. iuvenia.

229. capiunt.

230. deducere.

bawl out, that his ear may catch who it is that his slave says has called, or the hour of day which he announces. Moreover, the scanty blood in his now cold body warms with fever alone ; all kinds of diseases dance round him in a troop. If you should ask their names, I could sooner tell off how many gallants Hippia has been in love with, how many patients Themison has killed in a single autumn, how many partners have been cheated by Basilus, how many wards by Hirrus, how many men tall Maura has connection with in a single day, how many pupils Hamillus corrupts. I could more quickly run through the *list of villas* now possessed by one under whose razor my heavy beard used to sound when I was a young man. One is weak in the shoulder, another in the loins, another in the hip ; another has lost both his eyes, and envies the one-eyed ; another's blood-less lips receive their food from others' fingers. The man who was wont of his own accord to break into a broad grin at the sight of his dinner, now gapes merely, like the young of a swallow to whom his mother, herself fasting, flies with full beak.

membrorum damno maior dementia, quae nec
nomina servorum nec vultum agnoscit amici,
cum quo praeterita coenavit nocte, nec illos,
quos genuit, quos eduxit. nam codice saevo
heredes vetat esse suos, bona tota feruntur
ad Phialen; tantum artificis valet halitus oris,
quod steterat multis in carcere fornicis annis.
ut vigeant sensus animai, ducenda tamen sunt
funera natorum, rogos aspiciendus amatae
coniugis et fratri plenaequae sororibus urnae.
haec data poena diu viventibus, ut renovata
semper clade domus multis in luctibus inque
perpetuo moerore et nigra veste senescant.

235

rex Pylius, magno si quidquam credis Homero,
exemplum vitae fuit a cornice secundae.
felix nimirum, qui tot per secula mortem
distulit atque suos iam dextra computat annos,
quiique novum toties mustum bibt. oro parumper

240

245

But worse than all bodily ailments is the idiocy which recognises neither the names of his slaves, nor the face of the friend with whom he dined last night, nor those whom he begot, whom he brought up. For, by a cruel will, he prevents them from being his heirs: all his property is conferred upon Phiale —such power has the breath of her dexterous mouth, which had been stationed for many years in the cell of a brothel! Should the faculties of the mind retain their vigour, yet one has to bury one's children, to contemplate the funeral pile of a beloved wife or brother, and the urns full of one's sisters' *ashes*. This is the penalty imposed on the long-lived, that, with ever-renewed family losses, they should grow old in many griefs, in perpetual mourning, and a garb of black. The King of Pylos, if you give any credit to great Homer, was an instance of *long* life, second only to that of the crow. A happy man, without doubt, who has put off death for so many generations, and already counts his own years on his right hand, and has drunk so often of new-made wine. I pray you listen a moment how much he himself complains of

attendas, quantum de legibus ipse queratur
 fatorum et nimio de stamine, cum videt acris
 Antilochi barbam ardentem, cum quaerit ab omni,
 quisquis adest socius, cur haec in tempora duret,
 quod facinus dignum tam longo admiserit aevo. 255
 haec eadem Peleus, raptum cum luget Achillem,
 atque alias, cui fas Ithacum lugere natantem.
 incolumi Troia Priamus venisset ad umbras
 Assaraci, magnis solemnibus, Hectore funus
 portante ac reliquis fratrum cervicibus inter 260
 Iliadum lacrimas, ut primos edere planctus
 Cassandra inciperet scissaque Polyxena palla,
 si foret extinctus diverso tempore, quo non
 cooperat audaces Paris aedificare carinas.
 longa dies igitur quid contulit ? omnia vidit 265
 eversa et flammis Asiam ferroque cadentem.
 tunc miles tremulus posita tulit arma tiara
 et ruit ante aram summi Iovis, ut vetulus bos,

the decrees of fate, and of the too long thread of his life, when he sees the blazing beard of brave Antilochus, when he asks of all his friends who are present why he survives to these times, what crime he has committed deserving of so long a life. Peleus utters the same *complaint* when he mourns the loss of Achilles ; and that other whose fate it was to mourn the son of Ithaca at sea.

Priam would have gone to the shade of Assaracus, with Troy standing, with great solemnities, with Hector and all his brothers carrying the bier on their shoulders, amidst the tears of the Trojan women, so soon as Cassandra had begun to lead off the first wailings, and Polyxena with rent mantle, if his life had been closed at a different epoch, when Paris had not begun to build his daring ships. What, then, did length of days confer upon him ? He saw everything overturned, and Asia falling by flame and sword. Then, laying aside his tiara, he took up arms, a tremulous warrior, and fell before the altar of supreme Jove, like an aged ox,

qui domini cultris tenuerat et miserabile collum
praebet ab ingrato iam fastiditus aratro. 270
exitus ille utcumque hominis, sed torva canino
latravit rictu, quae post hunc vixerat, uxor.
festino ad nostros et regem transeo Ponti
et Croesum, quem vox iusti facunda Solonis
respicere ad longae iussit spatia ultima vitae. 275
exsilium et carcer Minturnarumque paludes
et mendicatus victa Carthagine panis
hinc causas habuere. quid illo civi tulisset
natura in terris, quid Roma beatius umquam,
si circumducto captivorum agmine et omni 280
bellorum pompa animam exhalasset opimam,
cum de Teutonico vellet descendere curru?
provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres
optandas, sed multae urbes et publica vota
vicerunt: igitur fortuna ipsius et urbis 285
servatum victo caput abstulit. hoc cruciatu

which, now at length despised by the ungrateful plough, proffers his lean and wretched neck to his master's knife. This, at any rate, was the end of a human being; but his wife, who survived him, barked savagely with the jaws of a bitch.

I hasten to our countrymen, and pass over the King of Pontus and Croesus, whom the eloquent voice of just Solon bade to consider the last course in a long life. *Marius's* exile and prison, and the marshes of Minturnae, and the bread begged for in conquered Carthage, had their origin in this. What would Nature in all the earth, what would Rome, have ever borne more blest than that citizen, if, after the array of captives had been led their round, and all the pomp of war, he had exhaled his triumphant soul when he was preparing to descend from his Teutonic chariot? Foreseeing Campania had given Pompey a fever he should have prayed for, but the multitude of cities and the public prayers prevailed. So then his own fortune and that of the city deprived him, when vanquished, of the

Lentulus, hac poena caruit, ceciditque Cethagus
integer, et iacuit Catilina cadavere toto.

Formam optat modico pueris, maiore puellis
murmure, cum Veneris fanum videt anxia mater, 290
usque ad delicias votorum. "cur tamen," inquit,
"corripias ? pulchra gaudet Latona Diana."
sed vetat optari faciem Lucretia qualem
ipsa habuit, cuperet Rutilae Virginia gibbum
accipere atque suam Rutilae dare. filius autem
corporis egregii miseros trepidosque parentes
semper habet. rara est adeo concordia formae
atque pudicitiae. sanctos licet horrida mores
tradiderit domus ac veteres imitata Sabinos,
praeterea castum ingenium vultumque modesto 300
sanguine ferventem tribuat natura benigna
larga manu—quid enim puerο conferre potest plus
custode et cura natura potentior omni ?—

head they had *themselves* preserved. Lentulus escaped this anguish, this indignity, and Cethagus perished unmutilated, and Catiline lay with his corpse entire.

The anxious mother, when she sees the shrine of Venus, prays for beauty for her boys with a gentle murmur, with yet a louder one for her girls, to the extent of making whimsical prayers. " Yet why reprove me ?" she says ; " Latona delights in the beauty of Diana." But Lucretia forbids such a face as she herself had to be prayed for ; Virginia would wish to take Rutila's hump, and give her own *face* to Rutila. Besides, a son of very beautiful person always keeps his parents miserable and trembling, so rare is the union of beauty with chastity. Though the family, unsophisticated, and imitating the ancient Sabines, has handed down *the tradition of* purity of morals ; moreover, though liberal Nature with benignant hand bestow on him a chaste mind, and a face hot with modest blood (for what more can be conferred upon the boy by Nature, more powerful than all guardians and all watchfulness ?), they are not allowed to

non licet esse viros ; nam prodiga corruptoris
improbitas ipsos audet tentare parentes. 305
tanta in muneribus fiducia. nullus ephebum
deformem saeva castravit in arce tyrannus,
nec praetextatum rapuit Nero loripedem nec
strumosum atque utero pariter gibboque tumentem.
i nunc, et iuvenis specie laetare tui, quem 310
maiora exspectant discrimina. fiet adulter
publicus et poenas metuet quascumque maritis
iratis debet, nec erit felicior astro
Martis, ut in laqueos numquam incidat. exigit autem
interdum ille dolor plus quam lex ulla dolori 315
concessit ; necat hic ferro, secat ille cruentis
verberibus, quosdam moechos et mugilis intrat.
sed tuus Endymion dilectae fiet adulter
matronae ; mox cum dederit Servilia nummos,
fiet et illius, quam non amat ; exuet omnem 320

304. *viris, viro.*

become men, for the prodigal iniquity of the corruptor dares to tempt the parents themselves. So great is the confidence in bribes ! *But* no tyrant in his cruel stronghold has castrated a deformed youth, nor did Nero ravish a youth who was club-footed, or one that was scrofulous, and bulging out at the same time with a paunch and a hump. Go now and delight in the beauty of your boy, whom greater dangers await. He will become an adulterer for public hire, and will *have to* fear whatever penalties he owes to enraged husbands ; nor will his star be luckier than that of Mars, even though he never fall into the net. Moreover, that kind of wrath sometimes exacts more than any law has conceded to wrath. One slays with the sword, another cuts with bloody stripes ; some adulterers have the “ mullet ” applied to them. But your Endymion will become the gallant of some married lady whom he loves. *Yes ! and* before long, when Servilia has bribed him, he will become also *the gallant* of one whom he does not love. She will strip her-

corporis ornatum; quid enim ulla negaverit udis
inguinibus, sive est haec Oppia, sive Catulla?
deterior totos habet illic femina mores.

“ sed casto quid forma nocet ? ” quid profuit immo
Hippolyto grave propositum, quid Bellerophonti ? 325
erubuit nempe haec, ceu fastidita, repulsa
nec Stheneboea minus quam Cressa excanduit, et se
concussere ambae. mulier saevissima tunc est,
cum stimulus odio pudor admoveat. elige quidnam
suadendum esse putas cui nubere Caesaris uxor 330
destinat. optimus hic et formosissimus idem
gentis patriciae rapitur miser extinguedus
Messalinae oculis. dudum sedet illa parato
flammeolo, Tyriusque palam genialis in hortis
sternitur, et ritu decies centena dabuntur
antiquo, veniet cum signatoribus auspex. 335

326. hac ceu fastidita repulsa (M. Haupt).

self of all her personal ornaments. For what will any woman deny to her lusts, whether she be an Oppia or a Catulla? The abandoned woman has all her character centred in this point. But what harm will his beauty do to one who is chaste? Nay, rather, of what advantage was his stern resolve to Hippolytus, or to Bellerophon? Of course she (*Phaedra*) blushed as though she had been scorned; nor was Stheneboea, when repulsed, less inflamed than the Cretan woman; and both of them roused themselves to vengeance. Woman is then most savage when shame adds stings to hate. Choose what advice you think should be given to him whom the wife of Caesar determines to marry. He, the best, and at the same time the handsomest, of the patrician race, is hurried, poor wretch, to destruction by Messalina's eyes. Long since she is seated with bridal veil prepared, and the nuptial couch with its coverings of purple is openly made ready in the gardens, and ten hundred thousand sesterces will be given after the ancient usage, and the augur will come with those that are to sign the contract. These

haec tu secreta et paucis commissa putabas.
 non nisi legitime vult nubere. quid placeat, dic ;
 ni parere velis, pereundum erit ante lucernas ;
 si scelus admittas, dabitur mora parvula, dum res 340
 nota urbi et populo contingat principis aures.
 dedecus ille domus sciit ultimus. interea tu
 obsequere imperio, si tanti vita dierum
 paucorum. quidquid melius leviusque putaris,
 praebenda est gladio pulchra haec et candida cervix. 345

“ Nil ergo optabunt homines ? ” si consilium vis,
 permittes ipsis expendere numinibus, quid
 conveniat nobis rebusque sit utile nostris.
 nam pro iucundis aptissima quaeque dabunt di. 350
 carior est illis homo quam sibi. nos animorum
 impulsu et caeca magnaque cupidine ducti
 coniugium petimus partumque uxoris ; at illis

337. putabas.

339. pereundum est.

341. aurem.

347. permittas.

things you thought were secret, and intrusted *only* to a few ! *No* ; she will not be married but with the legal forms. Say what your decision is. Unless you are ready to obey her, you will have to die before nightfall. If you perpetrate the crime, a tiny delay will be afforded you, till a business known to the city and the people shall have reached the prince's ears ; he will be the last to learn the disgrace of his house. Meanwhile do you obey *her* orders, if a few days' life be worth the price. *But*, whatever you think the best and easiest *course*, that beautiful and white neck of yours must be submitted to the sword !

Are men, then, to pray for nothing ? If you desire a counsel, you will permit the deities themselves to estimate what may be suitable for us, and of advantage to our interests. For in place of pleasant things, the gods will give us whatever shall be most fitting. Man is dearer to them than *he is* to himself. We, led by the impulse of our minds, and our blind and powerful desires, ask for a wedded partner, and for offspring from our wives ; but

notum, qui pueri qualisque futura sit uxor.
 ut tamen et poscas aliquid, voveasque sacellis
 exta et candiduli divina tomacula porci, 355
 orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.
 fortem posce animum, mortis terrore carentem,
 qui spatium vitae extremum inter munera ponat
 naturae, qui ferre queat quoscumque labores,
 nesciat irasci, cupiat nihil et potiores 360
 Herculis aerumnas credat saevosque labores
 et Venere et coenis et pluma Sardanapali.
 monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare. semita certe
 tranquillae per virtutem patet unica vitae.
 nullum numen habes, si sit prudentia, nos te, 365
 nos facimus, Fortuna, deam coeloque locamus.

365. abest ; si adsit (Heinr).

they know what our boys and of what sort our wife will be. If, however, you must e'en ask for something, and vow to their shrines entrails and the sacred mincemeat of a white pig, pray that you may have a sound mind in a sound body ; ask for a strong soul, free from the fear of death, which reckons the final stage of life as among the boons of Nature ; which is able to bear toils of every kind ; which is incapable of anger ; which covets nothing ; which deems the tribulations of Hercules and his cruel labours preferable to *the joys of Venus*, to the banquets, to the down of Sardanapalus. I show you what you may confer upon yourself ; *for*, assuredly, the only path of a peaceful life lies through virtue. You have no divine power, O Fortune, where prudence exists ; it is we, we who make a goddess of you and place you in heaven.

SATIRA XI.

ATTICUS eximie si coenat, laetus habetur,
 si Rutilus, demens. quid enim maiore cachinno
 excipitur vulgi, quam pauper Apicius? omnis
 convictus thermae stationes omne theatrum
 de Rutilo. nam pum valida ac iuvenilia membra
 sufficient galeae dumque ardens sanguine, fertur
 non cogente quidem, sed nec prohibente tribuno,
 scripturus leges et regia verba lanistae.
 multos porro vides, quos saepe elusus ad ipsum
 creditor introitum solet exspectare macelli,
 et quibus in solo vivendi causa palato est.
 egregius coenat meliusque miserrimus horum
 et cito casurus iam perluciente ruina.
 interea gustus elementa per omnia quaerunt,

5

10

6. ardent.

SATIRE XI.

If Atticus dines sumptuously, he is considered a glorious fellow; if Rutilus *does so*, *he is considered* to be out of his mind. For what is received with greater laughter from the vulgar than a pauper Apicius? Every party—the baths, the places of public resort—every theatre *is full* of Rutilus. For while his sturdy and youthful limbs are equal to the helmet, and while he is glowing with life-blood, he is impelled (not, indeed, on the compulsion of the Tribune, but without being prevented by him) to copy out the rules and imperious commands of the trainer of gladiators. You see many, besides, whom the oft-deceived creditor is wont to wait for at the very entrance to the market, whose motive for living is in the palate alone. The most hard-up of these fellows, destined soon to fall, with ruin already lightening through him, dines the more sumptuously and the more daintily. Meanwhile they search through all the

numquam animo pretiis obstantibus ; interius si 15
 attendas, magis illa iuvant, quae pluris emuntur.
 ergo haud difficile est peritoram arcessere summam
 lancibus oppositis vel matris imagine fracta,
 et quadringentis nummis condire gulosum
 fistic : sic veniunt ad miscellanea ludi. 20
 refert ergo, quis haec eadem paret; in Rutilo nam
 luxuria est, in Vendidio laudabile nomen
 sumit et a censu famam trahit. illum ego iure
 despiciam, qui scit quanto sublimior Atlas
 omnibus in Libya sit montibus, hic tamen idem 25
 ignoret quantum ferrata distet ab arca
 sacculus. e coelo descendit γνῶθι σεαυτόν,
 figendum et memori tractandum pectore, sive
 coniugium quaeras vel sacri in parte senatus
 esse velis—neque enim loricam poscit Achillis 30
 Thersites, in qua se traducebat Ulixes—

elements for relishes, the prices never standing in the way of their inclination ; *nay*, if you look at it more closely, those things please them more which are bought at a higher price. Well, then, it is not difficult to obtain the sum destined to be squandered, by pawning their dishes, or breaking up their mother's bust, and to season the glutinous platter with four hundred sestertes. So it is they come to the hodge-podge of the training-school.

It makes a difference, then, who it is that sets forth these same *delicacies*; for in Rutilus this is extravagance ; in Vendius, it assumes a creditable name, and derives its character from the state of his fortune. I should despise the man, and justly, who knows how much higher Atlas is than all the *other* mountains in Libya ; while he, the same man, does not know how great a difference there is between a small *money-bag* and an iron-bound strong-box. "Know thyself" descended from heaven, to be implanted and revolved in the memory ; whether you are seeking marriage or wishing to form part of the sacred Senate (for not even Thersites claims the cuirass of Achilles, in

ancipitem seu tu magno discrimin'e causam
 protegere affectas, te consule, dic tibi qui sis,
 orator vehemens, an Curtius et Matho buccae.
 noscenda est mensura sui spectandaque rebus 35
 in summis minimisque, etiam cum piscis emetur,
 ne nullum cupias, cum sit tibi gobio tantum
 in loculis. quis enim te, deficiente crumena
 et crescente gula, manet exitus, aere paterno
 ac rebus mersis in ventrem fenoris atque 40
 argenti gravis et pecorum agrorumque capacem?
 talibus a dominis post cuncta novissimus exit
 annulus, et digito mendicat Pollio nudo.
 non praematuri cineres, nec funus acerbum
 luxuriae, sed morte magis metuenda senectus. 45
 hi plerumque gradus. conducta pecunia Romae
 et coram dominis consumitur; inde ubi paulum
 nescio quid superest et pallet fenoris auctor,

38. culina.

which even Ulysses cut a doubtful figure), or whether you aspire to defend a doubtful cause of great moment, consult yourself; tell yourself what you are, a powerful orator or a Curtius or Matho—*mere* cheeks. A man should know his own measure, and consider it in the smallest as well as the greatest matters; even in buying a fish, that you may not covet a mullet when you have only got a gudgeon in your purse. For what end awaits you, with your purse failing, while your gluttony is increasing, with your paternal fortune and your effects sunk in your belly, which can swallow up investments, and heavy plate, and flocks and estates? From such masters as these, after everything else, last of all the *knightly* ring takes its departure, and Pollio begs with naked finger. It is not a premature decease or an untimely grave, but old age, which should be dreaded more than death by extravagance. These are mostly the stages: the borrowed money is spent at Rome, and under the very eyes of the lenders; then when a trifle, I know not what, is left, and the usurer grows pale, they shift their quarters

qui vertere solum, Baiae et ad ostrea currunt.
 cedere namque foro iam non est deterius quam 50
 Esquiliae a ferventi migrare Subura.
 ille dolor solus patriam fugientibus, illa
 moestitia est, caruisse anno circensibus uno.
 sanguinis in facie non haeret gutta, morantur
 pauci ridiculum et fugientem ex urbe pudorem. 55

Experiere hodie, numquid pulcherrima dictu,
 Persice, non praestem vita vel moribus et re,
 sed laudem siliquas occultus ganeo, pultes
 coram aliis dictem puer, sed in aure placentas.
 nam cum sis conviva mihi promissus, habebis 60
 Evandrum, venies Tirynthius aut minor illo
 hospes et ipse tamen contingens sanguine coelum,
 alter aquis, alter flammis ad sidera missus.
 fercula nunc audi nullis ornata macellis.
 de Tiburtino veniet pinguissimus agro 65

49. ostia.

57. nec moribus.

58. si laudem.

and run to Baiae and the oysters. For to abscond from 'change is nowadays no more disgrace than to migrate to the Esquiline from the hot Suburra. This is the only grief of the fugitives from their country; this their *only* sorrow, to have missed the Circensian games for a single year. Not a particle of a blush remains in their face; few *seek to* detain modesty, become ridiculous and flying from the city.

You will *prove by* experience to-day, Persicus, whether these things which are so pretty to talk about are not carried out in my life, that is, in my conduct and in reality, and whether I praise pulse while in secret a glutton, calling out to my slave for porridge in the presence of others, for honey-cakes in private. For since you are my promised guest, you shall have *in me* an Evander; you shall come *like* the Tirynthian or the guest inferior to him, and who yet himself was connected by blood with heaven—the one sent to the stars by water, the other by fire. Now listen to the courses furnished by no public markets. From my farm at Tibur will come the well-fatted sucking-kid,

haedulus et toto grege mollior, inscius herbae,
necdum ausus virgas humilis mordere salicti,
qui plus lactis habet quam sanguinis, et montani
asparagi, posito quos legit villica fuso.

grandia praeterea tortoque calentia foeno
ova adsunt ipsis cum matribus, et servatae
parte anni, quales fuerant in vitibus, uvae,
Signium Syriumque pirum, de coribus isdem
aemula Picenis et odoris mala recentis,
nec metuenda tibi, siccatum frigore postquam
autumnū et crudi posuere pericula succi.
haec olim nostri iam luxuriosa senatus
coena fuit. Curius parvo quae legerat horto,
ipse focis brevibus ponebat oluscula, quae nunc
squalidus in magna fastidit compede fossor,
qui meminit calidae sapiat quid vulva popinae.
sicci terga suis, rara pendentia crate,
moris erat quondam festis servare diebus

70

75

80

the tenderest of the whole flock, ignorant of herbage, that has not yet ventured to nibble the twigs of the low willow-bed, who has more milk *in him* than blood; and mountain asparagus which the bailiff's wife, laying down her spindle, has gathered. Eggs of large size, besides, and warm from the twisted hay, are here, with the very hens *that laid them*, and grapes preserved for a part of the year just as they were upon the vines: the Signian and the Syrian pear, *and*, from the same baskets, apples rivalling those of Picenum, and fresh in smell, and which you need not fear either, since they have parted with their autumn *crudeness* (which has been dried out by the cold), and the perils of the raw juice.

Such as this was once upon a time quite a luxurious dinner, *even* for our Senate. Curius used in person to place upon his scanty fire the small pot-herbs which he had gathered in his little garden, such as nowadays the squalid ditcher in heavy chains, who calls to mind the flavour of dainties in the warm cookshop, turns up his nose at. It was part of the custom, of old, to keep for

et natalicium cognatis ponere lardum,
accedente nova, si quam dabat hostia, carne. 85
 cognatorum aliquis titulo ter consulis atque
 castrorum imperiis et dictatoris honore
 functus ad has epulas solito maturius ibat,
 erectum domito referens a monte ligonem.
 cum tremerent autem Fabios durumque Catonem 90
 et Scauros et Fabricios, postremo severos
 censoris mores etiam collega timeret,
 nemo inter curas et seria duxit habendum,
 qualis in Oceani fluctu testudo nataret,
 clarum Troiugenis factura et nobile fulcrum, 95
 sed nudo latere et parvis frons aerea lectis
 vile coronati caput ostendebat aselli,
 ad quod lascivi ludebant ruris alumni.
 tales ergo cibi, qualis domus atque supellex.

91. rigidique severos.

festival days the chines of dried bacon hanging from the wide-barred frame, and to set before one's relations lard as a birthday treat, with the addition of fresh meat, if there was a sacrificial victim to supply any. One of these relatives, with the title of thrice-consul, who had enjoyed the command in camps and the dignity of dictator, would go somewhat earlier than usual to such a feast as this, bearing off on his shoulder his spade from the hill which he had been digging. Moreover, when men trembled at the Fabii and rigid Cato and the Scauri and the Fabricii, and when, in fine, the severe character of a censor was feared even by his own colleague, no one thought it a *question* to be included among his cares and serious concerns what sort of tortoise was swimming in the ocean wave to make a conspicuous and noble bed for the Troiugenae. But on couches with plain sides, and small, a front of bronze displayed the rude head of an ass crowned with a *chaplet*, of which the saucy young rustics used to make game. The food, then, was of a piece with the house and the furniture.

tunc rudit et Graias mirari nescius artes
urbibus eversis praedarum in parte reperta
magnorum artificum frangebat pocula miles,
ut phaleris gauderet equus, caelataque cassis
Romuleae simulacra ferae mansuescere iussae
imperii fato, geminos sub rupe Quirinos,
ac nudam effigiem clipeo venientis et hasta
pendentisque dei perituro ostenderet hosti.
argenti quod erat solis fulgebat in armis.
ponebant igitur Tusco farrata catino ;
omnia tunc quibus invideas si lividulus sis.
templorum quoque maiestas praesentior et vox
nocte fere media mediamque audita per urbem,
litore ab Oceani Gallis venientibus et dis
officium vatis peragentibus. his monuit nos,
hanc rebus Latiis curam praestare solebat
fictilis et nullo violatus Iuppiter auro.

106. *fulgentis.*

In those days the soldier, untutored and incapable of admiring the arts of Greece, when cities were overthrown, used to break up the cups by great artists which he found in his share of the booty, in order that his horse might exult in bridle ornaments, that his embossed helmet might exhibit the image of the Romulean wild beast bidden to grow tame by the destiny of *our* empire—and the twin Quirini under the rock, and the naked effigy of the god coming with shield and spear and hanging *in the air*—to the foe about to perish! Whatever there was of silver glittered on arms alone. So they used to serve their porridge on a platter of Tuscan ware: everything at that time was such as you might envy, if you be a trifle given to jealousy. The majesty of the temples also was more present *to man*, and a voice was heard about the middle of the night and through the middle of the city, when the Gauls were coming from the ocean shore, and the gods were discharging the functions of a prophet. By such means did Jupiter warn us, such care used he to bestow on the affairs of Latium, when he was made of earthenware, and profaned by no

illa domi natas nostraque ex arbore mensas
tempora viderunt, hos lignum stabat in usus,
annosam si forte nucem deicerat Eurus.

at nunc divitibus coenandi nulla voluptas,
nil rhombus, nil dama sapit, putere videntur
unguenta atque rosae, latos nisi sustinet orbes
grande ebur et magno sublimis pardus hiatu,
dentibus ex illis quos mittit porta Syenes
et Mauri celeres et Mauro obscurior Indus,
et quos deposituit Nabathaeo bellua saltu
iam nimios capitique graves. hinc surgit orexis,
hinc stomacho vires. nam pes argenteus illis,
annulus in digito quod ferreus. ergo superbum
convivam caveo, qui me sibi comparat et res
despicit exiguae. adeo nulla uncia nobis
est eboris, nec tessellae, nec calculus ex hac
materia, quin ipsa manubria cultellorum
ossea. non tamen his ulla umquam opsonia fiunt

120

125

130

128. bilis.

gold. Those times saw tables produced at home and from our own trees : for these purposes there was timber stacked, if by chance the east wind had thrown down an aged walnut-tree. But now, for the rich, there is no pleasure in dining, the turbot, the venison have no flavour, perfumes and roses appear to stink, unless the broad circumferences of *the tables* be supported by massive ivory and a rampant leopard with gaping jaws, *made* of those tusks which the gate of Syene sends *us*, and the active Moors, and the Indian still darker than the Moor, which the elephant has shed in a Nabathaeian jungle, when *grown* too large and burdensome to his head. Hence arises an appetite, hence strength to the stomach, for a silver pedestal is to them what an iron ring on their finger would be. So then I avoid a proud guest who compares me with himself, and looks down upon small means. So far am I from having an ounce of ivory—not even little dice, nor a counter of that material—that the very handles of my knives are of bone ; yet no provisions are ever

rancidula, aut ideo peior gallina secatur.
sed nec structor erit, cui cedere debeat omnis
pergula, discipulus Trypheri doctoris, apud quem
sumine cum magno lepus atque aper et pygargus
et Scythicae volucres et phoenicopterus ingens
et Gaetus oryx hebeti lautissima ferro
caeditur et tota sonat ulmea coena Subura.
nec frustum capreae subducere nec latus Afrae
novit avis noster, tirunculus ac rudis omni
tempore et exiguae furtis imbutus ofellae.
plebeios calices et paucis assibus emptos
porriget incultus puer atque a frigore tutus;
non Phryx aut Lycius, non a mangone petitus
quisquam erit, et magno: cum posces, posce Latine.
idem habitus cunctis, tonsi rectique capilli
atque hodie tantum propter convivia pexi.
pastoris duri hic est filius, ille bubulci,

144. frustis.

148. in magno.

made the least rancid by these, nor does a chicken cut up the worse on that account. Nor will there be a carver either, such as the whole *carving-school* should yield to, a disciple of Professor Trypherus, at whose house, together with a large sow's udder, the hare and the *wild*-boar, and the gazelle and pheasants, and the huge flamingo, and the Gaetulian wild-goat, a most dainty supper made of elm, are cut up with blunt knives, and resound through the whole Suburra. Nor does my fellow know how to purloin a slice of roe or the breast of a guinea-hen ; a little tyro, untutored all his days, and initiated only in the theft of a tiny collop. My slave, unadorned and protected from the cold, will hand *you* plebeian cups bought for a few pence ; there will be no Phrygian or Lycian *slave*, nor any one obtained from the dealer, and at a great price. When you ask for *anything*, ask in Latin. All have the same attire, hair cut short and straight, and only combed to-day on account of company. One is the son of a hardy shepherd, another of a neat-herd ; he sighs after his mother, whom he has not seen for a

suspirat longo non visam tempore matrem
 et casulam et notos tristis desiderat haedos,
 ingenui vultus puer ingenuique pudoris,
 quales esse decet quos ardens purpura vestit, 155
 nec pugillares defert in balnea raucus
 testiculos, nec vellendas iam praebuit alas,
 crassa nec opposito pavidus tegit inguina gutto.
 hic tibi vina dabit diffusa in montibus illis
 a quibus ipse venit, quorum sub vertice lusit; 160
 namque una atque eadem est vini patria atque ministri.
 forsitan exspectes ut Gaditana canoro
 incipiat prurire choro plausuque probatae
 ad terram tremulo descendant clune puellae—
 spectant hoc nuptae iuxta recubante marito, 165
 quod pudeat narrare aliquem praesentibus ipsis—
 irritamentum Veneris languentis et acres
 divitis urtcae. maior tamen ista voluptas
 alterius sexus; magis ille extenditur, et mox

long time, and mournfully regrets the little cottage and the well-known kids—a boy of ingenuous face and ingenuous modesty, such as it becomes those to be whom the bright purple clothes. Nor does he carry into the baths the signs of his robust manhood, nor has he already yielded his arm-pits to be plucked, nor has he timidly to protect his person by the interposition of the oil-flask. He, *such as he is*, will hand you wines bottled on the very hills from which he himself comes, under whose summit he has played; for the native country of the wine and the attendant is one and the same. Perhaps you may be expecting that a Gaditane *artiste* will begin to wanton amid the tuneful choir, and that *dancing-girls*, covered with applause, will curtsy to the ground with quivering hips (brides, with their husbands reclining next them, behold this *sight*, which any one would be ashamed to relate in their presence), a provocative for languishing desire and sharp incentives for the wealthy. Yet this *sort of pleasure* is greater in the case of the other sex, which is more worked upon, and soon passion engendered through ears and eyes is set in motion.

auribus atque oculis concepta urina movetur. 170
 non capit has nugas humilis domus. audiat ille
 testarum crepitus cum verbis, nudum olido stans
 fornici mancipium quibus abstinet, ille fruatur
 vocibus obscenis omnique libidinis arte
 qui Lacedaemonium pytismate lubricat orbem. 175
 namque ibi fortunae veniam damus. alea turpis,
 turpe et adulterium mediocribus; haec eadem illi
 omnia cum faciunt, hilares nitidique vocantur.
 nostra dabunt alios hodie convivia ludos,
 conditor Iliados cantabitur atque Maronis 180
 altisoni dubiam facientia carmina palmam.
 quid refert tales versus qua voce legantur?
 Sed nunc dilatis averte negotia curis
 et gratam requiem dona tibi, quando licet
 per totum cessare diem. non fenoris ulla 185
 mentio, nec, prima si luce egressa reverti

170. paratur.

A humble household does not admit of this trumpery. Let him listen to the clinking of castanets, accompanied by words such as the slave girl, standing naked in the stinking brothel, abstains from; let him enjoy the obscene language and all the artifices of lechery, who lubricates the circles of his Laconian marble floor by spitting *wine* over them; for, in that case, we make allowance for his fortune. Gambling is disgraceful, and adultery is disgraceful for common people. The others, when they do all these same things, are called choice spirits and stylish fellows. Our banquet to-day shall present other amusements. The author of the Iliad shall be recited, and the strains of high-sounding Maro, rendering the palm of *victory* a doubtful one. What matters it with what voice such verses as these are read?

But now, *at any rate*, your cares deferred, put aside business matters, and treat yourself to a pleasant respite, since you will be at liberty to idle through the whole day. *Let there be no mention whatever of interest due*, nor let your wife stir up your

nocte solet, tacito bilem tibi contrahat uxor,
 humida suspectis referens multicia rugis
 vexatasque comas et vultum auremque calentem.
 protinus ante meum quidquid dolet exue limen, 190
 pone domum et servos et quidquid frangitur illis
 aut perit, ingratis ante omnia pone sodales.
 interea Megalesiacae spectacula mappae,
 Idaeum sollemne, colunt, similisque triumpho
 praeda caballorum praetor sedet ac, mihi pace 195
 immensae nimiaeque licet si dicere plebis,
 totam hodie Romam circus capit et fragor aurem
 percutit, eventum viridis quo colligo panni.
 nam si deficeret, maestam attonitamque videres
 hanc urbem, veluti Cannarum in pulvere victis 200
 consulibus. spectent iuvenes, quos clamor et audax
 sponsio, quos cultae decet assedisse puellae,
 nostra bibat vernum contracta cuticula solem

195. praedo.

bile and make you silent, if she goes out at early dawn, and is in the habit of returning at night, bringing back her light dress wet with suspicious creases, and her hair tumbled, and her face and ears red. At sight of my threshold, throw off everything which annoys you; lay aside your household and your servants, and whatever is broken by them or wasted: above all things, lay aside the ingratitude of your friends. Meanwhile the people are frequenting the spectacle of the Megalesian napkin, the Idaean solemnity, and, like one triumphing, the Praetor sits, a prey to horseflesh; and—to beg the pardon of the immense (and, if I may be allowed to say so, overgrown) populace—the circus to-day contains the whole of Rome, and a din strikes upon my ear from which I gather the success of the green-jacket; for if it were to fail, you would see this city sorrowing and awe-struck, as if the Consuls had been vanquished in the dust of Cannae. Let the young men look on, for whom the noise and bold betting and sitting by *some* smart damsel are suitable; let our dried-up skin imbibe the sun of

effugiatque togam. iam nunc in balnea salva
 fronte licet vadas, quamquam solida hora supersit 205
 ad sextam. facere hoc non possis quinque diebus
 continuis, quia sunt talis quoque taedia vitae
 magna: voluptates commendat rarior usus.

SATIRA XII.

NATALI, Corvine, die mihi dulcior haec lux,
 qua festus promissa deis animalia cespes
 exspectat. niveam reginae ducimus agnam,
 par vellus dabitur pugnanti Gorgone Maura,
 sed procul extensum petulans quatit hostia funem 5
 Tarpeio servata Iovi frontemque coruscat,
 quippe ferox vitulus templis maturus et arae,

1. carior, clarior.

3. caedimus.

5

spring-time, and escape the toga. Even now you may go to the bath without shame, although it wants a whole hour of the sixth. You could not do this for five continuous days, because the tedium even of such a life as this would be great. A rarer experience of them enhances one's pleasures.

SATIRE XII.

SWEETER to me than my own birthday, Corvinus, is this day on which the festal turf awaits the animals promised to the gods. We are leading to the sacrifice a snow-white lamb for the Queen of heaven; a like fleece will be given to her who fights armed with the Mauritanian Gorgon; but the victim reserved for Tarpeian Jove shakes in his wantonness the outstretched rope and tosses his head—a wild steer, in truth, ripe for the temple and the altar, and fit to be sprinkled with wine, who is already

spargendusque mero, quem iam pudet ubera matris
 ducere, qui vexat nascenti robora cornu.
 si res ampla domi similisque affectibus esset; 10
 pinguior Hispulla traheretur taurus et ipsa
 mole piger nec finitima nutritus in herba,
 laeta sed ostendens Clitumni pascua, sanguis
 iret et a grandi cervix ferienda ministro,
 ob redditum trepidantis adhuc horrendaque passi 15
 nuper et incolumem sese mirantis amici.
 nam praeter pelagi casus et fulminis ictus
 evasit. densae coelum abscondere tenebrae
 nube una subitusque antenas impulit ignis,
 cum se quisque illo percussum crederet et mox 20
 attonitus nullum conferri posse putaret
 naufragium velis ardentibus. omnia fuit
 talia, tam graviter, si quando poetica surgit
 tempestas. genus ecce aliud discriminis, audi

14. magno magistro (Serv.) 17. fulgoris ictum.
 23. quam quando.

ashamed to drain the teats of his mother, who butts the oaks with his rising horn. If my personal means were ample, and equal to my affections, a bull fatter than Hispulla should be dragged along, one slow from his very bulk, and fed on no neighbouring herbage, but, giving evidence of the rich pastures of Clitumnus, the high-bred should go, with a neck that would have to be struck by a burly sacrificer, on account of the return of my friend still trembling, and who has just endured horrors, and who wonders at finding himself alive.

For besides the dangers of the sea, he escaped even the stroke of lightning. Thick darkness concealed the heavens in one cloud, and the sudden fire fell upon the yards; when every one thought himself struck by it, and thereupon, in a panic, deemed that no shipwreck could be comparable to burning sails. Everything takes place in the same way, and just as disagreeably, whenever a storm arises in poetry. Behold another kind of danger; listen and pity him again, though what follows belongs

et miserere iterum, quamquam sint cetera sortis
 eiusdem, pars dira quidem, sed cognita multis
 et quam votiva testantur fana tabella
 plurima : pictores quis nescit ab Iside pasci ?
 accidit et nostro similis fortuna Catullo.
 cum plenus fluctu medius foret alveus et iam 25
 alternum puppis latus evertentibus undis
 arboris incertae, nullam prudentia cani
 rectoris conferret opem, decidere iactu
 coepit cum ventis, imitatus castora, qui se
 eunuchum ipse facit, cupiens evadere damno
 testiculi : adeo medicatum intelligit inguen.
 "fundite, quae mea sunt," dicebat, "cuncta," Catullus,
 praecipitare volens etiam pulcherrima, vestem
 purpuream teneris quoque Maecenatibus aptam,
 atque alias, quarum generosi graminis ipsum
 infecit natura pecus, sed et egregius fons 35
 viribus occultis et Baeticus adiuvat aer.
 40

33. cum ferret.

to the same ill luck ; a portion dreadful indeed, but known to many, and which a multitude of temples bear witness to with their votive tablets. Who does not know that there are painters who gain their living by Isis ? And a similar fortune befell our Catullus. When the hold was full of water up to the middle, and, now that the waves were heaving up each side alternately of the stern of the crazy log, the skill of the hoary helmsman could render no aid ; he began to compound with the winds by throwing overboard *the cargo* in imitation of the beaver, who, by his own act, makes himself a eunuch, hoping to escape by the sacrifice of his testicles, so well does he understand the medicinal properties of his parts. "Throw out everything that belongs to me," Catullus kept saying, wishing to hurl overboard the very choicest objects, a purple robe fitted even for effeminate Maecenases, and others whose wool the nature of the generous pasture has tinged, but also the exquisite springs by their hidden properties and the air of Baetica contribute. He did not hesi-

ille nec argentum dubitabat mittere, lances
 Parthenio factas, urnae cratera capacem
 et dignum sitiente Pholo vel coniuge Fusci,45
 addē et bascaudas et mille escaria, multum
 caelati, biberat quo callidus emptor Olynthi.
 sed quis nunc alias, qua mundi parte, quis audet
 argento praeferre caput rebusque salutem ?
 non propter vitam faciunt patrimonia quidam,50
 sed vitio caeci propter patrimonia vivunt.
 iactatur rerum utilium pars maxima, sed nec
 damna levant. tunc adversis urgentibus illuc
 decidit ut malum ferro summitteret, ac se
 explicat angustum : discriminis ultima, quando55
 praesidia afferimus navem factura minorem.
 i nunc, et ventis animam committe, dolato
 confisus ligno, digitis a morte remotus
 quatuor aut septem si sit latissima taeda ;

54. recedit ; hac re.

tate to throw overboard even his plate—platters made by Parthenius, a bowl holding three gallons, and worthy of Pholus when athirst, or even the wife of Fuscus; add bascaudæ into the bargain, and a thousand meat-dishes, a quantity of chased cups, out of which the cunning purchaser of Olymthus had drunk. But who else nowadays, in any part of the world, who ventures to prefer his life to his plate, and his safety to his property? [Some men do not make fortunes for the sake of living, but, blinded by a vice of nature, live for the sake of *making* fortunes] The greatest part of his necessaries is thrown overboard, but not even do these sacrifices lighten *the ship*. Then, under the pressure of danger, it came to this, that he submitted his mast to the axe, and he extricates himself, though crippled. *It must be* the extremity of danger when we apply remedies which will take away part of the ship! Go now and commit your life to the winds, trusting to a hewn plank, removed four inches from death, or seven if the deal be of the thickest; and then, together with your wallets and bread and

mox cum reticulis et pane et ventre lagenae 60
 aspice sumendas in tempestate secures.
 sed postquam iacuit planum mare, tempora postquam
 prospera vectoris fatumque valentius euro
 et pelago, postquam Parcae meliora benigna
 pensa manu ducunt hilares et staminis albi
 lanificae, modica nec multum fortior aura 65
 ventus adest, inopi miserabilis arte cucurrit
 vestibus extensis et, quod superaverat unum,
 velo prora suo. iam deficientibus austris,
 spes vitae cum sole redit. tunc gratus Iulo,
 atque novocali sedes praelata Lavino, 70
 conspicitur sublimis apex, cui candida nomen
 scrofa dedit, laetis Phrygibus mirabile sumen,
 et numquam visis triginta clara mamillis.
 tandem intrat positas inclusa per aequora moles 75
 Tyrrhenamque pharon porrectaque brachia rursum,
 quae pelago occurrunt medio longeque relinquunt

61. accipe.

bulging flagon, see to *providing* hatchets to be used in case of a storm. But after the sea fell into a calm, after a lucky time *had come* for the passengers, and Fate was mightier than Eurus and the deep, after the Parcae were spinning kindlier piecework with benign hand, blithe, and working their wool with white threads, and the wind presented itself not much stronger than a moderate breeze, the prow drifted on pitiable with powerless shifts, with clothes outspread and its foresail, which alone remained. And now that the south wind was subsiding, hope of life returns with the sunshine ; then the lofty peak is caught sight of, beloved of Iulus, and preferred by him as a home to his stepmother's Lavinium ; *the peak* to which the white sow gave its name, an udder that excited the wonder of the rejoicing Phrygians, remarkable for what had never been seen *before*, thirty nipples. At length he reaches the moles built through the waters enclosed between them and the Tuscan Pharos, and the arms stretching back again, which run into the midst of the sea and leave Italy

Italiam—non sic igitur mirabere portus,
quos natura dedit—sed trunca puppe magister
interiora petit Baianae pervia cymbae
tuti stagna sinus, gaudent ubi vertice raso
garrula securi narrare pericula nautae.

80

Ite igitur, pueri, linguis animisque faventes,
sertaque delubris et farra imponite cultris
ac molles ornate focos glebamque virentem.
iam sequar, et sacro, quod praestat, rite peracto
inde domum repetam, graciles ubi parva coronas
accipiunt fragili simulacra nitentia cera.
hic nostrum placabo Iovem Laribusque paternis
thura dabo atque omnes violae iactabo colores.
cuncta nitent, longos erexit ianua ramos
et matutinis operatur festa lucernis.

85

Nec suspecta tibi sint haec, Corvine; Catullus,
pro cuius reditu tot pono altaria, parvos

90

81. tunc stagnante sinu.

far behind ;—you would not, in fine, admire so much ports of Nature's making ;—but with his disabled ship the skipper makes for the inner still water of the safe basin, which a skiff from Baiae could cross, where, with shaven crowns, the sailors, freed from anxiety, delight in garrulous recitals of their perils.

Go then, lads, keeping watch over your tongues and thoughts, and place garlands on the shrines and meal on the knives, and adorn the soft hearths and the green turf *altar*. I will follow anon, and the sacrifice, which has the precedence, having been duly performed, will thence return home where the little images glistening with fragile wax receive their slender chaplets. Here I will propitiate my own Jove, and will offer frankincense to my paternal Lares, and will strew all the colours of the violet. Everything is bright ; my festive door has put forth long boughs, and is performing *its part* in the rite with *early* morning lamps.

Nor let these things seem suspicious to you, Corvinus. Catullus, for whose return I erect so many altars, has three

tres habet heredes. libet exspectare quis aegram 95
 et claudentem oculos gallinam impendat amico
 tam sterili. verum haec nimia est impensa, coturnix
 nulla umquam pro patre cadet. sentire calorem
 si coepit locuples Gallita et Paccius orbi,
 legitime fixis vestitur tota tabellis 100
 porticus, exsistunt qui promittunt hecatomben,
 quatenus hic non sunt nec venales elephanti,
 nec Latio aut usquam sub nostro sidere talis
 bellua concipitur, sed furva gente petita
 arboribus Rutulis et Turni pascitur agro, 105
 Caesaris armentum, nulli servire paratum
 privato, siquidem Tyrio parere solebant
 Hannibali et nostris ducibus regique Molosso
 horum maiores ac dorso ferre cohortes,
 partem aliquam belli et euntem in proelia turrim. 110
 nulla igitur mora per Novium, mora nulla per Histrum
 Pacuvium, quin illud ebur ducatur ad aras

little heirs. I should like to see who would lay out a sick hen, just closing her eyes, on so unprofitable a friend. But of a truth this would be too great an outlay; not even a quail will ever be sacrificed for one who is a father. If rich Gallita has begun to be sensible of fever, or Paccius—people who have no children—the whole portico is clothed with votive tablets affixed in the acknowledged way. There are people who start up and promise a *hetacombe of oxen*, since here there are no elephants even for sale, nor *indeed* is such a huge beast generated in Latium or anywhere under our sky; but procured from a swarthy nation, it grazes in the Rutulian forests and the pastures of Turnus, the herd of Caesar, prepared to serve no private individual, seeing that their ancestors were wont to obey Tyrian Hannibal and our generals and the Molossian king, and to bear on their backs cohorts,—no trifling part of the fight,—and a tower that went into battles. It is no fault of Novius, then, no fault of Hister Pacuvius, that that ivory is not led to the altars to fall a victim

et cadat ante Lares Gallitae victima, sola
 tantis digna deis et captatoribus horum.
 alter enim, si concedas mactare, vovebit 115
 de grege servorum magna et pulcherrima quaeque
 corpora, vel pueris et frontibus ancillarum
 imponet vittas, et, si qua est nubilis illi
 Iphigenia domi, dabit hanc altaribus, etsi
 non sperat tragicae furtiva piacula cervae. 120
 laudo meum civem, nec comparo testamento
 mille rates; nam si Libitinam evaserit aeger,
 delebit tabulas, inclusus carcere nassae,
 post meritum sane mirandum, atque omnia soli
 forsan Pacuvio breviter dabit, ille superbus 125
 incedet victis rivalibus. ergo vides quam
 grande operae pretium faciat iugulata Mycenis.
 vivat Pacuvius, quaeso, vel Nestora totum,
 possideat quantum rapuit Nero, montibus aurum
 exaequet, nec amet queinquam, nec ametur ab ullo! 130

before the Lares of Gallita, the only one worthy of such great gods and those that court their favours. Another of *these fellows*, indeed, if you will consent to his making the sacrifice, will devote the tallest and handsomest persons out of the flock of his slaves, and will place *sacrificial* fillets on his slave-boys and the brows of his maid-servants; and if by chance he has a marriageable Iphigenia at home, he will give her to the altars, although he does not expect the furtive substitution of the hind of the tragediana. I praise my fellow-citizen, nor do I compare a thousand ships to a will; for if the sick man escapes from Libitina, he will cancel his will, caught in the grasp of the snare, after a service so truly wonderful, and will perhaps summarily bestow his all on Pacuvius as sole heir. The latter will strut proudly over his defeated rivals. You see, then, what a great return for his trouble the slaughter of the Mycenian maid may bring him.

May Pacuvius live, I pray, even to the full age of a Nestor; may he possess as much as Nero plundered; may he pile his gold to the height of mountains—and love no one, and be loved by none!

SATIRA XIII.

EXEMPLI quodcumque malo committitur, ipsi
dispicet auctori. prima est haec ultio, quod se
iudice nemo nocens absolvitur, improba quamvis
gratia fallaci praetoris vicerit urna.
quid sentire putas omnes, Calvine, recenti
de scelere et fidei violatae criminē? sed nec
tam tenuis census tibi contigit, ut mediocris
iacturae te mergat onus, nec rara videmus
quae pateris; casus multis hic cognitus ac iam
tritus et e medio fortunae ductus acervo.
ponamus nimios gemitus. flagrantior aequo
non debet dolor esse viri, nec vulnere maior.
tu quamvis levium minimam exiguamque malorum
particulam vix ferre potes, spumantibus ardens

4. fallacia.

13. laborum.

SATIRE XIII.

WHATEVER *act* is perpetrated *which serves* as a bad example, is displeasing to its very author. This is his first punishment—that by his own verdict no offender is acquitted, though corrupt favour may win in the Praetor's lying urn. What do you suppose is the feeling of every one, Calvinus, respecting this recent act of villainy and crime of violated confidence? Besides, neither is the fortune you are favoured with so slender that the weight of a small loss should sink you, nor do we witness but seldom what you are suffering. This kind of mischance is familiar to many, and commonplace by this time, and drawn from the mid-heap of the *accidents* of fortune. Let us lay aside excessive laments; the grief of a man should not be more vehement than is reasonable, nor greater than the wound *received*. You are scarce able to bear the smallest and most trifling particle of ills, however light, raging with your vitals in a foam, because your

visceribus, sacrum tibi quod non reddit amicus 15
 depositum. stupet haec, qui iam post terga reliquit
 sexaginta annos, Fonteio consule natus ?
 an nihil in melius tot rerum proficis usu ?
 magna quidem, sacris quae dat praecepta libellis,
 victrix fortunae sapientia ; ducimus autem 20
 hos quoque felices, qui ferre incommoda vitae
 nec iactare iugum vita didicere magistra.
 quae tam festa dies, ut casset prodere furem
 perfidiam fraudes atque omni ex crimine lucrum
 quaesitum et partos gladio vel pyxide nummos ? 25
 rari quippe boni, numero vix sunt totidem quot
 Thebarum portae vel divitis ostia Nili.
 nona aetas agitur, peioraque secula ferri
 temporibus, quorum sceleri non invenit ipsa
 nomen et a nullo posuit natura metallo. 30
 nos hominum divumque fidem clamore ciemus,

18. proficit usus.

28. nunc aetas agitur.

friend does not restore to you a deposit that was sacred. Can one be amazed at such things who has already left sixty years behind his back, born in the consulship of Fonteius ? or do you profit nothing by so great an experience of the world ? Great, indeed, is philosophy, the conqueror of fortune, which sets forth its precepts in sacred books ; but we deem those happy, too, who have learned to bear the incommodes of life, and not to toss the yoke, with life *itself* for their teacher. What day so holy that it fails to bring forth a thief, perfidy, frauds, and profit obtained from every sort of crime, and money acquired by the sword or the poison-box ? For rare, indeed, are the good ; in number they are scarcely as many as the gates of Thebes, or the mouths of the rich Nile. It is the ninth age that we are passing through—times worse than the period of iron, for whose wickedness Nature herself does not find a name, and has given one from no metal. We are invoking the aid of men and gods, with a clamour loud as that with which his vocal

quanto Faesidium laudat vocalis agentem
 sportula. dic, senior bulla dignissime, nescis
 quas habeat Veneres aliena pecunia ? nescis
 quem tua simplicitas risum vulgo moveat, cum 35
 exigis a quoquam ne peieret et putet ullis
 esse aliquod numen templis araeque rubenti ?
 quondam hoc indigenae vivebant more, priusquam
 sumeret agrestem posito diademate falcem
 Saturnus fugiens, tunc, cum virguncula Iuno 40
 et privatus adhuc Idaeis Iuppiter antris,
 nulla super nubes convivia coelicularum,
 nec puer Iliacus, formosa nec Herculis uxor
 ad cyathos, et iam siccato nectare tergens
 brachia Vulcanus Liparaea nigra taberna. 45
 prandebat sibi quisque deus, nec turba deorum
 talis ut est hodie, contentaque sidera paucis
 numinibus miserum urgebant Atlanta minori
 pondere. nondum aliquis sortitus triste profundi

hangers-on applaud Faesidius when he is pleading ! Tell me, old man, most worthy of the child's boss, know you not what charms are possessed by another's money ? know you not what a laugh your simplicity will excite in the herd, when you require of any one that he should not perjure himself, and should deem that there is some divinity in any temples or *on* blood-red altar ? Once upon a time the aborigines used to live in this fashion, before Saturn in his flight took up the rustic sickle, after laying down his diadem ; in the days when Juno was a little maiden, and Jupiter still a private individual in the caves of Ida, *when* there were no banquets of the celestials above the clouds, no Trojan boy, nor beautiful wife of Hercules at the cups, with Vulcan, after draining the nectar, wiping his arms black from his Liparaean workshop. Each god used to dine by himself, nor was the crowd of gods such as it is nowadays ; and the heavens, contented with few divinities, pressed upon poor Atlas with less weight. No one as yet had allotted to him the gloomy

imperium aut Sicula torvus cum coniuge Pluton, 50
 nec rota nec Furiae nec saxum aut vulturis atri
 poena, sed infernis hilares sine regibus umbrae.
 improbitas illo fuit admirabilis aevo.
 credebant hoc grande nefas et morte piandum,
 si iuvenis vetulo non assurrexerat et si 55
 barbato cuicunque puer, licet ipse videret
 plura domi fraga et maiores glandis acervos.
 tam venerabile erat praecedere quatuor annis,
 primaque par adeo sacrae lanugo senectae.
 nunc, si depositum non infitietur amicus, 60
 si reddat veterem cum tota aerugine follem,
 prodigiosa fides et Tuscis digna libellis,
 quaeque coronata lustrari debeat agna.
 egregium sanctumque virum si cerno, bimembri
 hoc monstrum puero aut miranti sub aratro 65
 piscibus inventis et fetae comparo mulae,

54. credebant quo.

65. mirandis.

empire of the deep, nor was there a grim Pluto, with his Sicilian wife, nor the wheel, nor the Furies, nor the rock, nor the punishment of the black vulture; but merry shades without infernal kings. Impropriety was a marvel in that age. They thought it a great impiety, and one to be expiated by death, if a young man had not risen up before an old man, or a boy before any one that had got a beard, although he himself might see more wild strawberries in his home, and larger piles of acorns. Such a claim to veneration was it to be senior by four years; to such an extent was the first down on a par with sacred old age. Nowadays, if a friend do not repudiate a deposit, if he restore the old purse with all its rusty contents, his good faith is a matter of prodigy, worthy of the Etruscan books, and such as ought to be expiated by *the sacrifice of a garlanded lamb*. If I see a man above the herd, of true proverty, I compare such a monster to a boy, half man, half beast, or fish found under the astonished plough, or a pregnant mule; *as much*

sollicitus, tamquam lapides effuderit imber
 examenque apium longa consederit uva
 culmine delubri, tamquam in mare fluxerit amnis
 gurgitibus miris et lactis vertice torrens.

70

Intercepta decem quereris sestertia fraude
 sacrilega? quid si bis centum perdidit alter
 hoc arcana modo? maiorem tertius illa
 summam, quam patulae vix ceperat angulus arcae?
 tam facile et proum est superos contemnere testes,

75

si mortalis idem nemo sciat. aspice quanta
 voce neget, quae sit facti constantia vultus.

per Solis radios Tarpeiaque fulmina iurat
 et Martis frameam et Cirraei spicula vatis,
 per calamos venatricis pharetramque puellae
 perque tuum, pater Aegaei Neptune, tridentem;
 addit et Herculeos arcus hastamque Minervae,
 quidquid habent telorum armamentaria coeli.

80

70. vortice.

alarmed as though a rain-cloud had poured forth stones, or a swarm of bees had settled in a long cluster on the summit of a temple; as though a river had flowed into the sea with unnatural eddies, and rushing on with a whirlpool of milk.

You complain that ten sestertia have been wrested *from you* by an impious fraud? What if another man has lost two hundred, privately deposited, in the same way? a third a still larger sum than that, which the corner of his broad strong-box would scarcely hold? So easy and natural is it to despise the witnesses on high, if no mortal be acquainted with the matter. See with what a loud voice he denies it, what the assurance of his made-up countenance. He swears by the sun's rays, and the Tarpeian thunderbolts, and the lance of Mars, and the darts of the seer-god of Cirra, by the arrows and the quiver of the Huntress-Virgin, and by your trident, Neptune, father of the Aegean. He adds the bow of Hercules too, and the spear of Minerva, all the weapons that the armouries of heaven contain! If indeed

si vero et pater est, “ comedam,” inquit “ flebile nati
sinciput elixi Pharioque madentis aceto.”

85

Sunt in fortunae qui casibus omnia ponunt
et nullo credunt mundum rectore moveri,
natura volente vices et lucis et anni,
atque ideo intrepidi quaecumque altaria tangunt.
est aliis metuens ne crimen poena sequatur;
hic putat esse deos et peierat, atque ita secum:
“ decernat quodcumque volet de corpore nostro
Isis et irato feriat mea lumina sistro,
dummodo vel caecus teneam, quos abnego, nummos.
et phthisis et vomicae putres et dimidium crus

90

sunt tanti. pauper locupletem optare podagram
nec dubitet Ladas, si non eget Anticyra nec
Archigene; quid enim velocis gloria plantae
praestat et esuriens Pisaeae ramus olivae?

86. Sunt qui in fortunae jam casibus.

he be a father as well, “ I will eat up,” he says, “ the wretched head of my son, boiled and reeking with vinegar from Pharos, if I lie.”

There are those who range all things among the accidents of fortune, and believe the universe to be moving on with no power to guide it, Nature evolving the changes both of days and years; and so, without a tremor, they lay their hands on any altar. There is another who fears that punishment will follow his offence; this man believes that there are gods, and yet he commits perjury, and *reasons* thus with himself—“ Let Isis decree what she pleases about my body, and strike my eyes with her angry sistrum, so long as I can hold possession, even with the loss of sight, of the moneys which I deny having received. Even consumption and putrid abscesses and a shrivelled leg are worth the price. Let Ladas himself, if poor, not hesitate to pray for the rich man’s gout, if he does not stand in need of Anticyra or Archigenes. For what indeed does the glory of the swift foot bring him in, or the hungry branch of the olive of Pisa?

ut sit magna tamen certe lenta ira deorum est; 100
 si curant igitur cunctos punire nocentes,
 quando ad me venient? sed et exorable numen
 fortasse experiar; solet his ignoscere. multi
 committunt eadem diverso crimina fato;
 ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema." 105
 sic animum dirae trepidum formidine culpae
 confirmant. Tunc te sacra ad delubra vocantem
 praecedit, trahere immo ultro ac vexare paratus.
 nam cum magna malae superest audacia causae,
 creditur a multis fiducia. mimum agit ille, 110
 urbani qualem fugitivus scurra Catulli;
 tu miser exclamas, ut Stentora vincere possis,
 vel potius quantum Gradius Homericus: "audis,
 Iuppiter, haec, nec labra moves, cum mittere vocem
 debueras vel marmoreus vel aeneus? aut cur 115
 in carbone tuo charta pia thura soluta

107. confirmat.

115. debueris.

And after all, though the wrath of the gods be great, assuredly it is slow. If, then, they make it their business to punish all the guilty, when will they come to me? Aye, and I may perchance find that the divinity is not inexorable; he is wont to forgive these kinds of things. Many men commit the same crimes with different destinies. One receives crucifixion as the price of his villainy, another a diadem." Thus they harden their souls, trembling with the fright caused by their dread offence. Then, when you summon him to the sacred shrine, he goes there before you, aye, even ready of his own accord to drag you along and harass you; for when great impudence comes to the aid of a bad cause, it is taken by many for honest confidence. He is acting just such a farce as the runaway slave in witty Catullus. You, poor man, cry out with a voice to beat a Stentor, or rather as loud as the Gradius of Homer, "Do you hear this, Jupiter, and don't even move your lips when you ought to have spoken out, though you had been of marble or bronze? Or why on your altar-fire do we place the incense of piety from the opened

ponimus et sectum vituli iecur albaque porci
omenta ? ut video, nullum discriminem habendum est
effigies inter vestras statuamque Vagelli."

Accipe quae contra valeat solatia ferre 120
et qui nec cynicos nec stoica dogmata legit
a cynicis tunica distantia, non Epicurum
suspicit exigui laetum plantaribus horti.
currentur dubii medicis maioribus aegri,
tu venam vel discipulo committe Philippi. 125
si nullum in terris tam detestabile factum
ostendis, taceo, nec pugnis caedere pectus
te voto nec plana faciem contundere palma,
quandoquidem accepto claudenda est ianua damno,
et maiore domus gemitu, maiore tumultu 130
planguntur nummi quam funera. nemo dolorem
fingit in hoc casu, vestem diducere summam
contentus, vexare oculos humore coacto :

132. in occasu.

paper, and the sliced liver of a calf, and the white entrails of a pig? As far as I see, there is no distinction to be made between your images and the statue of Vagellius."

Hear now what consolations on the other side even he may have it in his power to bring, who has read neither the Cynics nor the dogmas of the Stoicks, differing from those of the Cynics by a tunic *only*, who does not look up to Epicurus delighting in the plants of his tiny garden. Let patients in a ticklish state be attended by greater physicians: do you trust your vein even to an apprentice of Philippus. If you can show no *other* such detestable deed in the world, I hold my tongue, nor do I forbid you to strike your breast with your fists, nor to beat your face with flattened palm, since your doors must be closed, if you have sustained a *real* loss, and money is bewailed with a greater lamentation of the household and greater tumult than deaths. Nobody feigns grief in such a contingency as this, *nor is* content to tear the top *only* of his garment *nor* to torment his eyes with

ploratur lacrimis amissa pecunia veris.
 sed si cuncta vides simili fora plena querela,
 si decies lectis diversa parte tabellis
 vana supervacui dicunt chirographa ligni,
 arguit ipsorum quos littera gemmaque princeps
 sardonychum, loculis quae custoditur eburnis,
 te nunc delicias ! extra communia censes
 ponendum ? qui tu gallinae filius albæ,
 nos viles pulli nati infelicibus ovis ?
 rem pateris modicam et mediocri bile ferendam,
 si flectas oculos maiora ad crimina . . confer
 conductum latronem, incendia sulfure copta
 atque dolo, primos cum ianua colligit ignes.
 confer et hos, veteris qui tollunt grandia templi
 pocula adorandaæ robiginis et populorum
 dona, vel antiquo positas a rege coronas.
 haec ibi si non sunt, minor exstat sacrilegus, qui
 radat inaurati femur Herculis et faciem ipsam

forced moisture. The loss of money is deplored with real tears. But if you see all the courts full of like complaints, if, after their bonds have been read over half a score of times from the opposite side, people declare their notes-of-hand to be void and the tablets worthless, when their own writing and their own seal, the choicest of sardonyxes, which is kept in an ivory purse, convict them—do you, after this, my fine fellow, think that you are to be placed outside the common lot? How is it that you are the offspring of a white hen, and we, vile chicks born from unlucky eggs? You are suffering a small matter and one to be borne with moderate choler, if you will turn your eyes towards greater crimes. Compare the hired bandit, fires commenced with the stealthy sulphur when the house-door concentrates the first flames; compare those, too, who carry off from the ancient temples huge cups of venerable rustiness, and the gifts of nations, or crowns deposited by some king of old. If no such things are there, there starts up a sacrilegious wretch on a smaller scale, who will scrape the thigh of a gilded Hercules and the

Neptuni, qui bracteolam de Castore ducat :
 an dubitet solitus totum confiare tonantem ?
 confer et artifices mercatoremque veneni,
 et deducendum corio bovis in mare, cum quo 155
 clauditur adversis innoxia simia fatis.
 haec quota pars scelerum, quae custos Gallicus urbis
 usque a lucifero donec lux occidat, audit ?
 humani generis mores tibi nosse volenti
 sufficit una domus ; paucos consume dies, et 160
 dicere te miserum, postquam illinc veneris, audie.
 quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus ? aut quis
 in Meroe crasso maiorem infante mammillam ?
 caerula quis stupuit Germani lumina, flavam
 caesariem et madido torquentem cornua cirro ? 165
 nempe quod haec illis natura est omnibus una.
 ad subitas Thracum volucres nubemque sonoram
 Pygmaeus parvis currit bellator in armis,

153. stolidus (H. Vales).

very face of Neptune, who will strip a thin leaf of gold from Castor. Could he hesitate who is wont to melt down the Thunderer entire ? Compare, too, the compounders and pur-chasers of poison, and the man who deserving to be launched into the sea in a bull's-hide, *the man* with whom an innocent ape has the evil fortune to be shut up. How small a portion these of the crimes which Gallicus, the guardian of the city, listens to continuously from the rising of Lucifer till the sun sets ! If you wish to know the habits of the human race, a single house is enough. Spend a few days *there*, and dare to call yourself miserable after you have come thence ! Who marvels at goitre in the Alps ? Who, in Meroe, at the breast bigger than the coarse baby ? Who is astounded at the blue eyes of the German, at his yellow hair, at his twisting its tufts into a moistened curl ? Because, to be sure, this natural appearance is common to all of them. The Pigmy warrior runs in his small panoply to the suddenly appearing birds of Thrace and the resounding cloud of *cranes* ; before long no match for his foe, and

mox impar hosti raptusque per aera curvis
 unguibus a saeva fertur grue. si videoas hoc 170
 gentibus in nostris, risu quatiare; sed illic,
 quamquam eadem assidue spectentur proelia, ridet
 nemo, ubi tota cohors pede non est altior uno.

“ Nullane periuri capitis fraudisque nefandae
 poena erit ? ” abreptum crede hunc graviore catena 175
 protinus et nostro—quid plus velit ira ? —necari
 arbitrio ; manet illa tamen iactura, nec umquam
 depositum tibi sospes erit, sed corpore trunco
 invidiosa dabit minimus solatia sanguis.

“ at vindicta bonum vita iucundius ipsa.” 180
 nempe hoc indocti, quorum praecordia nullis
 interdum aut levibus videoas flagrantia causis :
 quantulacumque adeo est occasio, sufficit irae.
 Chrysippus non dicet idem nec mite Thaletis
 ingenium dulcique senex vicinus Hymetto, 185
 qui partem acceptae saeva inter vincla cicutae

snatched away through the air by its curved talons, he is carried off by the savage crane. If you saw this among our people you would shake with laughter; but there, though combats of the same kind are continually being looked at, no one laughs, since the whole cohort is not more than a foot high.

“ Shall there be no punishment, then, for the perjured man and the impious fraud ? ” Suppose him to be dragged off in the heaviest chains forthwith and put to death (what more can rage desire ?) at our discretion, yet still that loss remains, nor will your deposit be ever restored to you; and a very little blood from a headless corpse will give you *but* an odious consolation. “ But revenge is a blessing more enjoyable than life itself ! ” Of course the ignorant say so, whose breasts you see inflamed sometimes by small causes, or none at all. However trifling the occasion be, it suffices for their ire. Chrysippus will not say the same, nor the gentle-souled Thales, nor the old man who lived near sweet Hymettus, who would not have given his accuser a portion of the hemlock which he received in his cruel

accusatori nollet dare. plurima felix
 paulatim vitia atque errores exuit omnes,
 prima docet rectum sapientia. quippe minutus
 semper et infirmi est animi exiguae voluptas 190
 ultio: continuo sic collige, quod vindicta
 nemo magis gaudet quam femina. cur tamen hos tu
 evasisse putes, quos diri conscientia facti
 mens habet attonitos et surdo verbere caedit
 occultum quatiente animo tortore flagellum? 195
 poena autem vehemens ac multo saevior illis,
 quas et Caedicius gravis invenit et Rhadamanthus
 nocte dieque suum gestare in pectore testem.
 Spartano cuidam respondit Pythia vates,
 haud impunitum quondam fore, quod dubitaret 200
 depositum retinere et fraudem iure tueri
 iurando. quaerebat enim quae numinis esset
 mens, et an hoc illi facinus suaderet Apollo?
 redditum ergo metu, non moribus; et tamen omnem

bonds. Happy philosophy by degrees strips us of most of our natural defects and all our errors of judgment; she first teaches what is right; for surely vengeance is ever the pleasure of a stunted and feeble and petty mind. You may infer this at once from the fact that no one delights in vengeance more than a woman. Yet why should you deem those to have escaped, whom their mind, conscious of a dreadful deed, holds awestruck, and strikes with noiseless lash, while their tormenting soul brandishes the hidden scourge? Aye, it is a sharp punishment, and far more cruel than those which dread Caedicius and Rhadamanthus invent, to carry about in one's bosom by night and by day one's own witness. The Pythian priestess gave answer to a certain Spartan that he should not in time to come go unpunished for hesitating in the matter of retaining a deposit and backing his fraud by an oath; for he was asking what was the mind of the deity, and whether Apollo counselled him this bad deed. He made restoration, then, through fear, not through principle; and yet he furnished proof that every word from the

vocem adyti dignam templo veramque probavit
 extinctus tota pariter cum prole domoque
 et quamvis longa deductis gente propinquis.
 has patitur poenas peccandi sola voluntas.
 nam scelus intra se tacitum qui cogitat ullum,
 facti crimen habet : cedo, si conata peregit ?
 perpetua anxietas nec mensae tempore cessat,
 faucibus ut morbo siccis interque molares
 difficili crescente cibo, sed vina misellus
 exspuit, Albani veteris pretiosa senectus
 displicet ; ostendas melius, densissima ruga
 cogitur in frontem, velut acri ducta Falerno.
 nocte brevem si forte indulxit cura soporem
 et toto versata toro iam membra quiescunt,
 continuo templum et violati numinis aras
 et, quod praecipuis mentem sudoribus urget,
 te videt in somnis, tua sacra et maior imago
 humana turbat pavidum cogitque fateri.

205

210

215

220

208. saeva voluptas.

213. Setina.

shrine was worthy of the temple and true, by being exterminated, together with all his children and house and his relatives, from however remote a *common stock* derived. Such penalties does the mere wish to sin suffer ; for he who meditates any secret wickedness within himself incurs the guilt of the deed. Say, what if he has accomplished his endeavours ? His perpetual anxiety does not cease even at meal times, when his jaws are dry as in a fever, and the unwelcome food swells between his grinders ; yet the wretch spits out wines ; old Alban of costly age is distasteful to him ; show him still better, yet a crowd of wrinkles is forced upon his brow, as though produced by sour Falernian. By night, if haply care has indulged him with a brief torpor, and his limbs tossed over the whole bed at last repose, forthwith he sees the temple and the altars of the insulted deity, and, what presses on his mind with special terrors, *he sees you in his dreams !* Your image, supernatural and greater than human, disturbs the frightened wretch, and forces him to confess. These are they

hi sunt, qui trepidant et ad omnia fulgura pallent, cum tonat, exanimis primo quoque murmure coeli, non quasi fortuitus nec ventorum rabie, sed iratus cadat in terras et iudicet ignis.	225
illa nihil nocuit, cura graviore timetur proxima tempestas, velut hoc dilata sereno. praeterea lateris vigili cum febre dolorem si coepere pati, missum ad sua corpora morbum	230
infesto credunt a numine, saxa deorum haec et tela putant. pecudem spondere sacello balantem et Laribus cristam promittere galli non audent; quid enim sperare nocentibus aegris	235
concessum? vel quae non dignior hostia vita? mobilis et varia est ferme natura malorum. cum scelus admittunt, superest constantia; quid fas atque nefas, tandem incipiunt sentire peractis criminibus. tamen ad mores natura recurrit	240
damnatos, fixa et mutari nescia. nam quis	

who tremble and turn pale at every flash of lightning ; when it thunders, frightened out of their wits at the very first grumblings of the sky, as though not by chance, nor through the violence of the winds, but in anger, the fire were falling on the earth and judging them. If that one has done them no harm, the next storm is feared with graver anxiety, as though but deferred by this lull. Moreover, if they have begun to suffer from pain in the side with watchful fever, they believe the disease to be sent to their bodies by an angry deity ; they think these things the stones and missiles of the gods. They dare not vow a bleating sheep to the shrine, nor promise a cock's-comb to their Lares ; for what can the guilty sick be permitted to hope for ? or what victim is not more worthy of life ? Changeable and varying is commonly the nature of bad men. When they commit a wicked act, they have resolution to back them up ; what is right and wrong they begin to perceive too late, when their crimes have been completed. Yet Nature runs back to her reprobate habits,

peccandi finem posuit sibi ? quando recepit
ejectum semel attrita de fronte ruborem ?
quisnam hominum est, quem tu contentum videris uno
flagitio ? dabit in laqueum vestigia noster
perfidus et nigri patietur carceris uncum 245
aut maris Aegaei rupem scopulosque frequentes
exsulibus magnis. poena gaudebis amara
nominis invisi, tandemque fatebere laetus
nec surdum nec Tiresiam quemquam esse deorum.



SATIRA XIV.

PLURIMA sunt, Fuscine, et fama digna sinistra
et nitidis maculam haesuram figentia rebus,
quae monstrant ipsi pueris traduntque parentes.
si damnosa senem iuvat alea, ludit et heres

2. maculam et rugam.

fixed and incapable of change. For who has prescribed for himself a limit to sinning? or ever got back the sense of shame once ejected from the hardened brow? Who among men is there whom you have seen contented with a single crime? Our rogue will put his feet in the snare, and will endure the hook of the dark prison, or a rock of the Aegaean Sea, and the crags swarming with great exiles. You will delight in the bitter punishment of the hated man, and will at last joyfully confess that none of the gods is either deaf or a Tiresias.

SATIRE XIV.

THERE are very many acts, Fuscinus, not only deserving a bad name, but also fixing a lasting stain on things bright by *nature*, which parents themselves show and teach to their boys. If baneful gambling delight the old man, his heir, still wearing his

bullatus parvoque eadem movet arma fritillo. 5
 nec melius de se cuiquam sperare propinquo
 concedet iuvenis, qui radere tubera terrae,
 boletum condire et eodem iure natantes
 mergere ficedulas didicit nebulone parente
 et cana monstrante gula. cum septimus annus 10
 transierit puer, nondum omni dente renato,
 barbatos licet admoveas mille inde magistros,
 hinc totidem, cupiet lauto coenare paratu
 semper et a magna non degenerare culina.
 mitem animum et mores modicis erroribus aequos 15
 praecipit atque animas servorum et corpora nostra
 materia constare putat paribusque elementis,
 an saevire docet Rutilus, qui gaudet acerbo
 plagarum strepitu et nullam Sirena flagellis
 comparat, Antiphates trepidi Laris ac Polyphebus, 20
 tunc felix, quoties aliquis tortore vocato

xx. puerum.

x3. cupient.

bulla, plays too, and brandishes the same weapons in his little dice-box. Nor will the youth permit any of his relatives to have better hopes of him, who has learnt to peel truffles, to season a mushroom, and to dip beccaficos swimming in the same sauce—a profligate parent and his hoary gluttony showing the way. When his seventh year has passed over the boy, ere all his teeth are born again, though you introduce a thousand bearded masters from this quarter, and as many from that, he will always want to dine in grand style, and not to degenerate from a great cuisine. Does Rutilus preach a mild temper, and a disposition indulgent to small faults? And does he think that the souls of slaves and their bodies consist of the same material as ours, and of like elements? or does he teach how to act cruelly, when he delights in the harsh sound of stripes, and deems no Syren comparable with the whip, the Antiphates and Polyphebus of his trembling household—then, indeed, happy as often as the torturer is summoned, and some one is branded with

uritur ardenti duo propter lintea ferro ?
 quid suadet iuveni laetus stridore catenae,
 quem mire afficiunt inscripta ergastula, cancer
 rusticus ? exspectas ut non sit adultera Largae 25
 filia, quae numquam maternos dicere moechos
 tam cito nec tanto poterit contexere cursu,
 ut non ter decies respiret ? conscia matri
 virgo fuit, ceras nunc hac dictante pusillas
 implet et ad moechum dat eisdem ferre cinaedis. 30
 sic natura iubet : velocius et citius nos
 corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domestica, magnis
 cum subeunt animos auctoribus. unus et alter
 forsitan haec spernant iuvenes, quibus arte benigna
 et meliore luto fixxit praecordia Titan, 35
 sed reliquos fugienda patrum vestigia ducunt
 et monstrata diu veteris trahit orbita culpae.
 abstineas igitur damnandis. huius enim vel

33. subeant.

the burning iron on account of a couple of towels ? What does he inculcate on the youth who is pleased with the clanking of chains, whom branded slaves and a country bridewell marvellously delight ? Do you expect that the daughter of Larga will not be an adulteress, who could never tell off her mother's lovers so quickly, nor string them together at such a pace, as not to have to take breath thirty times ? When a girl, she was her mother's accomplice ; now, at the dictation of the latter, she fills up her own little tablets, and gives them to the same wretches to carry to her lover. So nature orders ; more rapidly and easily are we corrupted by examples of vices when they are in our homes, when they steal into our minds with great authority. Perhaps youths—here and there one—whose hearts the Titan has fashioned with kindlier art and of a superior clay, may spurn these habits, yet the rest are led on by the footprints of their fathers, which should be shunned, and drawn into the track, which has long been exhibited to them, of the old sin. You should abstain, then, from things to be condemned ; for there is,

una potens ratio est, ne crimina nostra sequantur
 ex nobis geniti, quoniam dociles imitandis 40
 turpibus ac pravis omnes sumus, et Catilinam
 quocumque in populo videas quocumque sub axe,
 sed nec Brutus erit Bruti nec avunculus usquam.
 nil dictu foedum visuque haec limina tangat,
 intra quae puer est. procul hinc, procul inde puellae 45
 lenonum et cantus pernoctantis parasiti.
 maxima debetur puero reverentia. si quid
 turpe paras, ne tu pueri contempseris annos,
 sed peccaturo obsistat tibi filius infans.
 nam si quid dignum censoris fecerit ira 50
 quandoque et similem tibi se non corpore tantum
 nec vultu dederit, morum quoque filius et qui
 omnia deterius tua per vestigia peccet,
 corripies nimirum et castigabis acerbo
 clamore ac post haec tabulas mutare parabis ! 55
 unde tibi frontem libertatemque parentis,

45. intra quae puer est.

52. morum tibi filius.

at any rate, one reason that enjoins this, that those born of us may not follow our crimes, since we are all of us docile in imitating what is base and depraved, and you may see a Catiline in any nation, under any sky ; but there will be no nowhere a Brutus or Brutus's uncle. Let nothing which is foul to be spoken, or to be seen, touch this threshold inside which the boy is. Away from here, away from there, panders, damsels, and songs of the parasite making a night of it. The greatest respect is due to a boy. If you are contemplating anything disgraceful, do not you despise the boy's years ; but let your infant son be a check on the sin you are about to commit. For if, some day or other, he shall do anything to deserve the censor's displeasure, and shall show himself like you, not in form merely, or in face, but *as being* the offspring of your character, and one who exaggerates all your sins *as he goes* along your footprints, no doubt you will find fault with him, and reprove him with bitter outcry, and thereupon prepare to alter your will ! Whence your front *severe*, and license

cum facias peiora senex vacuumque cerebro
 iam pridem caput hoc ventosa cucurbita quaerat ?
 hospite venturo, cessabit nemo tuorum.

“ verre pavimentum, nitidas ostende columnas, 60
 arida cum tota descendat aranea tela,
 hic leve argentum, vasa aspera tergeat alter,”
 vox domini fuit instantis virgamque tenentis.
 ergo miser trepidas, ne stercore foeda canino
 atria displiceant oculis venientis amici, 65
 ne perfusa luto sit porticus ; et tamen uno
 semodio scobis haec emendat servulus unus :
 illud non agitas, ut sanctam filius omni
 aspiciat sine labe domum vitioque carentem.
 gratum est quod patriae civem populoque dedisti, 70
 si facis ut patriae sit idoneus, utilis agris,
 utilis et bellorum et pacis rebus agendis.
 plurimum enim intererit quibus artibus et quibus hunc tu

62. hic lavet argentum.

of a parent, when you, an old man, do worse things, and the windy cupping-glass has long since been looking out for that brainless head of yours ?

When a guest is coming, none of your people will be idle. “ Sweep the pavement, uncover the bright columns, let the dry spider come down with all its web, let one polish the plain silver, another the embossed vessels,” raves the voice of the master, urging them on and wielding his switch. So then, poor man, you are frightened lest your hall, fouled by the ordure of a dog, offend the eyes of your friend when he comes ; lest your colonnade be splashed with mud ; whereas a single little slave, with a single half measure of sawdust, can set all right ; and yet you do not bestir yourself about this, that your son shall behold a virtuous household without any taint and free from vice. It is a subject for thanks that you have given a citizen to your country and to the people, if you take care that he shall be serviceable to the country, useful to her lands, useful in transacting the affairs both of war and peace ; for it will make a very great

moribus instituas. serpente ciconia pullos
 nutrit et inventa per devia rura lacerta ; 75
 illi eadem sumptis quaerunt animalia pinnis.
 vultur iumento et canibus crucibusque relictis
 ad fetus properat partemque cadaveris afferat ;
 hic est ergo cibus magni quoque vulturis et se
 pascentis, propria cum iam facit arbore nidos. 80
 sed leporem aut capream famulae Iovis et generosae
 in saltu venantur aves, hinc praeda cubili
 ponitur ; inde autem cum se matura levarit
 progenies stimulante fame, festinat ad illam
 quam primum praedam rupto gustaverat ovo. 85

Aedificator erat Cetronius, et modo curvo
 litore Caietae, summa nunc Tiburis arce,
 nunc Praenestinis in montibus alta parabat
 culmina villarum Graecis longeque petitis

76. pennis.

83. levabit.

difference by what methods and moral discipline you train this same *youth*. The stork feeds her young on snakes and lizards found in sequestered fields ; they, when they have put on their feathers, go in quest of the same animals. The vulture, quitting the cattle and dogs and crosses, hastens to her brood and brings them a portion of the carcass. This, consequently, is also the food of the vulture when full-grown and feeding itself, *and* when it has begun to build a nest on a tree of its own. But the noble birds, the attendants of Jove, hunt after the hare or the kid in the forest ; hence *comes* the prey which is served up in their nest ; from this cause, also, when their offspring, grown to maturity, lifts himself *on his wings*, under the stimulus of hunger, he hastens to the same prey which he had first tasted on breaking the egg.

Cetronius was given to building, and at one time, on the curved shore of Caieta, now on the highest summit of Tibur, now on the hills of Praeneste, he reared the lofty roofs of his villas with his marbles from Greece, and fetched from afar, sur-

marmoribus vincens Fortunae atque Herculis aedem, 90
 ut spado vincebat Capitolia nostra Posides.
 dum sic ergo habitat Cetronius, imminuit rem,
 fregit opes; nec parva tamen mensura relictæ
 partis erat: totam hanc turbavit filius amens,
 dum meliore novas attollit marmore villas. 95

Quidam sortiti metuentem sabbata patrem
 nil praeter nubes et coeli numen adorant,
 nec distare putant humana carne suillam,
 qua pater abstinuit, mox et praeputia ponunt.
 Romanas autem soliti contemnere leges 100
 Iudaicum ediscunt et servant ac metuunt ius,
 tradidit arcano quodcumque volumine Moses,
 non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti,
 quae situm ad fontem solos deducere verpos.
 sed pater in causa, cui septima quaeque fuit lux 105
 ignava et partem vitae non attigit ullam.

passing the temples of Fortune and of Hercules as much as the eunuch Posides surpassed our Capitols. While, then, Cetronius housed himself in this way, he diminished his property, he impaired his fortune; yet the amount of the portion left was by no means small. His insane son squandered the whole of this, while he raised up new villas of still finer marble.

Some, whose lot it has been to have a father paying respect to sabbaths, worship nothing except the clouds and the divinity of the sky, and think the flesh of swine, from which their father abstained, does not differ from that of human beings; before long they even undergo circumcision. Moreover, having been wont to despise the laws of Rome, they make themselves masters of, and observe and respect, the Jewish code, whatever Moses has taught in his mystic volume; not to show the way except to one who practises the same rites; to guide the circumcised alone to the sought-for well. But the father is to blame, to whom every seventh day was one of idleness, and was connected with no part of *the duties of life*.

Sponte tamen iuvenes imitantur cetera, solam
 inviti quoque avaritiam exercere iubentur.
 fallit enim vitium specie virtutis et umbra,
 cum sit triste habitu vultuque et veste severum, 110
 nec dubie tamquam frugi laudatur avarus,
 tamquam parcus homo et rerum tutela suarum
 certa magis quam si fortunas servet easdem
 Hesperidum serpens aut Ponticus. adde quod hunc de
 quo loquor egregium populus putat acquirendi 115
 artificem : quippe his crescunt patrimonia fabris :
 sed crescent quocumque modo maioraque fiunt
 incude assidua semperque ardente camino.
 et pater ergo animi felices credit avaros,
 qui miratur opes, qui nulla exempla beati 120
 pauperis esse putat. iuvenes hortatur ut illam
 ire viam pergent et eidem incumbere sectae.
 sunt quaedam vitiorum elementa ; his protinus illos

115. atque verendum.

Still, of their own accord, youths imitate the other vices ; avarice alone they are bidden to practise, even against their will. For this vice deceives by an appearance and shadow of virtue, inasmuch as it is subdued in bearing, severe in countenance and attire, and the miser is praised unhesitatingly as a frugal person, as an economical man, and a protector of his own property, more sure than if the serpent of the Hesperides or that of Pontus watched over these same possessions. Add that the people deem him of whom I am speaking an extraordinary master of the art of acquiring ; since patrimonies grow through such workmen as these—aye, they grow by all kinds of ways, and are made larger on an unceasing anvil and in a forge that is always burning. So, then, the father too considers misers to be happy in their disposition ; he who admires wealth, who thinks there are no examples of a poor man who is blessed. He exhorts his youths to continue on that road, and to stick to the same school. There are certain elements of the vices ; with these he imbues them at starting, and compels them to master

imbuit et cogit minimas ediscere sordes,
 mox acquirendi docet insatiabile votum. 125
 servorum ventres modio castigat iniquo
 ipse quoque esuriens ; neque enim omnia sustinet umquam
 mucida caerulei panis consumere frusta,
 hesternum solitus medio servare minutal
 Septembri, nec non differre in tempora coenae 130
 alterius conchem aestivam cum parte lacerti
 signatam vel dimidio putrique siluro,
 filaque sectivi numerata includere porri :
 invitatus ad haec aliquis de ponte negabit.
 sed quo divitias haec per tormenta coactas, 135
 cum furor haud dubius, cum sit manifesta phrenesis,
 ut locuples moriaris, egentis vivere fato ?
 interea pleno cum turget sacculus ore,
 crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crevit,
 et minus hanc optat qui non habet. ergo paratur 140
 altera villa tibi, cum rus non sufficit unum,

131. aestivi.

137. egenti.

139. crescit.

the smallest meannesses ; soon he teaches them the insatiable desire of acquiring. He punishes the bellies of his slaves with short measure, while he himself is hungry into the bargain ; he can never, indeed, bear to consume even the whole of the musty fragments of his mildewed loaf ; *he is* wont to keep yesterday's mincemeat in the middle of September, and to put off to another dinner-time the summer beans, sealed up with a bit of seal-lizard or half a putrid shad, and to shut in with them the shreds, after they have been counted, of cut leeks. A beggar from the bridge invited to such a meal would decline. But to what end riches heaped together through such tortures, when the madness is indubitable, the insanity manifest, of living the lot of the destitute that you may die wealthy ? In the meanwhile, when the small bag is swollen with its mouth full, the love of money grows as much as the money itself has grown. The man who has none is less eager for it. So another country-house must be procured for you, since one estate does not suffice,

et proferre libet fines, maiorque videtur
 et melior vicina seges; mercaris et hanc et
 arbusta et densa montem qui canet oliva.
 quorum si pretio dominus non vincitur ullo, 145
 nocte boves macri lassoque famelica collo
 iumenta ad virides huius mittentur aristas,
 nec prius inde domum quam tota novalia saevos
 in ventres abeant, ut credas falcibus actum.
 dicere vix possis quam multi talia plorent 150
 et quot venales iniuria fecerit agros.
 sed qui sermones, quam foede buccina famae!
 "quid nocet haec?" inquit "tunicam mihi malo lupini,
 quam si me toto laudet vicinia pago
 exigui ruris paucissima farra secantem." 155
 scilicet et morbis et debilitate carebis,
 et luctum et curam effugies, et tempora vitae
 longa tibi post haec fato meliore dabuntur,

147. armenta; mittuntur.

152. foedae.

and you like to extend your boundaries, and the neighbouring corn-land seems *to you* larger and better *than your own*; you buy this too, and the plantations, and the hill which is white with the mass of olives; and if their owner will not yield to any offer, your lean oxen, and famished cattle with weary necks, are turned into his green sprouting corn by night, and do not go thence home before the whole crop has found its way into their ravenous bellies, so that one would think the work had been done with sickles. One can hardly tell how many people have to lament such losses, or how many estates injurious treatment has caused to be offered for sale.

But what talk there will be! How foully the trumpet of rumour *will blow!* "What harm does that do?" he says. "I would rather, for my part, have a bean-shell than that the neighbourhood in the whole district should praise me *on condition of my reaping paltry crops off a small estate.*" Of course, then, you will be exempt from diseases and infirmity, and escape grief and care; and, after this, a long period of life will be

si tantum culti solus possederis agri,
 quantum sub Tatio populus Romanus arbitrat. 160
 mox etiam fractis aetate ac Punica passis
 proelia vel Pyrrhum immanem gladiosque Molossos
 tandem pro multis vix iugera bina dabantur
 vulneribus. merces haec sanguinis atque laboris
 nullis visa umquam meritis minor aut ingratae 165
 curta fides patriae. saturabat glebula talis
 patrem ipsum turbamque casae, qua feta iacebat
 uxor et infantes ludebant quatuor, unus
 vernula, tres domini; sed magnis fratribus horum
 a scrobe vel sulco redeuntibus altera coena 170
 amplior et grandes fumabant pultibus ollae.
 nunc modus hic agri nostro non sufficit horto.
 inde fere scelerum causae, nec plura venena
 miscuit aut ferro grassatur saepius ullum
 humanae mentis vitium quam saeva cupido 175

bestowed on you with a happier destiny, provided you are the sole possessor of as much cultivated land as the Roman people used to plough under Tatius. Afterwards, even to men broken by age, and who had been engaged in the Punic wars, and against fierce Pyrrhus and the swords of the Molossians, at the end, scarce two acres apiece were given in return for many wounds. This, the price of their blood and their toils, never seemed to any of them less than their deserts, nor did their country seem ungratefully wanting in its engagements. A little farm like this amply satisfied the father himself and the troop in the cottage, where his wife was lying pregnant and four children were playing, one a little house-slave, three of them masters; while for the big brothers of these, on their return from the trench or the furrow, there was a second larger supper and huge earthen jars smoking with porridge. Nowadays this measure of land does not suffice for our garden. Hence commonly the incentives to crimes; nor is there any vicious propensity of the human mind which has mingled more poisons, or attacks more frequently with the poniard, than this fierce longing for

immodici census: nam dives qui fieri vult,
 et cito vult fieri: sed quae reverentia legum,
 quis metus aut pudor est umquam properantis avari?
 "vivite contenti casulis et collibus istis,
 o pueri!" Marsus dicebat et Hernicus olim 180
 Vestinusque senex; "panem quaeramus aratro,
 qui satis est mensis. laudant hoc numina ruris,
 quorum ope et auxilio gratae post munus aristae
 contingunt homini veteris fastidia quercus,
 nil vetitum fecisse volet, quem non pudet alto 185
 per glaciem perone tegi, qui summovet euros
 pellibus inversis. peregrina ignotaque nobis
 ad scelus atque nefas, quaecumque est, purpura dicit."
 haec illi veteres praecepta minoribus: at nunc
 post finem autumni media de nocte supinum 190
 clamosus iuvenem pater excitat; "accipe ceras,
 scribe, puer, vigila, causas age, perlege rubras
 maiorum leges aut vitem posce libello.

an immoderate fortune; for he who wishes to become rich wishes to become rich quickly too. But what respect for the laws, what apprehension or sense of shame is there ever on the part of the miser in his haste? "Live contented with these your cottages and hills, my lads," the Marsian and Hernican and Vestinian old man used to say in days of yore. "Let us seek with our ploughs bread which suffices for our tables: this the rustic deities approve, by whose aid and assistance, since the gift of the welcome corn-blade, contempt for the old oak has come upon mankind. He will not wish to do anything forbidden who is not ashamed to wear the high country boot through the winter, who elbows away the east winds with skins turned inside out. This foreign purple, unknown to us *before*, whatever it is, leads to crime and impiety." Such were the precepts of the elders of those days to their juniors; but now, after the close of autumn, immediately upon midnight, the father, with loud voice, calls up his reposing son. "Take your tablets, write, boy, watch, plead causes, read over the red-lettered laws

sed caput intactum buxo naresque pilosas
 annotet et grandes miretur Laelius alas. 195
 dirue Maurorum attegias, castella Brigantum,
 ut locupletem aquilam tibi sexagesimus annus
 afferat, aut, longos castrorum ferre labores
 si piget et trepidum solvunt tibi cornua ventrem
 cum lituis audita, pares quod vendere possis 200
 pluris dimidio, nec te fastidia mercis
 ullius subeant alegandae Tiberim ultra,
 neu credas ponendum aliquid discriminis inter
 unguenta et corium. lucri bonus est odor ex re
 qualibet. illa tuo sententia semper in ore 205
 versetur, dis atque ipso Iove digna poeta,
 'unde habeas, quaerit nemo, sed oportet habere.'
 hoc monstrant vetulae pueris repentibus assae,
 hoc discunt omnes ante alpha et beta puellae."

199. trepido.

208. poscentibus assem.

of our ancestors, or ask for the centurion's switch in a petition. But *mind and* let Laelius remark your head untouched by a comb, your hairy nostrils, and your stalwart shoulders. Destroy the huts of the Moors, the forts of the Brigantes, that your sixtieth year may bring you the lucrative 'eagle;' or, if it is irksome to you to bear the protracted labours of the camp, and the horns heard in company with the trumpets loosen your disturbed bowels, procure something to sell for more than half as much again, and don't let disgust for any *kind of* merchandise that must be relegated to the other side of the Tiber enter your head, nor deem that there is any distinction to be drawn between perfumes and hide. The odour of lucre is good from anything you please. Let that sentiment, worthy of the gods and of Jove himself as its poetical author, be always in your mouth: 'By what means you have become possessed, no one asks, but you need to possess.' This, old dry-nurses teach to boys before they can walk. This every girl learns before her Alpha and Beta."

talibus instantem monitis quemcumque parentum 210
 sic possem affari. dic, o vanissime, quis te
 festinare iubet? meliorem praesto magistro
 discipulum. securus abi, vincēris, ut Ajax
 praeterit Telamonem, ut Pelea vicit Achilles.
 parcendum est teneris; nondum implevere medullas 215
 maturae mala nequitiae. cum pectere barbam
 coepirit et longi mucronem admittere cultri,
 falsus erit testis, vendet periuria summa
 exigua Cereris tangens aramque pedemque.
 elatam iam crede nurum, si limina vestra 220
 mortifera cum dote subit. quibus illa premetur
 per somnum digitis! nam quae terraque marique
 acquirenda putas, brevior via conferet illi:
 nullus enim magni sceleris labor. "haec ego numquam
 mandavi," dices olim, "nec talia suasi." 225
 mentis causa malae tamen est et origo penes te;

211. possum.

216. natirae.

Any parent whatever urging such instructions as these, I would address in this wise—Say, most senseless of men, who bids you be in *such* a hurry? I warrant the disciple superior to his master. Go your way, without fear; you will be beaten, just as Ajax outstripped Telamon, just as Achilles beat Peleus. Young people should be spared. The evils of mature wickedness have not yet permeated his marrow. When he has begun to comb his beard, and to apply the long razor's edge, he will be a false witness, he will sell his false oaths for a trifle, while laying his hand on the altar and foot of Ceres. Consider your daughter-in-law as good as buried if she passes your threshold with a death-bearing dowry. With what fingers will she be throttled in her sleep! For that *wealth* which you think must be acquired by land and sea a shorter way will confer upon him, since there is no trouble in *committing* a great crime. "I never enjoined this," you will say some day, "nor counselled such things." Nevertheless, the cause of this depravity of mind and its origin are with you; for whosoever has inculcated the love of a large

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nam quisquis magni census praecepit amorem
 et laevo monitu pueros producit avaros,
 et qui per fraudes patrimonia conduplicare,
 dat libertatem et totas effundit habenas
 curriculo, quem si revoces, subsistere nescit
 et te contempto rapitur metisque relictis.
 nemo satis credit tantum delinquere, quantum
 permittas; adeo indulgent sibi latius ipsi.
 cum dicis iuveni stultum, qui donet amico,
 qui paupertatem levet attollatque propinqui,
 et spoliare doces et circumscribere et omni
 crimine divitias acquirere, quarum amor in te,
 quantus erat patriae Deciorum in pectore, quantum
 dilexit Thebas, si Graecia vera, Menoeceus,
 in quorum sulcis legiones dentibus anguis
 cum clipeis nascuntur et horrida bella capessunt
 continuo, tamquam et tubicen surrexerit una.

230

235

240

230. effudit.

241. quarum.

fortune, and by his sinister counsel brings up his boys to be greedy for gain [and who . . . by fraud to double their patrimonies], gives them their head, and abandons the whole reins to the chariot: if you are for calling back *the youth*, he can't stop, and is borne along in contempt of you, and leaving the goal behind him. No one thinks it enough to transgress just as much as you permit him: so surely do people indulge themselves more freely on their own account. When you tell a young man that he is a fool who gives to his friend, who relieves and raises up the poverty of his kinsman, you are likewise teaching him to rob, and to cheat, and to acquire by every kind of crime those riches, the love of which in you is as great as was that of their country in the breasts of the Decii, as great as was the love of Menoeceus, if Greece speak truth, for the Thebans, in whose furrows legions are born with shields from the teeth of the serpent, and engage in terrible war forthwith, just as if a trumpeter into the bargain had sprung up at the same time with them: so you will see the fire, the sparks of which

ergo ignem, cuius scintillas ipse dedisti,
flagrantem late et rapientem cuncta videbis.
nec tibi parcerit misero, trepidumque magistrum
in cavea magno fremitu leo tollet alumnus.
nota mathematicis genesis tua; sed grave tardas
exspectare colus; morieris stamine nondum
abrupto. iam nunc obstas et vota moraris,
iam torquet iuvenem longa et cervina senectus.
ocius Archigenen quaere atque eme quod Mithridates
composuit, si vis aliam decerpere ficum
atque alias tractare rosas. medicamen habendum est,
sorbere ante cibum quod debeat et pater et rex.

Monstro voluptatem egregiam, cui nulla theatra,
nulla aequare queas praetoris pulpita lauti,
si species quanto capitis discriminé constant
incrementa domus, aerata multus in arca
fiscus et ad vigilem ponendi Castora nummi,
ex quo Mars ultor galeam quoque perdidit et res

you yourself have furnished, flaming widely and seizing on everything. Nor will you, miserable wretch, be spared, and the lion you have reared will carry off with a loud roar his trembling master in his cage. Your nativity may be known to the astrologers; but it is tiresome to wait upon the tardy distaff: you will die before your thread is broken off. Already, as it is, you stand in the way, and delay his wishes. Already your long and stag-like old age torments the young man. Make haste, and look up Archigenes, and purchase what Mithridates compounded, if you wish to pluck another fig, or even to handle other roses. You must get the antidote, which a father as well as a king should imbibe before food.

I can show you a surpassing amusement which you shall not be able to match by any theatres or any stage-boards of the sumptuous Praetor, if you *only* observe what a danger to life these additions to one's fortune cost, this quantity of treasure in the brass-bound strong-box, and the moneys to be deposited with watchful Castor, ever since Mars the Avenger lost even his

non potuit servare suas. ergo omnia Florae
et Cereris licet et Cybeles aulaea relinquas,
tanto maiores humana negotia ludi.

an magis oblectant animum iactata petauro
corpora quique solet rectum descendere funem,
quam tu, Corycia semper qui puppe moraris
atque habitas, coro semper tollendus et austro,
perditus ac vili sacci mercator olentis,
qui gaudes pingue antiquae de litore Cretae
passum et municipes Iovis advexisse lagenas ?
hic tamen ancipiti figens vestigia planta
victum illa mercede parat brumamque famemque
illa reste cavet ; tu propter mille talenta
et centum villas temerarius. aspice portus
et plenum magnis trabibus mare ; plus hominum est iam
in pelago ; veniet classis quocumque vocarit
spes lucri, nec Carpathium Gaetulaque tantum
aequa transiliet, sed longe Calpe relicta

265

270

275

270. pingui.

helmet, and could not take care of his own property. You may desert, then, all the drop-scenes of Flora and Ceres and Cybele, so much better plays are the doings of mankind. Can bodies projected from the petaurum, or he who is wont to descend the tight-rope, furnish the mind with more entertainment than you who are always remaining on your Corycian ship and dwelling, constantly to be tossed by Corus and by Auster, the desperate and paltry salesman of a smelling bag of *merchandise*, who delight in importing rich raisin wine and wine-jars, the compatriots of Jove, from the shore of ancient Crete? But he who plants his steps with doubtful tread obtains his living at this price, and avoids cold and hunger by that rope of his. You are foolhardy, for the sake of a thousand talents and a hundred villas. Behold the ports and the sea full of large ships! The greater part of mankind are now on the main; a fleet will come whithersoever the hope of gain invites, and will not only bound over the Carpathian and Gaetulian seas, but, leaving Calpe far behind, will hear the

audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite solem. 280
 grande operae pretium est, ut tenso folle reverti
 inde domum possis tumidaque superbus aluta
 Oceani monstra et iuvenes vidisse marinos.
 non unus mentes agitat furor. ille sororis
 in manibus vultu Eumenidum terretur et igni,
 hic bove percusso mugire Agamemnona credit 285
 aut Ithacum. parcat tunicis licet atque lacernis,
 curatoris eget qui navem mercibus implet
 ad summum latus et tabula distinguitur unda,
 cum sit causa mali tanti et discriminis huius 290
 concisum argentum in titulos faciesque minutas.
 occurrunt nubes et fulgura, " solvite funem !"
 frumenti dominus clamat piperisve coempti
 " nil color hic coeli, nil fascia nigra minatur,
 aestivum tonat." infelix hac forsitan ipsa 295
 nocte cadet fractis trabibus, fluctuque premetur
 287. lacertia.

sun hissing in the Herculean waters. A grand equivalent for your labour it is that you be able to return home thence with distended purse and proud, with your swollen money-bag, to have beheld the monsters of the ocean and the youths of the sea. Not one madness *only* distracts *men's* minds. One, in his sister's arms, is terrified by the faces and the torches of the Eumenides; another, when he has struck the bull, thinks it is Agamemnon or the Ithacan that is roaring. Though he may spare his coats and his cloaks, the man is in need of a guardian who fills his ship with merchandise up to the very bulwarks, and is separated from the waves by a plank, when the incentive to such great misery and such danger as this is silver cut up into inscriptions and miniatures. Clouds and lightning oppose him. "Loosen the rope," shouts the owner of the bought-up corn or pepper; "this colour of the sky, this black belt of *cloud* threatens nothing. It is *only* summer thunder." Unhappy wretch! perchance this very night he will fall with his timbers shattered, and will be sub-

obrutus et zonam laeva morsuque tenebit.
sed cuius votis modo non suffecerat aurum,
quod Tagus et rutila volvit Pactolus arena,
frigida sufficient velantes inguina panni
exiguusque cibus, mersa rate naufragus assem-
dum rogit et picta se tempestate tuetur.

300

Tantis parta malis cura maiore metuque
servantur. misera est magni custodia censu.
dispositis praedives hamis vigilare cohortem
servorum noctu Licinus iubet, attonitus pro
electro signisque suis Phrygiaque columna
atque ebore et lata testudine. dolia nudi
non ardent cynici; si fregeris, altera fiet
cras domus, aut eadem plumbo commissa manebit. 310
sensit Alexander, testa cum vidit in illa
magnum habitatorem, quanto felicior hic, qui
nil cuperet, quam qui totum sibi posceret orbem,

305

merged and overwhelmed by the billows, clutching his girdle with his left hand and his teeth. Moreover, he to whose wishes but lately all the gold would not have sufficed which Tagus rolls and Pactolus in its red sand, will have to be satisfied with the rags covering his cold loins and scanty nourishment, while shipwrecked, his bark sunk, he begs for a copper, and maintains himself by a painting of the storm.

What has been earned through such great hardships has to be guarded with still greater solicitude and fear. The custody of a large fortune is a wretched *business*. The millionaire Licinus, after disposing his water-buckets, orders a *whole* cohort of slaves to keep watch by night, in a wild fright about his amber and his statues and columns of Phrygian marble, and his ivory and broad tortoise-shell. The tub of the naked cynic does not take fire. If you break it, another home will be made to-morrow, or the same one will remain, patched up with lead. Alexander perceived, when he saw in that tub its great inhabitant, how much happier he was who wished for nothing, than he who demanded the whole world for himself, destined to undergo

passurus gestis aequanda pericula rebus.
 nullum numen habes, si sit prudentia; nos te, 315
 nos facimus, Fortuna, deam. mensura tamen quae
 sufficiat census, si quis me consulat, edam.
 in quantum sitis atque fames et frigora poscunt,
 quantum, Epicure, tibi parvis sufficit in hortis,
 quantum Socratici ceperunt ante Penates. 320
 numquam aliud natura, aliud sapientia dicit.
 acribus exemplis videor te claudere. misce
 ergo aliquid nostris de moribus, effice summam,
 bis septem ordinibus quam lex dignatur Othonis.
 haec quoque si rugam trahit extenditque labellum, 325
 sume duos equites, fac tertia quadringenta.
 si nondum implevi gremium, si panditur ultra,
 nec Croesi fortuna umquam nec Persica regna
 sufficient animo, nec divitiae Narcissi,
 indulxit Caesar cui Claudius omnia, cuius 330
 paruit imperiis uxorem occidere iussus.

315. abest.

316. te facimus.

perils equivalent to the exploits he achieved. You have no divine power where prudence exists. It is we, we who make a goddess of you, O Fortune ! However, if any one asks my opinion as to what measure of property is sufficient, I will tell you. To the extent that thirst and hunger and cold demand ; as much as sufficed you in your small garden, Epicurus ; as much as the home of Socrates contained before. Nature never says one thing and philosophy another. Do I seem to confine you by examples that are too severe ? Throw in, then, something from our manners ; make up the sum which the law of Otho regards as fitting for the Fourteen Rows. If this, too, produces a frown, and makes you pout your lip, take two knights' fees—make it a third four hundred. If I have not yet filled your lap, if it is spread out beyond this, not even the fortune of Croesus nor the realms of Persia will ever satisfy your inclinations, nor the riches of Narcissus, to whom Claudius Caesar gave up everything, whose orders he obeyed when bidden to kill his wife.

SATIRA XV.

QUIS nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
 Aegyptus portenta colat? crocodilon adorat
 pars haec, illa pavet saturam serpentibus ibin.
 effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopitheci,
 dimidio magicae resonant ubi Memnone chordae 5
 atque vetus Thebe centum iacet obruta portis.
 illic aeluros, hic piscem fluminis, illic
 oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.
 porrum et caepe nefas violare et frangere morsu.
 o sanctas gentes, quibus haec nascuntur in hortis 10
 numina! lanatis animalibus abstinet omnis
 mensa, nefas illic fetum iugulare capellae,
 carnibus humanis vesci licet. attonito cum
 tale super coenam facinus narraret Ulixes
 Alcinoo, bilem aut risum fortasse quibusdam 15

7. caeruleos.

SATIRE XV.

Who does not know, Volusius of Bithynia, what kinds of
 monsters demented Egypt worships? One part adores the
 crocodile, another quakes before the ibis gorged with serpents.
 The golden image of a sacred long-tailed ape glitters where the
 magic chords resound from mutilated Memnon, and ancient
 Thebes lies in ruin with her hundred gates. There whole towns
 venerate cats, here a river-fish, there a dog, *but* no one Diana.
 It is impiety to violate and break with the teeth the leek and
 the onion. O holy races, to whom such deities as these are
 born in their gardens! Every table abstains from woolly
 animals; it is impiety there to cut the throat of a young kid;
 it is lawful to feed on human flesh. When narrating such a
 misdeed as this to the amazed Alcinous over their supper,
 Ulysses had not improbably excited the anger or the laughter

moverat, ut mendax aretalogus. "in mare nemo
hunc abicit saeva dignum veraque Charybdi,
fingentem immanes Laestrygonas atque Cyclopas ?
nam citius Scyllam vel concurrentia saxa
Cyaneas, plenos et tempestatibus utres
crediderim, aut tenui percussum verbere Circes
et cum remigibus grunnisce Elpenora porcia.
tam vacui capitis populum Phaeaca putavit ?"
sic aliquis merito nondum ebrius et minimum qui
de Corcyraea temetum duxerat urna ;
solus enim haec Ithacus nullo sub teste canebat.
nos miranda quidem, sed nuper consule Iunio
gesta super calidae referemus moenia Copti,
nos vulgi scelus et cunctis graviora cothurnis ;
nam scelus, a Pyrrha quamquam omnia syrmata volvas,
nullus apud tragicos populus facit. accipe nostro
dira quo exemplum feritas produxerit aevo.

27. June.

of some of the guests as a lying babbler. "Will no one pitch into the sea this fellow, who deserves a cruel Charybdis and a real one, with his fictions of huge Laestrygones and Cyclopes? For I would sooner believe in Scylla or the Cyanean rocks clashing together, or the bladders full of stormy winds, or that Elpenor was struck with a light blow of Circe, and grunted in company with the crew turned into hogs. Did he suppose the Phaeian people to be so void of brains?" So some one *may have spoken* with reason who was not yet drunk, who had quaffed but very little wine from the Corcyraean bowl. For the Ithacan was singing this alone, with no witness to corroborate him. We shall recount things, marvellous it is true, but which were *only* lately enacted in the consulship of Junius, above the walls of sultry Coptos; we shall recount the crime of a *whole* populace, and things surpassing in gravity all tragedies. For though you turn over all tragic themes from the time of Pyrrha, nowhere in the poets does a *whole* people commit a crime. Hear what a sample dread barbarism has produced in our own age.

Inter finitimos vetus atque antiqua simultas,
 immortale odium et numquam sanabile vulnus
 ardet adhuc, Ombos et Tentyra. summus utrimque 35
 inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum
 odit uterque locus, cum solos credat habendos
 esse deos, quos ipse colit. sed tempore festo
 alterius populi rapienda occasio cunctis 40
 visa inimicorum primoribus ac ducibus, ne
 laetum hilaremque diem, ne magnae gaudia coenae
 sentirent, positis ad templa et compita mensis
 pervigilique toro, quem nocte ac luce iacentem
 septimus interdum sol invenit. horrida sane 45
 Aegyptus, sed luxuria, quantum ipse notavi,
 barbara famoso non cedit turba Canopo.
 adde quod et facilis victoria de madidis et
 blaesis atque mero titubantibus. inde virorum
 saltatus nigro tibicine, qualiacumque 50
 unguenta et flores multaeque in fronte coronae,

A long-standing and ancient grudge, an undying hatred, and a wound that can never be healed, still rages between *two* neighbours, Ombi and Tentyra. On both sides there is the utmost fury on the part of the vulgar, from this cause, that each locality hates its neighbour's deities, since it thinks those alone should be accounted gods whom it worships itself. At any rate, at a festival of one nation, the occasion seemed to all the enemy's chiefs and leaders one to be seized, in order to prevent their enjoying a happy and merry day, when the tables are placed before the temples and in the crossways, as also the couch that knows no sleep, which lying *there* night and day, the seventh sun sometimes finds. Egypt is savage, to be sure; yet, in luxuriousness, as far as I myself have remarked, the barbarous crowd does not yield to the notorious Canopus. Add that victory is easy even, over those who are drunk and stuttering and reeling with wine. On one side there were men dancing to a black piper; perfumes, such as they were, and flowers and chaplets in plenty on their brows; on the other, hatred with an empty

hinc ieunum odium. sed iurgia prima sonare
 incipiunt animis ardentibus; haec tuba rixae.
 dein clamore pari concurritur, et vice teli
 saevit nuda manus. paucae sine vulnere malae,
 vix cuiquam aut nulli toto certamine nasus 55
 integer. aspiceres iam cuncta per agmina vultus
 dimidios, alias facies et hiantia ruptis
 ossa genis, plenos oculorum sanguine pugnos.
 ludere se credunt ipsi tamen et pueriles
 exercere acies, quod nulla cadavera calcent.
 et sane quo tot rixantis millia turbae,
 si vivunt omnes? ergo acrior impetus, et iam 60
 saxa inclinatis per humum quaesita lacertis
 incipiunt torquere, domestica seditioni
 tela, nec hunc lapidem quales et Turnus et Ajax,
 vel quo Tydides percussit pondere coxam 65
 Aeneae, sed quem valeant emittere dextrae
 illis dissimiles et nostro tempore natae.

51. genuinum.

64. seditione.

stomach. However, the first altercations begin to resound with souls all on fire; this is the trumpet of the fray. Then, with a like clamour, they charge each other, and in place of a weapon rages the naked hand. There are few cheeks without a wound; scarce any, or none, in the whole fight has a nose intact. You might see already, through all the ranks, mutilated countenances, faces that were no longer the same, bones gaping through the divided cheeks, fists covered with blood from the eyes. Yet they themselves think they are at play and engaged in a child's fight, because they are trampling on no dead bodies; and, to be sure, to what purpose a fighting crowd of so many thousands, if every one is to remain alive? So the onslaught grows sharper, and now they begin to hurl stones, which they have picked up with arms bent along the ground, the familiar weapons of sedition; no such stone, indeed, as those which Turnus and Ajax *hurled*, or of the weight of that with which Tydides struck Aeneas on the hip, but such as right

nam genus hoc vivo iam decrescebat Homero :
 terra malos homines nunc educat atque pusillo,
 ergo deus, quicumque aspergit, ridet et odit. 70
 a diverticulo repetatur fabula. postquam
 subsidiis aucti, pars altera promere ferrum
 audet et infestis pugnam instaurare sagittis ;
 terga fuga celeri praestantibus omnibus, instant 75
 qui vicina colunt umbrosae Tentyra palmae.
 labitur hinc quidam nimia formidine cursum
 praecipitans, capiturque. ast illum in plurima sectum
 frusta et particulas, ut multis mortuus unus
 sufficeret, totum corrosis ossibus edit 80
 victrix turba ; nec ardentis decoxit aeno
 aut verubus, longum usque adeo tardumque putavit
 exspectare focos, contenta cadavere crudo.
 hic gaudere libet quod non violaverit ignem,
 quem summa coeli raptum de parte Prometheus 85

75. praestant instantibus Ombis.

hands, unlike theirs, and produced in our time, have strength to project ; for that race was already degenerating in the days of Homer. The earth nowadays nurtures wicked and puny men, so whatever god has seen them, laughs at and despises them.

From this digression let us go back to our story. After being strengthened by reinforcements, one side ventures to draw the sword, and renew the fight with deadly arrows ; those who inhabit Tentyra, neighbouring on the shady palm-trees, press on *their opponents*, all showing their backs in rapid flight. On this side one who through excessive fear was precipitating his pace, falls, and is captured ; whereupon the victorious crowd, after he had been cut into a great number of morsels and small portions, that one dead man might suffice for many, eats up the whole of him and gnaws his very bones ; they did not even cook him in the seething caldron or on a spit, so very long and tedious did they deem it to wait for a fire, contented as they were with the raw carcass. At this point we may rejoice that they did not desecrate the fire, which Prometheus stole from highest heaven

donavit terris. elemento gratulor et te
 exsultare reor. sed qui mordere cadaver
 sustinuit, nil umquam hac carne libentius edit.
 nam scelere in tanto ne quaeras et dubites an
 prima voluptatem gula senserit; ultimus autem
 qui stetit absumpto iam toto corpore, ductis
 per terram digitis aliquid de sanguine gustat.
 Vascones, haec fama est, alimentis talibus olim
 produxere animas; sed res diversa, sed illic
 fortunae invidia est bellorumque ultima, casus
 extremi, longae dira obsidionis egestas. 90
 huius enim, quod nunc agitur, miserabile debet
 exemplum esse cibi, sicut modo dicta mihi gens
 post omnes herbas, post cuncta animalia, quidquid
 cogebat vacui ventris furor, hostibus ipsis
 pallorem ac maciem et tenues miserantibus artus,
 membra aliena fame lacerabant, esse parati 95
 100

and gave to earth. I congratulate the element, and I imagine you are rejoiced. However, he who can bring himself to taste a corpse never eats anything with more pleasure than this kind of flesh; for in *the matter* of a crime so great, do not ask or doubt whether the first palate *only* experienced pleasure. Why, the very last of them who came up after the entire body had been consumed, drew his fingers along the ground, and tasted some of the blood.

The Vascones—so the story is—in days of yore protracted their lives by such nutriment as this; but the case was different; but there you have the malice of Fortune, and the extremities of war, the climax of adversity, the dreadful destitution of a long siega. For the instance we are now mentioning of such food ought to excite pity, inasmuch as the people I have just named, after every kind of herbage, after all their animals, and whatever the fury of their empty bellies drove them to, *had been eaten*, when their very enemies were pitying their pallor and emaciation and wasted frames, tore in pieces, through famine, the limbs of others, prepared to eat even their own. What man

et sua. quisnam hominum veniam dare quisve deorum
 viribus abnueret dira atque immania passis,
 et quibus illorum poterant ignoscere manes, 105
 quorum corporibus vescebantur? melius nos
 Zenonis praecepta monent; nec enim omnia, quaedam
 pro vita facienda putat: sed Cantaber unde
 stoicus, antiqui praesertim aetate Metelli?
 nunc totus Graias nostrasque habet orbis Athenas, 110
 Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos,
 de conducendo loquitur iam rhetore Thule.
 nobilis ille tamen populus, quem diximus, et par
 virtute atque fide, sed maior clade, Saguntus
 tale quid excusat: Maeotide saevior ara 115
 Aegyptus; quippe illa nefandi Taurica sacri
 inventrix homines, ut iam quae carmina tradunt
 digna fide credas, tantum immolat, ulterius nil
 aut gravius cultro timet hostia. quis modo casus

104. ventribus, urbibus.

or what god could refuse his pardon to strong men who had endured *such* dreadful and monstrous things, and whom the very manes of those on whose bodies they were feeding might have forgiven? The precepts of Zeno teach us better; he thinks, not, indeed, that all things, but some *only*, may be done for the sake of life. Yet how should the Cantabrian be a Stoic, especially in the age of old Metellus? Now the whole world has the Greek Athens and our own. Eloquent Gaul has instructed the British lawyers; already Thule speaks of engaging a teacher of rhetoric. Yet that noble people we have named, and Saguntum their equal in courage and fidelity, their more than equal in calamity, have an excuse to offer for a deed of this kind. Egypt is more cruel than the altar of Maeotis; since that Tauric inventress of the abominable rite (if, at least, you believe what the poems tell us to be worthy of faith) only immolates, the victim has nothing further or worse to fear than the knife. What mischance even impelled these men? What hunger so great, or arms threatening their ram-

impulit hos ? quae tanta fames infestaque vallo 120
 arma coegerunt tam detestabile monstrum
 audere ? anne aliam terra Memphitide sicca
 invidiam facerent nolenti surgere Nilo ?
 qua nec terribiles Cimbri nec Britones umquam
 Sauromataeque truces aut immanes Agathyrsi, 125
 hac saevit rabie imbelle et inutile vulgus,
 parvula fictilibus solitum dare vela phaselis
 et brevibus pictae remis incumbere testae.
 nec poenam sceleri invenies, nec digna parabis
 supplicia his populis, in quorum mente paires sunt 130
 et similes ira atque fames. molissima corda
 humano generi dare se natura fatetur,
 quae lacrimas dedit ; haec nostri pars optima sensus.
 plorare ergo iubet causam dicentis amici
 squaloremque rei, pupillum ad iura vocantem 135
 circumscriptorem, cuius manantia fletu
 ora puellares faciunt incerta capilli.

134. casum lugentia.

parts, compelled them to dare so detestable a monstrosity ? Could they, if the land of Memphis had been dry, have offered a greater insult to the Nile for refusing to rise ? Never have even the terrible Cimbri, nor the Britons, nor the savage Sarmatians, nor the monstrous Agathyrsi raged with such fury as this effeminate and useless rabble, accustomed to set their little bits of sails in their boats of clay, and to bend over the short oars of their painted shells. You can neither find a penalty for such guilt, nor provide a punishment worthy of these tribes in whose minds anger and hunger are on a par, and alike *in their results*. Nature confesses that she gives the tenderest of hearts to the human race, by giving them tears : this is the best part of our sensations. She bids us then weep over the misfortune of our sorrowing friend, the squalid appearance of one accused, the ward summoning his despoiler to justice, whose girlish locks render uncertain the *sex of the face* bedewed with tears.

naturae imperio gemimus, cum funus adultae
 virginis occurrit vel terra clauditur infans
 et minor igne rogi. quis enim bonus et face dignus 140
 arcana, qualem Cereris vult esse sacerdos,
 ulla aliena sibi credit mala? separat hoc nos
 a grege mutorum, atque ideo venerabile soli
 sortiti ingenium divinorumque capaces
 atque exercendis capiendisque artibus apti 145
 sensum a coelesti demissum traximus arce,
 cuius egent prona et terram spectantia. mundi
 principio indulxit communis conditor illis
 tantum animas, nobis animum quoque, mutuus ut nos
 affectus petere auxilium et praestare iuberet, 150
 dispersos trahere in populum, migrare vetusto
 de nemore et proavis habitatas linquere silvas,
 aedificare domos, Laribus coniungere nostris
 tectum aliud, tutos vicino limine somnos

142. credit.

154. limite.

At nature's bidding we sigh when the funeral of an adult virgin meets us, or an infant, too young for the fire of the pile, is buried in the earth. For what good man worthy of the mystic torch, such an one as the priest of Ceres would have him to be, can deem any misfortunes to be foreign to himself? This it is that separates us from the herd of dumb creatures, and on that account we alone have had allotted to us a reverential spirit, are capable of containing divine things, and, fitted for practising and apprehending the arts, have received, transmitted to us from the heights of heaven, a moral sense, which *animals* bending downwards, and looking to the earth, are wanting in. In the beginning of the world the common Creator allowed them life only, to us a soul as well, that our mutual regard might bid us seek aid and afford it, draw the scattered ones into a community, migrate from the ancient grove, leave the woods inhabited by our forefathers, build houses, join on to our Lares another habitation, that united confidence might give us slumbers secured by a neighbour's threshold, protect with

ut collata daret fiducia, protegere armis
lapsum aut ingenti nutantem vulnere civem,
communi dare signa tuba, defendier isdem
turribus atque una portarum clave teneri.
sed iam serpentum maior concordia. parcit
cognatis maculis similis fera. quando leoni
fortior eripuit vitam leo? quo nemore umquam
exspiravit aper maioris dentibus apri?
Indica tigris agit rabida cum tigride pacem
perpetuam, saevis inter se convenit ursis.
ast homini ferrum letale incude nefanda
produxisse parum est; cum rastra et sarcula tantum
assueti coquere et marris ac vomere lassi
nescierint primi gladios extendere fabri;
aspicimus populos, quorum non sufficit irae
occidisse aliquem, sed pectora brachia vultum
crediderint genus esse cibi. quid diceret ergo
vel quo non fugeret, si nunc haec monstra videret

168. *extundere, excudere* (Serv.)

arms a citizen who has fallen or is staggering under a severe wound, sound our war-signals on a common trumpet, be defended by the same towers, be enclosed by one key for our gates. But now there is greater concord among serpents; a wild beast of like kind spares his kindred spots. When did a stronger lion deprive of his life another lion? In what forest did a boar ever expire by the teeth of a larger boar? The Indian tigress lives with *each* rabid tigress in perpetual peace; savage bears agree among themselves. But to man it is not enough to have beaten out the deadly weapon on the accursed anvil, though the first smiths, accustomed to forge harrows and hoes only, and wearied with *making* mattocks and ploughshares, knew not how to hammer out swords; we behold nations to whose fury it does not suffice to have killed some one, but they think his breast, arms, face to be a kind of meat. What, then, would Pythagoras say, or, rather, whither would he not flee, if, nowadays, he witnessed such horrors—he who abstained from all animals

Pythagoras, cunctis animalibus abstinuit qui
tamquam homine et ventri indulxit non omne legumen ?

SATIRA XVI.

QUIS numerare queat felicis praemia, Galle,
militiae ? quod si subeuntur prospera castra,
me pavidum excipiat tironem porta secundo
sidere. plus etenim fati valet hora benigni,
quam si nos Veneris commendet epistola Marti
et Samia genetrix quae delectatur arena.

Commoda tractemus primum communia, quorum
haud minimum illud erit, ne te pulsare togatus
audeat, immo etsi pulsetur, dissimulet, nec
audeat excusos praetori ostendere dentes
et nigram in facie tumidis livoribus offam

5

xo

ii. et tumidam in facie nigris.

as though from a human being, and would not allow his stomach
even all kinds of vegetables ?

SATIRE XVI.

Who, O Gallus, can enumerate the prizes of happy soldiering ?
But if, *in addition*, a fortunate corps is being entered, may its
gate receive me, a timid recruit, under a favourable star.
For indeed the moment of a smiling fate is of more avail than
if we were recommended to Mars by an epistle of Venus, or his
mother who delights in the sands of Samos.

Let us first treat of the advantages common to all *soldiers*, of
which this is not the least, that a civilian won't dare to beat
you ; nay, though he be beaten *himself*, will conceal it and
won't dare to show the Praetor his teeth that have been
knocked out, and the lump on his face, black with swollen

atque oculum medico nil promittente relictum.

Bardaicus iudex datur haec punire volenti
calceus et grandes magna ad subsellia surae,
legibus antiquis castrorum et more Camilli
servato, miles ne vallum litiget extra
et procul a signis. iustissima centurionum
cognitio est igitur de milite, nec mihi deerit
ultio, si iustae defertur causa querelae.

tota cohors tamen est inimica, omnesque manipli
consensu magno efficiunt, curabilis ut sit
vindicta et gravior quam iniuria. dignum erit ergo
declamatoris mulino corde Vagelli,
cum duo crura habeas, offendere tot caligas, tot
millia clavorum. quis tam procul absit ab urbe
praeterea ? quis tam Pylades molem aggeris ultra
ut veniat ? lacrimae siccentur protinus, et se
excusatueros non sollicitemus amicos,

21. officiunt; curabitis ut sit.

22. vindicta gravior.

bruises, and the eye still left to him, but about which the doctor will make no promise. Those who wish to get redress for these things have a *centurion's* big boot assigned them for a judge, and a *pair* of huge calves under a stout bench, the ancient military law and the rule of Camillus being observed, that the soldier is not to be a party to a suit outside the trenches or at a distance from the standards. Most just, therefore, is the jurisdiction of the centurions over the soldier, nor will my revenge fail me if a cause in which the complaint is just be brought before them. But the whole cohort are your enemies, and all the maniples with great unanimity manage that your redress shall be such as you shall care for, and worse than the *original* injury. It would be worthy, then, of the ranter Vagellius, with his mulish understanding, when you have *only* two legs, to offend so many thick boots, so many thousands of hob-nails. Moreover, who would absent himself such a distance from town ? who is such a Pylades as to come beyond the rampart-mound ? Let our tears be dried forthwith, and let us not trouble our

“da testem” iudex cum dixerit, audeat ille,
 nescio quis, pugnos qui vidit, dicere “vidi,”
 et credam dignum barba dignumque capillis
 maiorum. citius falsum producere testem
 contra paganum possis, quam vera loquentem
 contra fortunam armati contraque pudorem.

30

Praemia nunc alia atque alia emolumenta notemus
 sacramentorum. convalem ruris aviti
 improbus aut campum mihi si vicinus ademit
 et sacrum effudit medio de limite saxum,
 quod mea cum patulo coluit puls annua libo,
 debitor aut sumptos pergit non reddere nummos,
 vana supervacui dicens chirographa ligni,
 exspectandus erit, qui lites inchoet, annus
 totius populi. sed tunc quoque mille ferenda
 taedia, mille morae : toties subsellia tantum
 sternuntur, tum facundo ponente lacernas

40

45

39. vetulo.

friends, who are sure to excuse themselves. When the judge has said, “Produce your witness,” let the man, whoever he be, who saw the fisticuffs, say, “I saw them,” and I shall deem him worthy of the beard and worthy of the locks of our ancestors. You could more readily produce a false witness against a civilian than one to speak the truth against the fortune and against the honour of a soldier.

Let us note now other prizes and other advantages of military life. If a rascally neighbour has robbed me of a valley or a field of my paternal estate, and has dug up from the middle of the boundary-line, the sacred stone which my porridge has yearly honoured, together with a broad cake, or a debtor persists in not repaying the monies he has received, declaring his note-of-hand void and the tablets worthless, I shall have to wait a whole year, *the time* requisite for making even a beginning of the lawsuits of an entire people. But even then a thousand worries, a thousand delays have to be borne ; so often the seats are merely cushioned ; then, while eloquent Caedicius is taking

Caedicio et Fusco iam micturiente, parati
digredimur, lentaque fori pugnamus arena.
ast illis, quos arma tegunt et balteus ambit,
quod placitum est ipsis praestatur tempus agendi,
nec res atteritur longo sufflamine litis.

50

Solis praeterea testandi militibus ius
vivo patre datur; nam quae sunt parta labore
militiae, placuit non esse in corpore census,
omne tenet cuius regimen pater. ergo Coranum
signorum comitem castrorumque aera merentem
quamvis iam tremulus captat pater. hunc labor aequus
provehit et pulchro reddit sua dona labori.
ipsius certe ducis hoc referre videtur,
ut qui fortis erit sit felicissimus idem,
ut laeti phaleris omnes et torquibus omnes—

60

off his cloak, and Fuscus has just gone out for another purpose, though all prepared, we must take our departure, and so we fight on the dilatory arena of the Forum. But to those who wear armour and are girded with a belt, their own chosen time for suing is insured, nor is their property ground down by the tardy drag-chain of a lawsuit.

Moreover, to soldiers alone is accorded the right of making a will in a father's life-time: for it has seemed good that what has been acquired by the labours of military life should not form part of the bulk of the property of which the father holds the entire disposal. So that Coranus, while following the standards and in receipt of army pay, is courted by his own father, though now trembling with age. His labours duly performed, advance the former, and he pays back its gifts to honest labour. Certainly this seems to be to the interest of the general himself, that whoever shows himself brave should also be most fortunate, that all, rejoicing in trappings and collars—

END OF VOL. I.



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D. IUNII IUVENALIS

S A T I R A E

WITH

A LITERAL ENGLISH PROSE TRANSLATION
AND NOTES

BY

JOHN DELAWARE LEWIS, M.A.
TRIN. COLL. CAMB.

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INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.

VOL. II.



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C O R R I G E N D A.

V O L . II.

Page 107, line 18, for “(D. lu)nius,” read “(D. Ju)nius.”

“ 250, “ 10, “ Dolabella,” , “ Dolabellae.”

“ 292, “ 25, “ δλβον,” , “ δλβον.”

“ 300, “ 31, “ spatiōsum que,” , “ spatiōsumque.”

“ 347, “ 1, “ θειδρ,” , “ θειον.”

alumnus, ad medium fere aetatem declamavit, animi magis causa quam quod scholae se aut foro præpararet, et dein paucorum versuum satira non absurde composita in Paridem pantomimum poetamque* semenstribus militiolis tumentem genus scripturæ industrie excoluit, et tamen bene diu ne

* Claudi⁹ Neronis ejus.



INTRODUCTION.

THE little that we can gather of Juvenal's life and character must be collected almost entirely from scattered indications contained in his writings. Unlike Horace, he was not in the habit of gossiping about himself, the solemn tone and didactic style of the greater part of his Satires precluding his taking his readers into his confidence in this kind of way; and accordingly such indications will be found to be very few and very far between. Before proceeding to consider them, however, it will be desirable to notice the evidences as to his life which come to us from external sources. There is extant a biography of him, labelled, along with several other biographies, with the name of Suetonius, but supposed to be written by some old grammarian. As it is short, I give it entire, chiefly from the text of Jahn, subjoining two or three various readings which have a bearing upon the subject matter of the life, and omitting others which may be described as merely grammatical variations.

Junius Juvenalis, libertini locupletis incertum filius et alumnus, ad medium fere aetatem declamavit, animi magis causa quam quod scholae se aut foro praepararet, et dein paucorum versuum satira non absurde composita in Paridem pantomimum poetamque* semenstribus militiolis tumentem genus scriptuae industrie excoluit, et tamen bene diu ne

* *Claudii Neronis ejus.*

modico quidem auditorio quicquam committere est ausus, mox magna frequentia tantoque successu bis aut ter auditus est, ut ea quoque quae prima fecerat inferciret novis scriptis : "quod non dant proceres dabit histrio, tu Camerinos et Bareas, tu nobilium magna atria curas ? praefectos Pelopea facit, Philomela tribunos." erat tunc in deliciis aulae histrio * multique fautorum ejus quotidie provehebantur. venit ergo Juvenalis in suspicionem quasi tempora † figura ‡ notasset, ac statim per honorem militiae quamquam octogenarius urbe summotus est missusque ad praefecturam cohortis in extrema parte Aegypti tendentis. id supplicii genus placuit ut levi atque joculari delicto par esset. verum intra brevissimum tempus angore ac taedio perit.

Junius Juvenalis, the son or the adopted son, it is uncertain which, of a wealthy freedman, practised declamation till about middle life, rather for amusement's § sake than in order to prepare himself for school or forum ; and afterwards having composed a clever satire || of a few lines on Paris the actor in pantomimes, and a poet [of his] who was puffed up with his six months' military rank, he cultivated diligently this kind of writing. And yet, for a very long time, he did not venture to intrust anything even to a small audience. But after a while he was heard two or three times by so large a concourse, and with so much success, that he inserted in his new writings the lines he had first composed, "Quod non dant proceres dabit histrio," &c. The actor [or an actor] ¶ was at that time one of the court minions, and many of his supporters were daily receiving promotion. Juvenal consequently incurred the suspicion of indirectly ** censuring the [existing] times, and forthwith, under the guise of military promotion, though he was eighty years of age, was removed from the city, and sent to be praefect of a cohort which was quartered at the extremity of Egypt. This kind of punishment was decided upon, as being adapted to a light and jocular kind of offence. However, in the course of a very short time, he died of vexation and ennui.

* *histrio*, omitted. † *praesentia*. ‡ *figurate* for *figura*.

§ *animi*, "inclination." || *non absurde*, "wittily," in Sueton. Dom. 3.

¶ If *histrio* be omitted, we shall have to understand the meaning to be that he (Paris) was among the court favourites; or that some one was among the court favourites; or we must suppose some word other than *histrio* to have dropped out.

** *figura*, "an allusion." It is so used by Sueton. in Dom. 10. Spartan. Severus 14 and elsewhere. *figurate*, "figuratively," which would mean the same thing.

The great difficulty in connection with this life is, that, at first sight, the only event in it which we are able to test is impossible. If, that is to say, the actor at whose instance Juvenal, eighty years old, was banished from Rome be taken—as he has generally been taken—for the Paris of Domitian, then the whole narrative is enveloped in a cloud of fable. There were two celebrated actors named Paris in the first century, the more recent of whom (the one here alluded to) was put to death by Domitian at the beginning of his reign. Yet it is certain, from his own writings, that Juvenal was alive, and composing satires, and apparently in Rome, several years after the death of that emperor, and some twenty years after the death of Paris.

This difficulty was seen at a very early period; and accordingly in one MS. at the end of a life which, with a few variations, is the same as that given above, we find the words after *brevissimum tempus*, left out, and the following substituted: “θεὸς αὐτὸς adscribitur Divorum choro, revertiturque Juvenalis Romam, qui tandem ad Nervae et Trajani principatum supervivens senio et taedio vitae confectus properantem spiritum cum tussi exspuit,” i.e., Domitian dies, and Juvenal comes back to Rome, and lives into Trajan’s time. According to this, he must have been writing satires when he was a hundred years of age, a supposition which may at once be dismissed. Another life makes him come back to Rome, and die of grief because he did not find his friend Martial there (a story which the grammarian who wrote it evidently “evolved” from the fact that Juvenal is named three times by Martial); another makes him live in exile till the time of Antoninus Pius; another makes Trajan the emperor who orders his banishment (to Scotland, not Egypt), upon which he dies of the shock. These lives may come from one or more common sources; they are of little or no value; but it must be observed that they all agree as to the fact of Juvenal’s banishment, differing from each other only as

to the details.* Suidas and a scholium on Juvenal (iv. 38) are also in agreement with the other authorities as to this point.

But on looking a little more closely at the so-called life by Suetonius—undoubtedly the most ancient of these documents, and the only one which merits particular attention—the difficulty in a great degree vanishes. It is plain, on examination, that two different actors must be intended—(1.) The man on whom the poet's satirical lines were originally written, when, in middle age, he first took to this kind of composition; (2.) The man to whom, long afterwards, *i.e.*, when an octogenarian, he applied them. This great interval of time is patent on the face of the biography, and is confirmed by such expressions as *bene diu*, the long while during which the poet did not dare trust himself to an audience, and *quasi tempora* (to which some MSS. add *praesentia*) *figura notasset*, as though he had covertly satirised the *then* times. Now, putting aside external objections, which are quite insuperable, it is inconceivable that the same Paris who was a favourite player in Juvenal's prime should be found in *deliciis aulae* (an expression as to which see note to Satire iv. 3) some forty years afterwards! Two different persons are evidently meant. The Paris named at the beginning must be either Nero's or Domitian's favourite. One of the transcribers, who has seen the point to which attention is being called, has supposed him to be the former, and has added after *poetam* the words *Claudii Neronis*. But the difficulties in the way of such a supposition are very great. If these lines were originally composed on the elder Paris towards the end of his career about A.D. 67, and afterwards applied to the younger one, we have not a sufficient interval of time left to account

* Seven of these lives are given at the end of Jahn's edition. There is another life given in Achaintre, but evidently of much later date.

for the poet's passage from middle life to old age; for the younger Paris seems to have been put to death about A.D. 83. In that case, Juvenal would not have *begun* to write satires till he was past sixty. If we suppose them to have been written in the early part of Nero's reign and the elder Paris's career, viz., about A.D. 56, we still have to confront a difficulty which also waits upon the former supposition, and indeed upon all theories which suppose Juvenal, at the age of eighty, to have been banished on the application of the younger Paris. There is conclusive evidence from his own writings that such a theory is not sustainable. As we have just seen, he would have been writing satires when considerably over a hundred years of age. Moreover, he would have been from thirty to forty years older than Martial, who addresses him as his bosom friend; and who, in an epigram written to him about A.D. 104, supposes him to be wandering about the town, and even going up hills, but who makes no reference to his being a centenarian! There is then no doubt whatever that the Paris named is Domitian's Paris;* and the *histrion* named further on is a player who flourished much later, in the poet's old age. This would bring us to the reign of Hadrian. I see no difficulty in supposing (with Salmasius and Dodwell) what is here implied, that Hadrian banished Juvenal for satirising an actor, who was at the same time one of the royal favourites.† An action of this kind would have been quite in Hadrian's way, who banished (and afterwards put to death) Apollodorus, the celebrated architect, owing to a sarcastic expression of the latter. Whether the banish-

* In a slightly altered form of the Suetonian biography, it is so stated. *Satira non abeure in Paridem Domitiani pantomimum . . . composita* (Jahn, Lives, No. 2).

† Of course, under the name of *Paris*. *Paris* seems to have been a regular theatrical name. Besides the two players in the text, there was a third Paris, a favourite of Lucius Verus. “*Histriones eduxit e Syria,*

ment is to be accepted as a historical fact, is quite another question. The legend (if legend it be) seems to have been received as history in the fifth century.* It may be remarked of the series of Lives of which this forms one, that they give us, in many cases (*e.g.*, in that of Persius), information which bears the appearance of being genuine, and collected near the times of which they treat. On this subject pages might be written, indeed, have been written, with very little profit. All that can be said is, that the statement as it stands in the text is *not* "impossible." To accept the story of the exile, and then to transpose it to some other period of Juvenal's life, as some commentators have done, is merely building in the clouds.

The only other portions of the Life which merit attention are that in which the author speaks of Juvenal having practised declamation, and the sort of intimation which he gives of the poet's habit of retouching his satires, and inserting in those of later date passages composed at an earlier period. These statements receive some confirmation from an examination of the Satires themselves, and are valuable chiefly as showing the early tradition on the subject. To this may perhaps be added the notice of the poet's easy circumstances, and of his reluctance, for a long while, to give his works to the public. The former statement is supported by Satire

quorum praecipuus fuit Maximinus quem Paridis nomine nuncupavit."—Capitolin. L. Verus, viii., and others besides; cf. Friedländer's "Manners of the Romans," vol. ii. p. 322, French ed. It is not at all unlikely, then, that there may have been a favourite actor named Paris in Hadrian's time, though it is not necessary to suppose this.

N. B.—The insertion in Satire VII. must be from 88–92, not merely the lines 90–92; this results from this Life itself. The *poeta sementribus militis tumens* is referred to in 88, 89; and 93 follows naturally on 87.

* There can be small doubt that Sidonius Appollinaris refers to Juvenal in the lines, where, after mentioning the banishment of Ovid, he adds—

"Nec qui consimili deinde casu
Ad vulgi tenorem strepentis aurem
Irati fuit histrionis exsul."—Carm. ix. 270.

XI., if indeed that satire did not suggest it; of the latter we may say that it wears an appearance of probability, and that a perusal of the poet's work will satisfy any one that it represents a true tradition. If, for example, Satire II. was composed in Domitian's reign, it is next to impossible that it should have been given to the world till after the tyrant's death.

When we turn from these Lives to the evidence furnished by the only contemporary who mentions our poet, we get upon somewhat firmer ground, but we do not add much to our knowledge. There is a Juvenal twice directly addressed, and once referred to, by Martial, and it seems almost certain that he is Juvenal the poet. On sending him a small present, Martial addresses him as *facunde Juvenalis*, vii. 91; and it has been inferred, from the use of this epithet, either that some other man is meant, a rhetorician or a declaimer probably, and not a poet, or that Martial was unacquainted with the poetical writings of his friend. But those who have made this observation have not taken notice of the fact that *facundus* is precisely the epithet which Martial constantly applies to poets—to Virgil, xiv. 185; Propertius, xiv. 189; Stella, xii. 3; Catullus, the writer for the stage, v. 30; to poetry itself, xii. 43, *facundos versus*. At any rate, whether Juvenal be here referred to as a poet or as a declaimer, the epithet is generally applied by Martial to a person of some reputation—Cicero, Seneca, Pliny the younger, Nerva, &c. There was therefore a friend of Martial's—a very intimate friend, vii. 24—named Juvenal, whom he addresses as an eloquent man living in Rome in A.D. 93 (the date of the seventh book), and he was still alive, or supposed by the writer to be alive, between the years A.D. 100 and 104, when his name figures again, xii. 18. In this epigram, written in Spain, he is represented as wandering restlessly about the town, and tiring himself with his attendance upon great people. A great

deal of comment has been made upon this epigram, and the word *inquietus* has been held to imply that he was "in uneasy circumstances." To me, it conveys rather that uneasy and suspicious character which his writings would show him to have been possessed of, and about which his friend Martial gently rallies him. After all, the epigram amounts to little more than this, expressed in prose—"While you, perhaps, are engaged in the worrying pursuits of the town, I am enjoying the ease of the country."

All, then, that can be gathered with certainty from external sources is, that there was a Juvenal (in all probability the poet), the friend of Martial, and who was residing in Rome in the year 93, and some time between 100 and 104.

We are now forced to turn to the only source from which we shall derive the slightest profit, the Satires themselves.

Juvenal was most certainly alive after Domitian had perished in A.D. 96, for he speaks of the death of that Emperor, iv. 153; and after the conviction of Marius Priscus, which we know to have taken place in A.D. 100 —*cf.* i. 47. There is no reliable evidence that he survived the latter date by many years, but there is some reason to suppose that he was writing as late as A.D. 119 —xiii. 17, xv. 27. The second satire seems to have been written during the reign of Domitian, ii. 160, &c., and the fourth not long after his assassination. It has been inferred from xiv. 90, and vi. 502, 555, that those two satires cannot have been written later than in Hadrian's reign, while xii. line 75 could not have been written before Trajan's time. There are other passages noticed in the notes, but the conclusions to which they point are all similar. Juvenal may be described as a poet who lived towards the end of the first and the beginning of the second century after Christ, the contemporary of Quintilian, Statius, Martial, Silius, Valerius

Flaccus, Suetonius, Tacitus, and the younger Pliny. We have seen that he is styled *facundus* in A.D. 93 by a poet who was intimate with him, and who was himself born in A.D. 43, and we have traces of him writing after A.D. 119. It may then fairly be conjectured that he was born *about* A.D. 50, and that he died some time *about* A.D. 120.* And no nearer approximation than this can be made to his epoch.

He seems to have received a liberal education, i. 15; to have been in easy circumstances, at any rate at one period of his life, xi.; and to have had a property near Tibur, xi. 65. He was, for some reason or other, attached to Aquinum, an important town in Latium, where he was in the habit of going for change of air from Rome; it may have been his birthplace, iii. 319. He was certainly not born of a noble family, but in the ranks of the people, viii. 44, &c. The greater number of his Satires appear to have been written in Rome, of which city it is probable that he was a permanent inhabitant, iii. 319 above; though he may at some time of his life have been in Egypt, xv. 45; and there are several passages in the Satires which, in conjunction with the whole of xii., would render it not improbable that he had made a long voyage by sea, for which element he had all a Roman's horror. (Compare some touches in Hippia's voyage, vi. 90 *sqq.*, xiv. 272 *sqq.*) It may be inferred from what he says, xi. 201-203, that he attained to old age.

His writings, if they are to be taken as the real expression of his feelings, exhibit him to us as a patriot of a rather narrow type, iii. 84, 85, vi. 294 *sqq.*, with a

* Of course, I mean, as far as the evidence from his writings goes. If the "Life" be accepted, we shall have him born *about* A.D. 43 (of the same age as Martial), beginning to try his hand at satire *about* A.D. 83 (evidently not far from the date of the second satire, and about the time of Paris's great popularity), and banished *about* A.D. 123. There is nothing very improbable in these dates, which do not differ materially from those given in the text.

great contempt for foreigners, especially the Greeks, iii. 58 *sqq.*, vi. 184 *sqq.*, x. 174, &c., and Egyptians, i. 26, 130, iv. 24, xv., and Orientals generally, iii.—a great admirer of ancient times, xi.—an unbeliever in the mythology of his country, which he never omits an opportunity of ridiculing, i. 52–54, ii. 149 *sqq.*, iii. 264 *sqq.*, iv. 36, vi. 59 ,393, xiii. 38–52, 112–119—as well as in foreign superstitions, vi. 511 *sqq.*, xiv. 96–106, xv. 1 *sqq.*—with a strong dislike for driving, racing, and the circus, i. 59–61, viii. 146 *sqq.*, xi. 193 *sqq.*—well versed in the literature of his country, and a great admirer of Virgil, xi. 180–182, whom he constantly parodies and refers to, ii. 25, 99, 100, iii. 198, 199, v. 44, 45, &c., &c., and of Lucilius, i. 20, 154, 165. Many passages show him to have been well read in Cicero, Valerius Maximus, Seneca, and other Roman writers; while the resemblances to Martial are numerous, and, in some cases, cannot be accidental. He was a “good hater,” and detested all tyrants, and more particularly Domitian and Nero. There are other passages in his works which will be suggestive to the reader of the character (real or affected) and tastes of their author, but to advert to them would be to enter upon a criticism of his productions, which it is not here my intention to undertake. The best short critical notice of them will be found in Professor Ramsay’s article, “Juvenal,” in the “Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography.”* And with the Professor’s judgment every reader of taste, as well as the editor who is not blinded by absurd admiration of his author (the common vice of editors), will, I think, be disposed to concur.

“There is perhaps yet another circumstance which we may admit without suspicion. We are told that he occu-

* To which must now be added that of the accomplished Professor Sellar, on the same subject, in the new edition of the “Encyclopaedia Britannica.”

pied himself for many years of his life in declaiming; and assuredly every page in his writings bears evidence to the accuracy of the assertion. Each piece is a finished rhetorical essay, energetic, glowing, and sonorous; the successive attacks upon vice are all planned with systematic skill; the arguments are marshalled in imposing array; they advance, supported by a heavy artillery of powerful and well-aimed illustrations, and, sweeping impetuously onward, carry by assault each position as in turn assailed. But although the impression produced at first is overwhelming, the results are not permanent. The different poems are too obviously formal works of art; and while the figures in each picture are selected with anxious care, grouped with all attention to effect, and rich with the most brilliant colouring, the composition, as a whole, is deficient in the graceful ease and reality which impart such a matchless charm to the less regular and less elaborate sketches of Horace. The means by which the two satirists seek to achieve their object are as widely different as the tempers and habits of the men. It is impossible to imagine a contrast more striking than is presented by the playful, good-humoured gaiety with which the one would laugh his hearers out of their follies and their guilt, and by the uncompromising sternness with which the other seeks to scare them, calling to his aid frightful images and terrific denunciations. In the one case, however, we are fully convinced of the absolute sincerity of our monitor; we feel that his precepts are the fruit of long experience, proceeding from one who, having mingled much with the world and encountered its perils, is filled with kindly sympathy for the difficulties and dangers of those whom he warns to avoid the rocks and shoals on which he had himself well-nigh been wrecked; while the stately, well-measured indignation of the other belongs to the eloquence of the head rather than of the heart, and the obvious tone of

exaggeration which pervades all his thundering invectives leaves us in doubt how far this sustained passion is real, and how far assumed for show. But while the austere and misanthropic gloom of Juvenal touches us less deeply than the warm-hearted, social spirit of his rival, we must not forget the difference of their position. Horace might look with admiration upon the high intellect of his prince, and the generous protection extended by him to literature; and he might feel grateful to the prudent firmness which had restored peace after long years of civil bloodshed, while a decent show of freedom was still left. But the lapse of half a century had wrought a fearful change. Galling to the proud spirit filled with recollections of ancestral glory must have been the chains with which the coarse tyranny of Nero and Domitian ostentatiously loaded their dependants; deep must have been the humiliation of the moralist who beheld the utter degradation and corruption of his countrymen: the canker was perchance too deeply seated for the keenest knife, but delicate and gentle palliatives would have been worse than mockery."

There is an observation which may perhaps be added to the above. In depicting character, in drawing scenes, even in turns of expression, Juvenal is, of all ancient authors (with the possible exception of Lucian), the most distinctly *modern*. His scenes are manipulated with a few broad touches, in which the salient points are always brought into the foreground; and it has been well observed that a painter of kindred genius would have small difficulty in transferring them to canvas. If we believed in the metempsychosis doctrine, we might almost suppose that the soul of Juvenal reappeared in Hogarth. The crowd hurrying to the *sportula* or "dole;" the club of male debauchees and their occupations; the streets of Rome by day and night; the court of Domitian, his worthless parasites and their trumpery subjects of

discussion ; the poor dependant dining with the rich patron, and the insults he is exposed to ; the senator's wife eloping with a gladiator ; the interior of fashionable ladies' boudoirs, and the frivolous pursuits and superstitions of ladies of rank ; the arts and shifts of starveling poets ; the nobleman addicted to the turf and to night-houses ; the gossip of the servants about their master's affairs ; the aspect of the city on the fall of a great minister ; a *tête-à-tête* supper of two friends : these and many other scenes of Roman life are brought before us with the vivid touches of a Defoe or a Swift. They are "sketches" in the modern sense ; and I know of nothing exactly resembling them in any other ancient author. The modes of expression, again, the turns of thought, the humour, are often distinctly modern, and such as we should look for in the pages of Fielding or Thackeray. The upstart coming on in his litter, which is "filled up by himself ;" the poor man who had nothing, it is true, "but who lost all that nothing" in the fire ; the sycophant who, when his patron complains of the heat, immediately "sweats ;" "the rustic infant in his mother's lap, gazing with horror at the frightful mask of the actor" when taken to the play ; the chaff, as we style it, of the fast young Roman noble directed against the plebeian whom he is going to pummel, "Whose vinegar and beans are you distended with ? What cobbler have you been supping off sheep's-head with, you beggar ?" ; the description of the fight, "if fight it may be called, where one man does the pummelling and the other man's part is limited to being pummelled ;" the prayer of the poor wretch that he may be allowed to return home "with a few teeth left him" ; the compliment of the fisherman on presenting an enormous turbot to Domitian. "Depend upon it, sire, the fish got himself caught on purpose !" ; the mouse "conscious of virility" who scampers away from the sacred rites at which no *males* are ad-

mitted; the schoolmaster whose class proceeds to "destroy wicked tyrants," and whose head is made to ache by that "dreadful Hannibal"; Hannibal himself stalking across the Alps "in order to amuse schoolboys, and be turned into the theme for an exercise"; the exclamations of the Romans on hearing of the fall of Sejanus, "Believe me, there was something about that man which I never liked. What a repulsive countenance he had, to be sure!"; the picture of the old ex-Dictator, in the primitive times, trudging off with a spade over his shoulder to a supper party, where bacon and perhaps a trifle of fresh meat were to be the fare, "with a dash of haste" so as to be sure to be in time; the advice to the civilian in a dispute with soldiers never to commence an action, with only two legs to plead against a thousand hobnails; the dismissal of the wife whose charms have departed, "You are offensive; you use your pocket-handkerchief too often. A fresh wife is coming with a dry nose;" such turns of expression as "the fires, the falling in of roofs, the thousand perils of cruel Rome, last of all, *the poets reciting in the dog-days*"; or again, in a comparison of Orestes and Nero, "At any rate, Orestes did not murder his sister and his wife, he did not poison his relations, *he did not write rubbishy poems about Troy*"; the inquiry about the young woman who lived in the country, where she saw no one, and who was so very chaste, "Who can guarantee that nothing has taken place in mountain or cave? *Have Jupiter and Mars then got past work?*"; the remark about Horace, "Horace has had enough to eat when he cries out 'Euo!'"; the description of the lady who is a perfect stranger to her husband, "except that she hates his friends and his servants, and makes him groan over her bills"—examples of this kind might be multiplied in support of my assertion that there is in Juvenal a humour quite distinct from the quaint humour of Plautus, and the broad farce of Petronius,

and the delicate banter of Horace, of which no example existed previous to his time in Roman literature, while modern literature furnishes much that is akin to it, though not distinctly imitated from it. There are many ancient writers, with regard to whom it is necessary for us to make a considerable mental effort, in order to throw ourselves back into the times in which they wrote, and to conceive the tone of thought which prevailed in their day. Juvenal, when the difficulties of another kind which mark his writings are surmounted, requires no such effort. In his way of looking at things, and especially the grotesque side of things, in his word-painting, in his illustrations, he is essentially a man of the present day. Accordingly he has often been imitated—by Boileau and Johnson for instance—while such writers as Aristophanes and Plautus are incapable of being modernised with any degree of success.

A short but important work on Juvenal has recently been published in Germany. It would be impossible for me in my limits to notice it adequately, but I cannot refrain from alluding to it. This is “*Der echte und der unechte Juvenal*” (the genuine and spurious Juvenal), by Ribbeck, who has edited our author. Viewed as a criticism of some portion of the poet’s work, I think it valuable, though it is disfigured by gross exaggerations, and by a manifest straining in favour of a foregone conclusion, which, to my mind, Ribbeck altogether fails to establish.

The conclusion is this: that a considerable portion of what we accept as Juvenal’s Satires is spurious. According to Ribbeck, the genuine ones are the first, second, third, fourth (with the exception of 1–36), fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, eleventh (with the exception of 1–55), and possibly the sixteenth. The supposititious ones are the tenth, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, to which must be added the introductions to Satires IV. and

XI. just mentioned. The learned critic bases his view upon the great dissimilarity existing between the two portions, thus separated, of what passes for Juvenal.

There can be no doubt, and the reader of taste will have no difficulty in perceiving, that there *is* a wide contrast between them. The former portion comprises satires dealing with society in the Roman capital, the men, the vices, the follies of the day, and furnishes us with a rich storehouse of information on the manners of the period. From the latter we learn next to nothing. They are a series of sometimes brilliant, but often turgid, rhetorical essays in verse on themes common to the declaiming schools, introducing us at every page to historical and mythological personages, Alexander, Hannibal, Priam, the gods and goddesses, but telling us nothing of contemporary life, and dealing with vice and folly in a vague, general way, such as might suit any epoch. The writer often exhibits the worst possible taste, at times dinging the same sentiment into our ears, to use Ribbeck's expression, "with maddening persistency," at others contradicting what he has said just before; here using an inapt illustration, there spinning one out to an inordinate length. All this, and a great deal more, Ribbeck has brought out with great force, though with much exaggeration, and his criticism in a modified form must be admitted; but to jump to the conclusion that the disputed satires are the result of an imposture concocted between "a speculating bookseller and a hungry poet of low order," to palm upon the public a lot of spurious work after the poet's death, appears to me to be drawing an inference as unwarranted as any with which I am acquainted in the whole history of literary criticism.

In the first place, it is only a truism to remark that the same man will write very differently, and exhibit very different taste, at different times. We know that

"Paradise Regained" (a poem which, I should suppose, few persons have ever read through) was actually preferred by its author to "Paradise Lost." If we could suppose no positive proof of its authorship to be in existence fifteen centuries hence, it would be easy, on Ribbeck's method, to show that it was a feeble imitation of the great Milton's style. There is a much wider gulf between the best comedies of Molière and some of his farces, than between the "true and false Juvenal," a point noticed by his own contemporaries—

"Dans ce sac ridicule où Scapin s'enveloppe
Je ne reconnois plus l'auteur du 'Misanthrope.'"

The Abbé Prévost was a voluminous writer of novels which no one has ever heard of; yet he produced one work destined to last as long as the language in which it was written. What would a future critic make of "A Tale of Two Cities," or "Our Mutual Friend," put into his hands as the productions of the author of "Pickwick" and "Nicholas Nickleby"? or if, after editing "Ten Thousand a Year," he were called upon to confront "The Lily and the Bee"? The inferiority, then, of some of the satires is no reason for rejecting them; nor, again, is difference in style. Writers vary immensely in their style of treatment, according to the subject which they undertake. There is no difficulty in supposing that Juvenal might at one time choose to treat of Roman women in reference to the vices he saw around him, and at another time might choose to treat of the vanity of human wishes in a general way, and that his modes of handling these two subjects should vary greatly; and, we may add, that he should be less happy in one style than in the other. There is the same difference observable—though some may think not a difference in point of merit—between "Childe Harold" and "Don Juan." Or, to take a more apposite illustra-

tion, Lord Lytton has written a very clever satire on living men called "St. Stephens," from which posterity might learn a good deal, and he has also plunged into mythology and epic poetry in the shape of "King Arthur," from which posterity can learn nothing, of our manners; and with regard to these two works, without giving an opinion on their respective merits, I think that the future critic might find it a hard matter to discover the same hand in both of them; or, rather, by following the method we are considering, he would find it an easy matter to show that they were the work of different hands.

In the next place, if these so-called spurious satires be imitations, they are very singular ones, for they fail to imitate. (I except the prologues to Satires IV. and XI., which I can just conceive it possible *might* have been put together by some one, with this intention.) One would imagine that any one having this object in view would have selected subjects resembling those of the "genuine" satires, and tried to treat them in the same fashion. But there is scarcely anything of the kind discernible. There is, indeed, one long passage in Satire VIII. 231-268, which is written in precisely the same key as the whole of Satire X., and which I, at least, am quite satisfied is from the same hand as the latter (not to speak of some passages in XI.) Whether the "poet of low order" confined his imitation to one or two exceptional passages of this sort, or whether the author who could indulge, when the occasion seemed to require, in a burst of declamation like the thirty-eight lines in Satire VIII., might not have similarly produced, when treating of congenial themes, the declamations known as Satires X., XIII., XIV., &c., is the point for consideration. To me the latter alternative is immensely the more probable of the two. If conjecture were of the slightest avail, I should conjecture that the "declamations" (all perhaps but the fifteenth

satire) were the earlier works of the poet, and that they were touched up and added to, and published along with his Satires, when he had become famous through the latter. Ribbeck objects that a man of Juvenal's taste would never have exhumed these early productions. Why not? Authors are not uncommonly extremely partial to their earliest works. Juvenal may not have thought Satire X., &c., to be such dreadful rubbish as Ribbeck considers them. He may have thought them worth preserving, whatever their faults might be; and the world has been for nearly eighteen centuries, and is now, of the same opinion.

And whatever these faults may be, I think it might be conclusively shown that germs of them, or it may be traces of them, or at any rate cognate faults, may be found in the "genuine" satires. Some references to these will be found in the notes, as well as occasional remarks upon Ribbeck's detailed criticisms. There is one more observation to be made before parting with him, and that concerns the beauties of the disputed satires; for there are such, though he denies the fact, and is, indeed, never tired of pounding the unhappy "declamator." We are to suppose that a Grub Street poet was got hold of by an enterprising publisher, and paid for writing these satires. This man was able to compose such a passage as that relating to Sejanus, x. 65-102; the passages, rhetorical indeed, but in which certainly the *disiecti membra poetae* are to be found, on Hannibal and Alexander, x. 147-172; the account of old age and its miseries, 188 *sqq.*; the lines, xiv. 59-85; the passage, one of the sublimest in the whole range of poetry, xv. 131-174. He has interspersed these and other splendid passages with lines which have become "familiar as household words," "jewels which on the outstretched finger of all time sparkle for ever:" *Evertere domos totas optantibus ipsis Di faciles—Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator—Qui nolunt occidere*

*quemquam Posse volunt—Expende Hannibalem quot libras
in duce summo Invenies, &c., &c.*

What became of this man? He was able to write poetry which imposed upon his contemporaries as that of a great genius (in some respects the greatest satirical genius the world has ever seen) just deceased; and his imposture has lasted for eighteen centuries. Whatever his faults may have been, he was certainly—Juvenal being dead—the greatest Roman poet of his day. We should have thought that, especially after this successful attempt, we should have had something from him under his own name. Nothing of the kind. There was living in Rome at the beginning of the second century a man capable of writing verses which should be a heritage for all time; we get, so to speak, a momentary glimpse of him composing these verses (destined to live for ever, and in parts to delight for ever) under a false name, in combination with a dishonest bookseller. He never wrote anything more; or, if he did, it has never come down to us. After this unparalleled achievement, he sinks back into the darkness from which he has emerged. Either this difficulty must be faced, or the alternative must be adopted of accepting Ribbeck's view of the "spurious" satires—that they are "a collection of school trash;" the work of "a shallow babbler, an impostor, who thinks like a soap-boiler, not even capable of seizing and fashioning one single true thought." In that case, of course, there would have been as many poetasters in Rome capable of furnishing them to order as there are persons in London prepared to write for Messrs. Moses & Son. Our surprise will be transferred to the Romans, who could be so easily deceived; but it will be a surprise unmixed with contempt for their want of taste and acumen, since we, too, have shared in the delusion.

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE I.

IN this satire, which is a kind of preface to the others, the poet explains why he has taken up his pen. So many poetasters are declaiming their rubbish on all sides, that he is determined to retaliate. The line which he has chosen is that of satire, after the manner of Lucilius. To justify his choice of this kind of composition, he portrays, in a series of graphic pictures, some of the abuses and abominations which existed at Rome in his day, and which, *mutatis mutandis*, are always to be met with in every great city. Women ape the pursuits of men ; upstarts sprung from the dregs of the people, pettifogging lawyers and informers, have risen to wealth and a high position ; fortune-hunters pander to the lusts of rich old harridans ; plunderers of provinces, though sent into exile, retain the spoil and laugh at their sentence ; men sell their wives ; others ruin themselves in horseflesh ; scoundrels obtain riches by forging wills ; women poison their husbands ; gambling is carried on to a fearful extent ; the *sportula*, or dole distributed by the wealthy Romans to their clients, is grossly abused ; rich men squander their fortunes on dinners which they ask no one to share, and their poor retainers are neglected : in short, every vice has reached its climax.

But who would venture to write satires at such a time as this, even supposing he had the genius necessary for the task, with a crowd of informers on all sides of him ? It is a very different thing to write about Aeneas and Achilles and Hylas, and other legendary characters, and to attack living people. " Well, then," says the poet, " I will confine myself to those who are dead, and see what I can do in the way of showing

them up." Or—as we should say—I won't introduce the names of living persons into my satires;

All that can be said with regard to the date of this Satire is, that, in its present form, it must have been given to the world later than A.D. 100, because the condemnation of Marius (ls. 47 *sqq.*) took place in that year. But I should imagine that the bulk of it was written before that period, and the lines about Marius (perhaps ls. 45–50) inserted afterwards as additional illustrations. The very style of Juvenal, in which the *limeae labor* is distinctly perceptible, would lead me to suppose that the satires were frequently retouched, altered, and added to, from time to time; and the expression in Suetonius' Life (see "Introduction"), which, at any rate, exhibits the early tradition on the subject, points in the same direction. The repeated introduction of "informers" and "accusers," such as those indicated under the names *Carus*, *Massa*, &c., seems to me to suit rather the age of Domitian than that of Nerva and Trajan—a point which has not received the attention which it deserves from commentators, who have assigned the whole of this Satire to a date later than A.D. 100. Nothing is more certain than that Trajan, at his accession to power, banished the leading *delatores*, and put an end to their trade. Pliny's Panegyricus is full of passages to this effect, xxxiv. 1, 5; xxxv. 1, 2; xli. 1. It is true that both Massa and Carus are mentioned by Martial in his twelfth book, published about A.D. 104; but the former is spoken of as a personage of the past, Ep. 29; and with regard to Carus, I have small doubt that this is "one of the pieces belonging to earlier years which were included in his later books," a practice of Martial's, of which we have other evidence; see Professor Ramsay's article on Martial in Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biography. Juvenal, we may be sure, would not introduce the abuse of informers into a satire composed when they had ceased to exist; a republication of it, with additions, would be quite another affair.

Compare also ls. 152, 153, with Tacitus' remark: *rara temporum felicitate ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet* (Hist. i. 1).

I should be inclined, therefore, to think that the Satire was originally written in the reign of the tyrant, and published (when it had become safe to do so), with additions, in that of Trajan.

If the barber mentioned at l. 25 be the *tonsor tota notissimus urbe* of Martial, Cinnamus (vii. 64), we should have another slight indication to the same effect; for Cinnamus, after his great rise, had fallen before A.D. 93, the date of Martial's seventh book. It is true that the same line occurs at x. 226, and this (to me) would serve to confirm the conjecture that Satire X., in its main lines, is a comparatively early rhetorical effusion of the poet.

NOTES TO SATIRE I.

1: The Roman authors, and more particularly the poets, were in the habit of reciting their new productions, sometimes in private, and then not unfrequently at dinner-parties, Mart. iii 45, xi 52; at other times, in temples and other public places, Hor. Sat. i 10 38; or in houses hired or lent by rich patrons for the purpose, Juv. vii 40; the day being fixed in advance, Juv. vii 83 84; and circular letters of invitation being sent out, Plin. Epp. iii 18. These recitations were generally held previous to publication, Plin. Epp. ii 10 v 3 v 12 &c., and the reciter *sat*, Plin. Epp. ii 19 Pers. i 17. The younger Pliny greatly approves of the practice, and speaks in Epp. i 13 of the town being full of poets, and scarcely a day in one whole month passing without recitations. Our tastes, in the present age, will incline us to side with Juvenal. *reponam* may be either the future or the subjunctive; at 51 52 below, the subjunctive is used in a precisely similar interrogation. *reponere* is, literally, “to repay,” and the metaphor is taken from the payment of debts: *Quos continuo tibi reponam in hoc triduo aut quatridio*, Plaut. Pers. i 1 39. Pliny the younger says of one of these recitations, *Possum jam repetere secessum et scribere aliquid quod non recitem, ne videar, quorum recitationibus affui, non auditor fuisse, sed creditor*, Epp. i 13. 2: *vestatus*, the past participle has here, as often, the sense of “though.” *Vicinos humiles rapere et concidere loris Exorata solet*, vi 414 415, “though entreated.” Phaedrus speaks of *molesti poetae*, and Ovid of *vesanus poeta*, in reference to this practice of reciting, which, I believe, still lingers in Italy. *toties* an allusion to recitations “in parts;” cf. vii 32 *sqq.* *rauci*, “hoarse from reciting.” *Praelegat ut tumidus rauca te voce magister*, Mart. viii 3 15; *Rausuro tragicus qui carmina perdit Oreste*, in the fragments of Lucilius xix 9, which seems to be imitated here. *Codri*, another reading is *Cordi*; a Codrus is mentioned in iii 203 208. It is probably here only

a fictitious name for a bad poet, and the *Theseide* is a bad epic poem, which he is supposed to have written on the subject of Theseus. The word is formed as *Aeneis*, *Achilleis*, etc. Pedo Albinovanus had written a poem on this subject. 3: *impune*. Horace has, *Obturem patulas impune legentibus aures*, Epp. ii 2 105. *recilaverit*. Heinrich reads *cantarerit*, but there is only one MS. to favour it. *Cantare* is often used of what is continually being dinned into the ears; *eadem cantabit versibus isdem*, vii 153; *Harum mores cantabat mihi*, Ter. Heaut. Tim. ii 3 19; *Cantilenam eandem canis*, Phorm. iii 2 11; cf. Juv. x 178, and note to vii 152 153. *togatas*, usually of comedies on Roman subjects, as opposed to *palliatae*, which were comedies on Greek subjects. So *praetextae* of tragedies on Roman subjects, as opposed to *crepidatae*: *vestigia Graeca Ausi deserere et celebrare domestica facta Vel qui praetextas, vel qui docuere togatas*, Hor. A. P. 287 288; Quintilian says of Africanus, *togatis excellit*; cf. Wordsworth, "Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin," p. 597. 4: *diem consumpserit*. *Auditur toto saepe poeta die*, Mart. xi 70 10; *Cum indignaretur quidam illum tota die recilasse*, Sen. Epp. 122. The younger Pliny, in the epistle above quoted, i 13, might almost seem to have had Juvenal in his eye when he rebukes the man who does not appreciate these recitations: *Aut non venit; aut, si venit, queritur se diem, quia non perdiderit, perdisse*. The same writer speaks of a recitation of his own, which lasted three whole days, but this, it is true, was in praise of the Emperor; cf. Plin. Epp. iii 18. *ingens*, "vast in bulk," i.e., the book. Martial, xiv 190, speaks of *Livius ingens*, "voluminous Livy;" but both there and here there may be a double sense in *ingens*, applying both to the person and the work; cf. Juv. x 62, *ingens Sejanus*. *Ingens* seems to have been a regular epithet for heroes, Virg. Æn. iv 413, xi 396, xii 441, etc. 5: *Telephus*, son of Hercules and Auge, mortally wounded by the spear of Achilles, and restored by the rust of the same weapon, seems to have been, from the earliest times, a favourite theme for poets,—Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Agathon among the Greeks, and Ennius and Accius among the Romans, wrote plays bearing the title "Telephus," none of which have come down to us; the name

is used as a synonym for a hackneyed subject, cf. Hor. A. P. 96. These mythological stories formed almost the only available themes for the Roman epic poets, though they bantered each other on the hackneyed use made of them :—*Cui non dictus Hylas puer?* etc., Virg. Georg. iii 3. *Quis non Nioben numeroso funere maestam Jam cecinit, quis non Semelen?* etc. Nemesian Cyneg. 15. Compare Mart. xi 52 17. It may be added that in Domitian's reign it would scarcely have been safe for them to write of anything else, cf. i 162 sqq. *summi* is here used for *extremi*, as in Martial iv 91 4, *Nec summa potes in scheda teneri; so summi anni, summa senectus, &c.* 6 : *et in tergo.* On the form of Roman books, cf. Smith's Dict. Ant., article "Liber." It was customary to write only on one side of the parchment. Martial, addressing his book, says, *Inversa pueris arande charta*, iv 87 ; and again, *Scribit in inversa Picens epigrammata charta Et dolet averso quod facit illa Deo*, viii 62. Parchments written on the back were called *opistographi*. Pliny the younger says of his uncle, *Commentarios centum saxaginta mihi reliquit opistographos quidem et minutissime scriptos*, Epp. iii 5. *finitus Orestes.* Zumpt (Lat. Gramm. ch. vi § 39) remarks upon this, that in earlier Latin the names of dramatic compositions are feminine, *fabula* being understood. *Haec Truculentus (Plauti), Eunuchus (Terentii) acta est.*

7 : *nota magis nulli domus est sua.* Heinrich sees in this an imitation of Cicero, Epp. i 16 ad Quint. Frat., *Quamquam illud existimo cum jam tibi Asia sicut unicuique sua domus nota esse debeat*, and cf. Cic. in Cu. Plane. 40, Cic. ad Att. vi 1. I should imagine the expression must have been a proverbial one. The same idea occurs in Herodot. viii 35, and, no doubt, elsewhere. 7, 8 : *locus Martis.* Mars had many groves; any one will do here. 8, 9 : Virgil, Aen. viii 417 sqq., places the workshop of Vulcan in one of the Lipari Islands, and the abode of Aeolus, the wind-god, in another, Aen. i 52 ; they were consequently neighbours. In Homer, Vulcan's workshop is placed in Olympus, Il. xviii 369 ; but the poets to whom Juvenal is alluding would naturally follow Virgil. 9 : *quid agant venti*, "what the winds are doing." Heinrich reads *Venti*, and thinks the winds are personified. Juvenal may have had in his mind some recollection of Virgil, Aen. i 81 sqq., and i

131-141. *agere* does not necessarily imply any violent action : *Interroganti quid ageret puer, respondebat, bene quievit*, Plin. Epp. iii. 16; *Quid agit Comum?* id. i. 3. *Quid agis?* “How do you do?” common. 10: *Aeacus.* Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῆς Ἀσίας Παδάμαντος χριτά, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῆς Εὐρώπης Αἰακός, Μήνῳ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι δέουσι τελετήν, οἱ τὸν ἀπορητὸν τοῦτον οὐδέποτε, Plato, Gorg. Others distribute the work between the three judges differently. *alias*, sc. Jason. Compare x. 257. *Aitque alius* (sc. *Laertes*) *cui fas Ithacum lugere natantem furt. aur. pell.* compare, for this construction, vi. 483. *latum pictae vestis considerat aurum.* 11: *pelliculae.* Maclean says there is no diminutive force in this word ; but I think there is, the tone of the whole passage being comic ; literally “the gold of the little skin ;” cf. Mart. iii. 16. 6. There may be an intention to ridicule the excessive use of diminutives by some poet or poets ; cf. Wordsworth, “Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin,” p. 644. *Monychus*, one of the centaurs. Heinrich thinks that the whole of this passage, 8-11, is a parody on Valerius Flaccus, the contemporary of Juvenal, and the author of the “Argonautica.” Certainly there are some passages in V. Flaccus which bear out this view, while *unde alius (Jason) furtivae devehat aurum Pelliculae*, applies to his whole subject. Compare Val. Fl. i. 575 sqq. *Boreas . . . Continuo Aeoliam Tyrrhenaque tendit ad antra . . . Stat rupes horrenda fretri . . . Nec scopulos aut antra minor juxta altera tellus Cernitur . . . Has nimbi ventique domos, &c.*; and again, *haec antra videtis, Vulcanique, ait, esse domos*, ii. 335, etc., which may be alluded to ; while i. 608 sqq. (which is itself an imitation of Virg. Aen. i. 82 sqq.) may be referred to in *quid agant venti*. (If Lucan had been more nearly contemporary with our author, we might have supposed him to have had also in his eye 597, sqq. of Phars. v.) But the other instances of parody cited by Heinrich are, I think, fanciful. It is not very likely that all Juvenal’s illustrations would be taken from one author, whose works had been given to the public some thirty years, and who had himself been dead some ten years before this Satire appeared, at any rate, in its present form—and that, a very distinguished one, praised by Quintilian, the first critic of the age, and often imitated by Juvenal’s favourite, Statius ; and it ought to be shown that

something closely corresponding to *quantas jaculetur Monychus ornos*, or *quas torqueat umbras Aeacus* or a spun-out or exaggerated description of the grove of Mars, are to be found in Val. Fl.; but there is nothing of the kind. 12: *Frontonis*. This is most likely a name, like that of Codrus above, applied to no one in particular. There were several persons of distinction so called, one of whom is mentioned by Martial, i 56, as *Clarum militiae Fronto togaeque decus*, and who is supposed to be identical with the one who was consul in the year of Domitian's death. Dion. Cass. lxviii 1; Plin. Epp. ii 11 &c. The man mentioned by Pliny seems to have been an orator of considerable repute, and, like Pliny himself, may have taken a strange delight in "recitations." The tutor to M. Aurelius cannot be meant. *platani*. The plane-tree was a great favourite with the Romans; Mart. iii 19 and iii 58, where it is called *vidua*, its dense foliage rendering it impossible to train the vine round it, as was the case with the elm, poplar, &c.; and so *platanus coelebs*, Hor. Od. ii 15 4. Pliny the younger speaks of *clararavì opacissimus*, as among the greatest charms of a villa, i 3. *marmora*, Mr. Evans translates "statues," but this is not the meaning. Pliny, H. N. xxxvi 6, tells us that marble was let into the walls, and he adds, with indignation, that it had even come to be used for pavements. Compare Juv. vi 430, *Marmoribus rivi properant*, i.e., "on the marble floors;" and Ovid, Med. Fac. 8, *Nigra sub imposito marmore terra latet*. At iii 215, when a rich man's house has been burnt down, among the presents offered him for his new house is marble: *accurrit qui marmora donet*. Compare iv 112, ix 104, xiv 89 90. Pliny the younger writes to his architect, *Emas marmora quibus solum, quibus parietis excolantur* (this was for a temple), Epp. ix 39; Seneca, Epp. 86 and 115, *parietes tenui marmore inductos*. The marble was affixed to the brickwork by hooks. Burn. "Rome and the Campagna," p. 200. *clamant marmora* is like *humero revocante*, 27. *cupient (ista) in acta referri*, ii 136. *probitas alget*, i 74. *lectica petit*, i 121. *tremere* and *mordere* of hunger, v 10 11. See on vi 657-659. 12, 13: *semper et assiduo*, probably a verbal reminiscence (it is no more), of Pera. iv 17 18, where the same words occur in exactly the same way, *semper* referring

to the line above. *convulsa, ruptae* are, according to Grangaeus, medical terms. The words occur together in a passage of Pliny's Nat. Hist. (quoted by Forcell.), where *convulsa ruptaque* are said to be cured by a certain plant. *convulsa* is not easily translatable. It seems to mean "made to shake violently;" rather a forced image, and an early example of the poet's tendency to exaggeration. Servius quotes line 13 on Virgil, Georg. iii 328, *Et cantu querulæ rumpent arbusta cicadæ*. Otherwise, one would think it would have been better left out. At vii 86 we have of a poet (Statius), *fregit subsellia versu. assiduo lectore* may be taken as "by the assiduity, persistency, of the reader," i 163 note; but this gives a feebler sense, and is quite unnecessary. It is the "ablativus instrumenti." 14: this verse is rejected by some critics (such as Ribbeck), as is almost every verse in Juvenal which stands by itself, and contains what is called an *apophthegm*; (*γνῶμαι*) see note to v 140, as, for instance, v 66, 140, &c. They are supposed to be monkish glosses. To me, on the contrary, they appear to be very much in Juvenal's manner. Observe the numerous cases where these apophthegms or *sententiae generales* do not consist of a single line, and cannot be thus detached, i 73 74, vii 145, viii 73 74, ix 18 19. At any rate, having got them in the MSS., we must make the best of them; and it is not a sufficient reason for rejecting a verse, that it appears to us a feeble one. Here certainly the line is neither forcible in itself, nor does it help to make the passage more intelligible. The author objects then, it seems, not to the bad poetry, but to the choice of mythical themes by poets great as well as small. Yet he elsewhere, viii 82 sqq., is enthusiastic on the subject of the recitations of Statius's Thebaid. A verse very like this one occurs at vi 349, where Ribbeck rejects it; but all the MSS. have it, and it seems to be wanted. 15: *ergo*, "I too, I can tell you," "I too, I say." *nos*, poetically for *ego*; constantly so used in Latin, as in English: *nostra infantia*, iii 84; *Haeremus*, vi 281, ix 31 86 &c. *ferulae*. *Ferulae tristes sceptræ paedagorum*, Mart. x 62 10; *Invisæ nimium pueris grataeque magistris*, id. xiv 80. The Roman schoolmaster seems not to have spared the rod. Horace speaks of *plagosus Orbilius*, Epp. ii 1 70. *multum puer et lores et funibus udis Exhortatus*,

Sat. i 10; *Ut subeant tenerae (puerorum) verbera saeva manus,* Ov. Am. i 13 18; id. A. A. i 15 16. Cf. Capitol. Gord. Jun. 18. Vopisc. Tacit. 6. The meaning is, "I, too, have been to school, and have written themes." This line is referred to by Macr. Sat. iii 10, also by Sidonius Apollinaris and Hieronym. ; cf. Lud. Jan. on Macr. who thinks Juvenal had in view a saying of Timocles ap. Athen. lib. 13 p. 571, *πληγὰς λαβεῖν ἀπαλασί τιξεις ηδόνης*, but this is scarcely probable. 15, 16 : the ambition of Sulla would be a likely theme to set to schoolboys. *Neque enim ignoro plerunque exercitationis gratia ponit et poeticas et historicas, ut Priami verba apud Achillem, aut Sullae dictaturam deponentis in concione,* Quint. Inst. iii 8 ; and again, *Ciceroni dabimus consilium, ut Antonium roget, vel Philipicas exurat,* Inst. iii 8, cf. Pers. iii 45. 18 : *perdite Niliacas musae mea damna papyros,* Mart. xiii 1. For this sense of *pereo*, "to be wasted," "to be thrown away," which is frequent in Juvenal, compare iii 124, iv 56, vii 174 222 225, xi 192; *Scripta nostra . . . quae vix ab otiosis impetrare aliquid perituri temporis possunt,* Plin. Epp. vii 2 ; iii 5. *Tot noctes periere: nihil pudet?* Propert. ii 21 5. Ausonius uses it in precisely the same sense, of the same substance, paper, *Si tineas cariemque pati te charta necesse est Incipe versiculis ante perire meis,* Ep. 34 ; Mart. i 46. The future participle in *rus* may often be rendered by the English "which is sure to," "which is certain to :" *Eo plus formidinis afferebant falsae virtutes et vitia redditura,* Tac. Hist. i 71, "His vices which were sure to reappear;" *se Excusaturos non sollicitemus amicos,* Juv. xvi 28, "Who are sure to excuse themselves," Sen. de Ira i 1. 19 : *campo*, for the use of the word in the sense of a field for the display of one's powers, cf. Cic. de Orat. iii 31 and pro Mur. 8, with Long's note. 20 : *magnus Auruncae albumus* is Lucilius (who is again alluded to in 154, and mentioned at 165), a native of Suessa Aurunca, in Campania. One of the old scholiasts, however, makes it refer to Turnus, a tragic and satirical poet, also born at Aurunca. That he was by no means obscure, may be gathered from Martial, who speaks of *Turni nobilibus libellis*, vii 97 8 ; and again, *Contulit ad satiras ingentia pectora Turnus*, xi 10 ; and Rutil., in his Itiner., couples him and Juvenal together, *Hujus vulnificis, satira ludente,*

Camenis Nec Turnus potior nec Juvenalis erit. The metaphor is taken from a race-course, and is common in the poets, *Nunc teritur nostris area major equis*, Ov. &c., “If you will kindly hear why I have chosen the same ground as Lucilius to contend upon (*i.e.*, satire), I will tell you.” Some take *placidi* as the genitive, instead of the nominative plural, in the sense, “If you will listen to one who is perfectly calm ;” but this is not so good. The poet is not perfectly calm. He tells us, a few lines on, 30 31, that he cannot contain himself. It is the same sort of expression as *facilem si praebat aurem*, v 107, *da mihi te placidum* of Ovid, Fast. i 17 &c.

22 : compare vi 336 sqq. Martial, addressing Domitian, who forbade the castration of males, says, *Nec spado jam nec moechus erit, te praeside quisquam.* *At prius (O mores !) et spado moechus erat*, vi 2. For the contempt with which the Romans regarded eunuchs, cf. Hor. Epod. 9 11; *Romanus—spadonibus servire rugosis potest.* *Spadones obluridi distortaque lineamentorum compage deformes*, Amm. Marc. xiv 6. *tener* has the sense of “effeminate.” Cicero calls *Cyprus tenera insula*. Roman ladies sometimes married eunuchs with the view of not having families, and the practice is inveighed against by the Christian fathers : but the allusion here seems rather to be to wealthy eunuchs taking to themselves wives for the sake of show. *Mevia*, a name like *Codrus*, no one in particular. Some read *Naevia*, and there is a *Naevia* frequently mentioned by Martial, i 69 and 72, &c. ; but it is impossible to connect the two names. On women descending into the arena, cf. Mart. de Spect. 6, *Saecit et ipsa Venus*, and in the same epigram, *nam post tua munera Caesar jam feminea vidimus acta manu.* Cf. Stat. Silv. i 6 53, *Stat sexus rudis, insciusque ferri, Et pugnas capit improbus viriles.* Suetonius speaks of Domitian setting women to fight in public, Domit. 4. 23 : the Tuscan boars were celebrated for their size and ferocity. Martial has an epigram on one that was sent him as a present. *Tuscae glandis aper populator*; and ends by saying, *noster te non capit ignis*, “You are too large for my kitchen-fire,” vii 27. *venabula* are “hunting-spears,” *lato venabula ferro*, Virg. Aen. iv 131; *venabula tigris corpore fixa*, Ov. Met. ix 205. 24 : *provocet*, “challenges,” as in vi 321 and 376. 25 : this line is found

again at x 226. Two other instances of recurring lines are to be found in Juvenal, x 365 and xiv 315, xiii 137, and (with a slight variation) xvi 41. For examples of the same kind in Horace and Virgil, cf. Orellius ad Hor. Epp. i 1 56. This line looks like a parody on Virgil, Ecl. i 29, *Candidior postquam tondenti barba cadebat*. Martial applies *sonare* to the sound of the razor cutting the beard, *Antiochi tantum barbara tela sonent*, xi 84 12. Who the barber was who Juvenal says shaved him in his youth it is impossible to say, possibly the *Cinnamus* mentioned by Martial, vii 64. *gravis* may mean "that had grown incommodious to me," "my superfluous beard," as at xi 127. *juveni* is here, "when I was a young man," not "when I was in my prime," v 45 note, as Mr. Evans translates it. Juvenal was very likely in his prime when he first wrote this Satire. The meaning is, "in my early days." Another reading is *juvenis*. 26 : the contempt of our poet for the Egyptians frequently breaks out, cf. 130 below and Satire xv. *Canopus*, a town of Egypt, about fifteen miles from Alexandria, celebrated for its profligacy, in which connection it is specially referred to again, vi 84 and xv 46. Traces of its ruins are still said to exist near Aboukir. 27 : *Crispinus* is again attacked in iv 1, *Ecce iterum Crispinus*. He was a favourite of Domitian, and is flattered, as might be expected, by Martial, the fulsome panegyrist of that tyrant, *Sic placidum videoas semper Crispinetoniam, Necte Roma minus, quam tua Memphis amet*, vii 99. That he was an Egyptian is apparent from these two passages, which assign two different cities in Egypt for his birthplace. 28 : the fondness of the Romans for covering their fingers with rings is well known. In the time of Horace, three was considered a large number, *saepe notatus Cum tribus annellis modo laeva Priscus inani*, Sat. ii 79. But, at a later period, the number had increased, *exornamus annulis digitos, in omni articulo gemma disponitur*, Senec. Nat. Quest. vii 31; and even more, *Sardonychas, smaragdos, adamantas, iaspidas uno Versat in articulo Stella*, Mart. v 11, and cf. xi 59. The same poet alludes to their being sometimes extremely heavy, *Annulus iste tuus fuerat modo cruribus aptus, Non eadem digitis pondera convenient, xi 37*; and cf. v 61, xiv 123, where he writes, *Saepe gravis digitis elabitur annulus uncis*, an expression very

closely resembling the *digitis sudantibus* of this line. Supposit. 13, Pera. i 16, cf. Plin. H. N. xxxiii 1. 29 : he seems to have had one ring for summer and another for winter.

30, 31 : *iniquae urbis*, literally “the unjust, unfair city ;” hence it means the inequalities, the unfair contrasts offered by the city, such as those shown below—the small lawyer turned grandee, the informer at the top of the tree, the nobility in ruins, &c. ; so *iniquas Caesaris ad mensas*, v 4, and cf. xiv 126. 31 : *ferreus*, “case-hardened,” as we say. 32 : Matho was a blustering advocate, often laughed at by Juvenal and Martial. At vii 129, he is represented as a bankrupt, and it has been conjectured from this that, having failed as a lawyer, he afterwards set up as an informer, and made a fortune ; from which it has been further inferred, that this Satire, or at any rate this portion of it, is of later composition than the seventh. But all this is without warrant. Here, at any rate, we find him in his new palanquin, like a great man, and furnishing one of those sights which, the poet says, might induce any one to write satire ; cf. xi 34, Mart. iv 80 81, &c. 33 : *ipso*, “the great man,” “filled by his lordship,” a common use of *ipse*, 62, v 114, &c. *magni delator amici* ; who the informer and his friend were, we do not know ; it is useless, therefore, to cite, with the commentators, a number of names. 34 : *de nobilitate comesa*. This passage looks very much as if it had been originally written in the time of Domitian. It is better to take it of the persons, not their property. Compare iii 259, *Quid superst de corporibus ?* cf. also iv 97. But it might also mean, “who will soon clutch from the nobility what remains to them,” for *rapere aliquid de aliquo* is perfectly good. In either case this seems an odd way of putting it, “what remains of what is eaten up.” 35 : *Massa*. Baebius Massa was a notorious informer under Domitian. Martial speaks of him as *fur nummorum*, xii 29. Pliny the younger was assigned by the Senate as one of the prosecuting counsel against him, for his extortions in the province of Baetica, Plin. Epp. vii 33. 36 : *Carus*, another informer, mentioned by Martial xii 25, *Ecce reum Carus te detulit*, and Plin. Epp. i 5, also in Epp. vii 27, where he says that, if Domitian had lived a little longer, he should have perished,

articles of impeachment drawn up against him by this Carus having been found in the deceased Emperor's desk. *et a trepido Thymele summissa Latino.* It is impossible to do more than offer a conjecture as to the meaning of these words. Some suppose Thymele to have been the wife, or mistress, of Latinus, the actor, sent by him to propitiate an informer. In this case, some well-known event is referred to, the narrative of which has not come down to us. Others (changing *et* into *ut*) think there is an allusion to a scene, and most likely a common one, on the stage, in which the detected lover, dreading the vengeance of the outraged husband, induces the wife to attempt to soften him with a bribe. I prefer the former meaning, which is supported by the MSS. and the scholiast. Latinus was a favourite actor, mentioned in vi 44, and frequently by Martial, ii 72, &c. He was himself an informer under Domitian, according to a scholium on Juvenal iv 53-55 and cf. Mart. ix 29. *Thymele* (from *θυμίλη*, the altar of Dionysus, in the centre of the orchestra, on the Greek stage) was most likely the "theatrical name" of an actress who frequently played with Latinus, *Thymelen spectas derisoremque Latinum*, Mart. i 5. The name occurs twice again in Juvenal, vi 66, viii 197. *summissa* may have an indecent meaning, but probably means only "sent privately," as in Cic. Verr. Act. ii Lib. i c. 41, and Act. ii Lib. 3, c. 28. 37: *summovere*; *summovere*, *verbum proprium de lictoribus*, Festus. It was originally applied to the lictors, who were said *summovere turbam*, "to clear the way," before the consuls whom they preceded. So Hor. Od. ii 16 10, *Non enim gazae neque consularis Summoveret lictor miseros tumultus Mentis*; and Seneca, Epp. 94, *Non est quod feliciorem judices cui summovetur quam quem lictor semita dejicit*. Horace uses it in exactly the same sense as here, Sat. i 9 47, *Disperream ni summosses omnes*; compare Stat. Silv. iii 3 179. It is well rendered by Macleane, "when men elbow you out of the way." Compare iii 124, *limine summoveor*, and xiv 186. But it had come, by this time, to mean merely "to move out of the way," "to replace." However, the author may fancy himself standing in the street, making notes (63 below), in which case the sense may be taken literally. *Dimovere* is also used in this sense, Tac. Hist. iii 31, &c. *testamenta*, properly, "wills in

their favour." **38** : *noctibus*, "night work." In Cic. ad Att. i i 6; Plaut. Asin. iii 3 34 and 146; and Catull. 8-15, if the reading *nocte* be accepted, *nox* has the same obscene sense. **39** : *processus*, "advancement," from *procedere*, which is used in the same sense : *Studiis processimus, studiis periclitati sumus rursusque processimus*, Plin. Epp. iv 24; and *ambitio et procedendi libido* are coupled in Epp. viii 6. The word must have originally referred to "pioneering," as *προχόπτειν*; cf. Arn. ad Thucyd. iv 60; Paley. Eurip. Hippolyt. 23. *vetulae vesica beatae. Nunc sectaris anus, O quantum cogit egestas*, Mart. xi 87. Some have seen here an allusion to the circumstances of Hadrian's adoption. Spart. Hadr. 4. But this Satire must have been written before that event, though lines 37-44 may very well have been added. **40** : the Roman *As*, the standard of value, was divided into twelve parts, *unciae*, which were named, according to the number of ounces they contained, *As, deunz, dodrans, &c.*, down to *uncia* (each of these parts was not, however, represented by a separate coin). *deuncem* means here eleven-twelfths, and *unciolam*, diminutive of *unciam*, a paltry twelfth. *Gillo* and *Proculeius*, if they be real persons, are happily unknown to us, out of this verse. Compare Mart. i 59 5, vii 14 10. **42** : *sanguinis*, of vigour; the expenditure of his manly powers; cf. Plaut. Curc. i 2 65. **43** : there is here perhaps a reminiscence of Virgil, Aen. ii 379 sqq.

44 : this line is explained by Suetonius, Calig. c 20 : (*Caligula instituit*) in *Gallia Lugduni certamen Graecae Latinaeque facundiae quo certamine ferunt victoribus praemia victos contulisse, eorumdem et laudes componere coactos : eos autem qui maxime displicuerint, scripta sua spongia linguae delere jussos, nisi ferulis objurgari aut flumine proximo mergi maluissent*. A person contending under these circumstances might well be pale. **45** : *jecur*. The liver was supposed to be the seat of the strongest passions, cf. vi 648; Hor. Od. i 25 15, *Voluptas et concupiscentia juxta eos qui de physicis disputant, consistit in jecore*, Hieronymus quoted by Orell. The Greeks held the same view. **47** : *pupilli prostantis spoliator*. Horace says, *Non fraudem socio puerove incogitat ullam Pupillo*, Epp. ii 1 122 123, Juv. x 222 223. **47, 48** : *inani judicio*. So the poet exclaims, viii 94, *sed quid damnatio confert?* "Of what use to the provincials are the

condemnations of these rapacious governors?" *infamia* cannot be literally translated. It entailed on the condemned person certain legal disabilities; cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. 49: *Marius Priscus* was tried A.D. 100, and condemned to banishment, for his exactions and misdeeds in Africa, where he had been governor. An account of the trial will be found in Pliny, Epp. ii 11, who speaks of "the severity of the example." The younger Pliny, with Tacitus the historian, appeared for the prosecution. Marius and his extortions are again mentioned by Juvenal, viii 120. It would seem, from this passage, that he managed to live comfortably in his exile with a portion of his ill-gotten gains. Exile was the punishment for the offence of *repetundae* under the Empire, Tac. Ann. xiv 28. Pliny the younger says that Marius was not nearly so bad as some others, Epp. iii 9; but from being better known he would be more likely to be chosen as an illustration by the poet. *ab octava bibit*, begins to drink at the eighth hour, i.e., at two o'clock. The usual dinner-hour of the well-to-do Romans seems to have been the ninth in summer and the tenth in winter, Mart. iv 8, xi 52, Plin. Epp. iii 1. One hour before dinner they bathed (see the passages just cited). Marius is here represented as beginning to drink an hour before the usual time, perhaps at his bath; see viii 168 note, so, *vos convivia lauita sumptuose de die facitis?* i.e., *de meridie*, Catull. 47 5, and Ellis's note. *fruitur Dis iratis. Iraque nostra fruitur*, Sen. H. F. 34. 50: *victrix provincia ploras* may be a reminiscence of *nocentissima victoria* used by Cicero, in precisely the same sense, of a province after gaining a suit. Verr. Act. i 14. *vincere* is the regular word for gaining a lawsuit, Plin. Epp. vi 33, &c. 51: *Venusina lucerna*, "the lucubrations of a Horace" who was born at Venusia, Sat. ii 1 34 35. 52: *agitem* may mean "hoot off the stage," as in Hor. A. P. 341, *Centuriae seniorum agitant expertia frugis*, or "hoot at," as ib. 456, *agitant pueri incautique sequuntur*. Compare Juv. ii 88. *agitat rem militarem*, Cic. pro Mur. 9. Or the sense may be, "Shall I not treat of these topics?" as in Hor. ii 6 73; Per. vi 5. *juvenes agitare jocos*; and Juv. vi 475. 52, 53: compare with lines 52 53 54, Mart. x 4, sqq. which convey the same idea: *Qui legis Oedipodem, caligantemque*

Thyesten, Colchidas et Scyllas, quid nisi monstra legis? Quid tibi raptus Hylas, quid Parthenopaeus et Atys? Quid tibi dormitor proderit Endymion? Exutusve puer pennis labentibus? . . . Non hic Centauros, non Gorgonas, Harpyiasque Invenies, hominem pagina nostra sapit. A verb must be supplied before *Heracleas*, perhaps *agitem* again, in the sense of “to meditate,” “to design” (*Id mecum agitans sedulo*, Ter.; *Nunc quae animo agitem audite*, Livy). And after *Heracleas* supply *fabulas*. So *Lucanos* for *Lucanos agros*, viii 180. These ellipses are very common in Juvenal. The sense is, “Why should I pursue such threadbare and profitless themes as the labours of Hercules, the wanderings of Diomede, the bellowings of the Minotaur in the Cretan labyrinth, Icarus trying to fly and falling into the sea, and his father Daedalus soaring along in safety on wings of his own construction?” *magis*, i.q. *potius*. 55: *leno* is the husband. If a husband condoned an act of adultery on the part of his wife and her paramour, he was, by the Julian law, guilty of *lenocinium*. In cases where the wife was legally incapacitated from taking a legacy from the adulterer, the husband unblushingly causes it to be put into his own name as the reward of his connivance. The wife would be incapacitated either—(1.) by a law of Domitian, which *probosis feminis jus capiendi legata hereditatesque ademit*, Suet. Domit. c 8; or (2.) in certain cases, by the Lex Voconia, see Dict. G. and R. Aut., under “Lex Voconia,” and Long’s excurs. on Cic. Verr. Act. ii Lib. i. Either case of disability may be alluded to here. Indeed the question is hardly worth fighting over in company with some commentators. Juvenal, as a poet, had possibly not much more knowledge of the Roman law (*interea si novi civilia jura*, says Horace) than our own poets possess, for the most part, of our laws; and he himself might have been unable to tell us what statute, if any in particular, he alludes to. He says, “The wife gets a legacy, and if she can’t take, her husband comes forward in her place, and his name goes into the will;” and that must be sufficient for us. 57: *vigilanti stertere naso; vigilans stertis*, Lucret. iii 1061. There is a double sense here: to snore with a nose which is, at any rate, wide-awake, i.e., with a cunning sneer, for the nose was supposed by the ancients to be the seat of

derision, mockery, &c : *Altior homini tantum, quem novi mores subdolae irrisoni dicavere, nasus*, Plin. H. N. xi 37. So, *naso suspendere adunco*, “to laugh at,” Hor. Sat. i 6 5 ; *nimis uncis Naribus indulges*, Pers. i 40 ; *Non cuicumque datum est habere nasum*, “to have a sense of humour,” Mart. i 42 18 ; *Nasutus nimium cupis videri*, id. xii 37 ; *naris emunctae senex* (of Aesop), Phaedr. iii 3 &c. &c. Compare Ov. Am. ii 5 13 14 ; and so *μυκτής* in Greek. 58 : *sperare*; another reading is *spectare*, which would give much the same sense. These verbs are constantly found as various MS. readings of the same passage, e.g., Ov. Met. xiv 653, Lucan vii 248, Mart. ii 64 9, &c. 59 : *praesepibus*, stables. An old commentator renders “brothels;” but I know of no instance of the word being used in that sense. It is used for a “table,” “crib,” jocularly, Hor. Epp. i 15 28. Juvenal seems to have had a great dislike to driving and racing, viii 147 sqq, xi 195. “When a man thinks himself entitled to look for high military command, who, while yet a boy, has squandered all his property in horseflesh, and has beggared himself with driving about the public thoroughfares; for he acted as the Emperor’s charioteer when the great man was showing himself off to some of his eunuch-mistresses.” There is no difficulty in the change from *donavit* in the past tense to *caret* and *pervolat* in the present, as this is the almost universal construction with *dum*. “A man who has given his property to horseflesh, and has lost his money in flying,” &c. Mr. Simcox, in a note, the first part of which I do not understand, says, “Macleane makes him a hack-coachman to Nero, which would be likely to be less ruinous than degrading.” But *nam* does not explain why he was ruined, but why he expects an appointment in the army. He looks for a good berth after ruining himself “on the turf,” as we say, *for* he acted as charioteer to the Emperor on certain special occasions. *Automedon* was the charioteer of Achilles. The name is used as we use the term “a Jehu.” *ipse* is the great man, 33. It is so used, standing alone, of Jove, Ov. Met. ii 390, often of Emperors. It may mean Nero here, but more probably Domitian. Having been charioteer to Nero would be no recommendation to Domitian, in whose reign this Satire may have been originally

written. *lacernatae amicae*: *lacerna* is used only of men's cloaks; and the meaning might be "a woman dressed up as a man," but it is better to take the words in the sense of his "man-mistress." *Amica* will then be used in the feminine, as *nova nupta* (of a man) ii 120. *se jactare* is equivalent to the French "se faire valoir," "se pavanner." *stultae dum te jactare maritae Quaeris*, Ov. Her. xii 175. 63: *ceras*, i.e., *tabulae* or *tabellae*, waxed tablets for writing on; cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. One of the prettiest poems of Propertius is in the form of an advertisement of his lost tablets, which he describes as *vulgari buxo sordida cera*, iii 23. They were also made of maple-wood, Ov. Am. i 11 28. 64: *sexta cervice*. This villain was carried by six bearers by way of show-off (though eight were sometimes employed, Mart. vi 84). Martial says to an impostor who aped this kind of splendour, *Quid te Cappadocum sex onus esse juvat? . . . Non debes ferri mortuus hexaphoro*, i.e., you will be buried on a dunghill, as we should say, Mart. vi 77. Two bearers seem to have been the ordinary number, Juv. ix 142 sqq. The *cathedra* was a ladies' chair, *femineae cathedrae*, Mart. iii 63; *molles cathedrae*, Juv. vi 91; and it was considered a mark of effeminacy in a man to go abroad in one. Hence the impudence of this man, who is borne *hinc atque inde patens ac nuda paene cathedra*; he does not even make an effort to conceal himself. See Dict. G. and R. Ant., article "Cathedra." 66: *referens*. *Patrem referre*, to recall his father, Plin. Epp. *reddere* is used in the same sense. *Mæcenate supino*. Mæcenas had passed into a proverb for effeminacy, cf. xii 39. *supinus*, in a literal sense, would be the proper word for a person reclining in a litter: *nulla rehitur cervice supinus Carpentore sedens*, Luc. ix 589; and *resupinus*, Ov. A. A. i 487.

67: *signator falso* must be taken together. 68: *gemma uda*, an allusion to wetting the seal before affixing it: *Idem ego, ut arcana possim signare tabellas Neve tenax ceram siccave gemma trahat Humida formosae tangam prius ora puellae*, Ov. Am. ii 15 15; Met. ix 565 566. 69: *matrona potens*. The same expression occurs in Horace A. P. 116: *Intererit multum Davusne loquatur an heros Maturusne senex an adhuc florente juventa Fervidus et matrona potens an sedula nutrit*, where

Orellius renders *die gebietende Hausfrau*. I take the meaning to be “imperious,” as in Ter. Heaut. Tim. ii 1 15, *Mea est potens, procax, magnifica, sumptuosa, nobilis*. In Ov. Met. iii 292, Semele is *nimum potens*. *matrona* has here, as often, the sense of “a lady of quality.” *Calenum*, the wine of Cales, in Campania, several times mentioned by Horace: *Caecubum et prelo domitam Caleno*, *Tu bipes uvam*, Od. i 20 9. 70: *rubetam*, a bramble-frog (from *rubus*). They were supposed to be poisonous above all others: *Sunt et ranis venena, rubetis maxime*, Plin. H. N. xxv 10; and he proceeds to give the remedy, cf. Hor. Epod. v 19. Of course all this is fabulous. 71: *Locusta* was a professional poisoner, employed by Agrippina to poison Claudius, and by Nero to poison Britannicus. She was put to death by Galba. Her name had become proverbial; as we should say, “a Brinvilliers.” *rudes*, innocent, untutored: *Nequitiaeque suae noluit (puellas) esse rudes*, Propert. ii 6 30. 72: *per famam et populum*. This is generally taken as a *στὸν δῶν* for *per famam populi*, cf. v 77. Orellius on Hor. Od. i 35 33, *Eheu cicatricum et sceleris pudet Fratrumque*, says, “Solita arte abstractum cum concreto artissime jungit.” We have the same conjunction of abstract *famam* and concrete *populum* here. But we might translate equally well “through ill-report, through the people.” *efferre*; this is the proper word for funerals, vi 175 567, xiv 220: *Effert uxores Fabius, Chrestilla maritos, Mart.* viii 43; *Effertur imus, . . . ad sepulcrum venimus*, Ter. And. i 1 90 101. The simple *ferre* is similarly used, Ov. Trist. i 3 89. 73: *Gyarus* or *Gyara* (Giura), a small island of the Cyclades, used as a place of deportation for the worst criminals, vi 563, x 170. 74: *si vis esse aliquis. meque ut facies velis aliquem*, Cic. ad Att. iii 15. So τις κήγω τις φαίνεται ήμεν. Theocr. xi 79. Another reading is *aliquid*. *si umquam in dicendo fuimus aliquid*, Cic. ad Att. iv. 2. *alget*, starves with cold.

75: *criminibus* means properly “accusations;” but here “crimes,” being contrasted with *probitas*. 76: *argentum vetus*, “old-plate,” was more esteemed than new: *I nunc argentum et marmor vetus aeraque et artes Suspicie*, Hor. Epp. i 6 17; *Apponitur coena in argento puro et antiquo*, Plin. Epp. iii 1. *arg.* Fr. “argenterie.” *Stantem extra pocula caprum.*

Martial says of a lizard similarly standing out in relief on a silver cup, *Mentoris manu ducta Lacerta vivit et timeatur argentum*, iii 41; *Cymbiaque argento perfecta, atque aspera signis*, Virg. Aen. v 267; *Signifero cratere*, Valer. Flacc. i 337. Sometimes these ornamental figures were not actually carved in the substance of the cup, but were fitted to it as an appendage, capable of being put on and taken off. Thus, gold was sometimes fitted on silver. Cf., on this subject, Cic. Verr. ii 4 14, Long's note, and Rich. Dict. Ant., article "Emblema."

78 : *praetextatus adulter*, cf. ii 170. The *toga praetexta* was worn by the sons of freedmen until their assumption of the *toga virilis*, also by magistrates and others, though I cannot but think that there must have been a difference between these two sorts of *praetextae*. Here, I think the former kind is referred to, and the sense is "an adulterer in his teens."

80 : *Cluvienus*, some contemporary poetaster.

81 : *ex quo*, "from the time that." Horace has this phrase, *ex quo destituit Deos Mercede pacta Laomedon*, Od. iii 3 21," Maclean; and Juvenal many times, vi 294, x 77, xiv 261. In Pliny the younger, his contemporary, *ex quo* is, I believe, always used in a different sense, "propter quod" or "quamobrem." *tollentibus. (Notus) Quo non arbiter Hadriæ Major, tollere seu ponere vult freta*, Hor. Od. i 3 15 16. According to the legend, Deucalion and Pyrrha were alone saved from the flood which submerged Hellas. When the flood had subsided, mankind were restored by their throwing stones behind them. Those which Deucalion threw grew into men; those which Pyrrha threw, into women. The story is told at length in Ovid. Met. i 260 sqq. **83** : *mollia saxa*; by the figure called "prolepsis" (anticipation). The stones did not become soft, *mollia*, till after they had begun to be warmed into life. In Virg. Aen. xi 211 212 there is an example which may be compared with the present: *Moerentes altum cinerem et confusa ruebant Ossa focus tepidoque onerabant aggere terrae*, literally "covered (the remains) with a warm mound of earth," i.e., with a mound of earth which became warm by being placed over the remains (hot ashes and bones); cf. Hor. Od. ii 9 1, Juv. vi 514. *jam tibi lividos Distinguet autumnus racemos*, Hor. Od. ii 5 10, and

rubra deterges vulnera mappa, Juv. v 27, are other instances of prolepsis; so *Sternit molle fretum*, Stat. Silv. iii 2; *Prodidit lapseam domum*, Sen. Oct. 269. 85: so Martial x 4 (quoted on 52), *hominem pagina nostra sapit*. 86: *discursus*. *Haec propter quae litigamus, discurrimus, anhelamus*. Sen. de Ira. iii 32. Compare a passage in Plin. Epp. vii 9, *haec (opuscula) recipiunt amores, odia, iras, misericordiam, urbanitatem, omnia denique quae in vita . . . versantur*. 88: *sinus*, the fold of the toga in which the purse was kept: *Semper amatorum ponderat illa sinus*, Propert. ii 16 12; *Quo pretium condat non habet ille sinum*, Ov. Am. i 10 18. So *gremius* in vii 215 and xiv 327. Others take the meaning to be, "When were the sails of avarice more widely spread?" in which sense we have *sinus* used below 150, *totos pande sinus*. There is a third rendering, "When did the gulf of avarice yawn wider?" I prefer the first explanation to the second. The third seems to me clearly wrong.

Alea, viii 10; for gambling generally, the most usual form of which was with the *tali* or dice; cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. 89: before *hos animos supply habuit*. It means here "vigour, vitality, fury." So *operta animos incendia servant*, Stat. Silv. v 3 171. 90: *posita* is "staked:" *pocula ponam Fagina, caelatum divini opus Alcimedontis*. Virg. Ecl. iii 37. *arca*, "strong-box," "money-chest," x 25: *Callidus effracta nummos fur auferet arca*, Mart. v 42. 91: *dispensatore*, the steward: *qui dispensat*, vii 219. 92: *armigero*, because he carries the dice, or "because he furnishes the sinews of war, the money," according to Macleane; but the latter is rather a modern than an ancient figure of speech. Dice are called *arma* at xiv 5. *simplexne furor*, "Is it not something more than madness?" *sestercia centum*, about £780 of our money. 93: *horrenti tunicam non reddere servo*. Before seeing Heinrich's explanation of this passage, I had made the following note: "It surely means that, having lost all the money he has with him, he gambles away the cloak of the servant who accompanies him." This is Heinrich's view, and I believe it to be correct. The *arca* was a heavy box, and would require a slave to carry it. It can hardly be used here, metaphorically (as it often is), for "one's whole property."

Some real event is probably alluded to, after the poet's manner. The usual way of rendering is, that the master, having lost all his money, is unable to give his slave a new tunic, and is forced to let him go shivering in his old one, or without one. In this case *reddere* is not simply equivalent to *dare*, as Ruperti has it, but has the sense of to "replace," exactly as we should say, "He cannot afford to replace his footman's old livery by a new one," i.e., when the new livery is due. . . . If this sense be preferred, an identical use of the word occurs in Plaut. *Most.* i 27, where the tiles, &c., of a house being blown off, the master will not replace them—*Dominus indiligens reddere alias nevoli.* . . . "Reddere non est idem ac restituere ab alio quod acceperis, nec dare simpliciter, sed dare ea quae propter qualemque causam debentur iis quibus dantur, aut ad eos quoconque modo pertinent," Orell. ad Hor. Epp. ii 1 216; and this would exactly suit the sense here, if the latter rendering be preferred. *reddunt ova columbae,* iii 202, "give what is expected of them:" *mihi redditiae sunt literae tuae,* Plin. Epp. i 8: *obligatum redde Jovi dapem,* Hor. Od. ii 7 17: *vix redditia tandem,* Valer. Flacc. i 209: *reddere jura,* are instances of this force of *reddere*, which is also used in the same sense of land. The *re* in compounds has often this force. *redditus* is frequently used in Lucret. for "assigned as a property." Professor Munro indeed says that *reddere* in Lucret. is often equivalent to *dare*, but in every instance the force of *re* seems plainly discernible. See, for example, the two cases particularly cited by him, ii 228 and 890. However, the former explanation seems preferable. 94: *fercula* were a kind of movable trays, fitted on to the tops of the tables, and containing "a course," as we should term it. They were changed with each successive course. This appears from the discoveries at Pompeii: *coenae fercula nostrae Malim convivis quam placuisse coquis,* Mart. ix 82.

95: sqq. seem rather abruptly introduced. *sportula.* cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. It will suffice here to say that it was a "dole," or gratuity distributed by rich men to their clients, sometimes in the shape of a small portion of food, sometimes in coin, *centum quadrantes*, about elevenpence of our money,

being the usual sum: *Dat Baiana mihi quadrantes sportula centum*, Mart. i 60; *Centum miselli jam valete quadrantes*, iii 7. It was usually distributed in the morning, below 128, Mart. xiv 125; but sometimes, as it would seem, in the afternoon, Mart. x 70, and even at night, id. i 81; *Sportula Cane tibi suprema nocte petita est*. The *sportula* is not mentioned by Horace. Before the Empire, it was not unusual for wealthy patrons to invite their attendants to a regular meal, *coena recta*, after their complimentary attendance at the Forum, &c.; but now the dole was set down at the door. This is what is meant by *primo limine sedet*. The clients never got beyond the *vestibulum*, or porch, 132. 96: *turbae rapienda togatae*. This probably means only "by the crowd clad in their togas." It was expected that the client should put on his toga to go and attend his patron, and to receive his *sportula*, as on other occasions of ceremony. Martial alludes to this in one of the epigrams quoted above, *Attrita veniet sportula saepe toga*, xiv 125. Ruperti imagines the words *turbae togatae* to be used contemptuously, and supposes the toga, under the emperors, to have gone out of fashion for all but the lowest classes; but this is a mistake. He refers to Hor. Sat. i 2 63 82, which are nothing to the purpose. Pliny the younger, who certainly belonged to the very highest classes, wore a *toga* when in Rome. He says of his country villa, *Ibi nulla necessitas togae*, Epp. v 6; see notes to Juv. iii 171. In Sen. Epp. 121, *homines togati* is an expression for "the upper classes;" "primores civium," Lipsius ad loc.; and *turba togata* may be used in the same sense here. 97: *tamen* refers to the paltry character of the *sportula*. Small as it is, *parva*, he nevertheless takes precautions not to give it to any one who has not a right to it. *Ille* must mean the master. I see no difficulty in supposing that he would sometimes witness the distribution. Moreover, who but he would be so frightened at the idea of being cheated? and again, *jubet*, 99. *Furunculus sportulam capital* became a proverb. 98: *suppositus*, vi 602. 99: *praecone*. The slave who calls out the name of the people is termed ironically *praeaco*, "his lordship's crier." His proper designation was *nomenclator*; and where there were so many candidates for the

sportula, he must have been furnished with a list of such as had a right to come. So it would appear from Senec. de Benef. vi 33, where Lipsius quotes an expression of the same author, Epp. 68, *digerere in literam senes orbos*. But this refers to the converse practice, of people keeping a list of rich men to whom they paid their court. 100: *ipsos Trojugenas, Sexaginta teras cum limina mane senator*, Mart. xii 26. The older families claimed a mythical descent from the Trojan Aeneas and his companions; as, for instance, the Julia Gens from Iulus, the Sergia Gens from Sergestus, the Memmii from Mnestheus, &c.; cf. Virg. Aen. v 117 sqq; compare Juv. viii 42 56 181, xi 95. 102: *sed libertinus prior est*. These I take to be the words of the poet, "But a freedman stops the way." 104: *natus ad Euphraten*. The Euphrates, as in viii 51, Virg. Georg. i 509, is used generally for the East, as it was the boundary of the Roman empire in that direction; so *ad Euphraten*, Ov. Fast. vi 465. Many slaves came from the East, especially Cappadocia, vii 15, Mart. x 76. Among several Eastern nations boring the ears was a sign of slavery, Exodus xxi 6. Juvenal does not seem to have been aware that by disusing ear-rings the *holes* in the ears would close up. 105: *quinq[ue] tabernae*. Heinrich, following Dusaulx, takes these to mean the five banking-houses in the Forum mentioned by Livy, *Septem tabernae quae postea quinq[ue] et argentariae quae nunc novae appellantur*, xxvi 27, in which case the meaning will be, "My transactions on 'change bring me in an income of four hundred thousand sesterces" (four hundred sesteria), i.e., roughly £3200, which was a knight's fee. I prefer this rendering, otherwise the meaning must be, "five shops which he lets out;" perhaps a part of his house encircling it after the Roman fashion: Suet. Nero 37; see Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Taberna." But £600 would be, I should imagine, a very high rent for a Roman shop. If *parant* be taken as "furnish me with," "are worth to me," £3200, i.e., not annually, but, as we should say, in fee-simple, he could hardly add *Ego possideo plus Pallante et Licinia*.

After *quadringenta* supply *sestertia*. The *sestertium* was worth, at this time, about £7, 16s. 106: *purpura major*,

the *Latus Clavus* or broad stripe worn by senators; cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Clavus Latus," where a drawing is given. 107: *Laurentum* is generally identified as Torre di Paterno, about sixteen miles from Rome. It was a marshy district. Perhaps the sheep fed there, like the boars, Hor. Sat. ii 4 42, were of an inferior quality. Pliny, however, speaks of the sheep being driven down from the mountains in winter and growing sleek in this district, Epp. ii 17. 107, 108: This need not mean that Corvinus tends the sheep in person. 108: *Corvinus*, a cognomen in the Valeria Gens. viii 5. It is here, as there, put for a man of the oldest family. 109: *Pallas* was a freedman of Claudius, who amassed great wealth, and was put to death by Nero. Plin. H. N. xxxiii 10, speaks of his riches. According to Tacitus, Ann. xii 53, he was worth over two millions sterling, so that his wealth may well have become proverbial. *Felix*, before whom Paul preached, was a brother of this man. *Licinus*. *Licinus*, a wealthy freedman of Augustus, is probably intended. His name had become synonymous for that of a wealthy man, xiv 306, Pers. ii 36, Sen. Epp. 119 120. For the use of the plural, when only one person is meant, see viii 11 note. The freedman's speech ends here. As Macleane says, "He makes himself out to be vastly rich, and yet he is here begging." Juvenal, I take it, merely wants to show that everywhere wealth has the pre-eminence, even where it ought to be the very reverse of a recommendation; and, like most satirists, he constantly overcharges his pictures. Moreover, the man, in making himself out to be more wealthy than Pallas and Licinus, is romancing: he has made some money, and he exaggerates its amount. 110: *honori* is a magistrate, as below 117, *summus honor*, iii 178, note; so $\delta\pi\chi\lambda$, the abstract for the concrete; *latuit plebeio tectus amictu Omnis honos*, Luc. Phars. ii 81 19; *Omnis honos, cuncti veniunt ad limina fasces*, Stat. Silv. i 2 233; a reminiscence of the term is found in our "his honour;" similarly *potestas*, x 100, which survives in "podesta," and *opibus*, iii 235; "rich men," *vilia ultima*, ii 34; *vitium*, vi 413; *conjugium*, a wife, viii 219; *vires*, strong men, xv 104; *specacula*, spectators, viii 205; *ergastula*, slaves, xiv 24. 111: one who had been brought into the city as a slave. Newly

imported slaves had their feet chalked. *Est et vilissima (creta), qua pedes venalium trans mare advectorum denotare majores instuerunt*, Plin. H. N. xxxv 17; or marked with gypsum, Ov. Am. i 8 64; Tibull. ii 3 60—why, it is not easy to say: “perhaps that they might be traced if they ran away,” says Mr. Simcox: and this may have been the origin of the custom. Propertius speaks of those *quorum titulus per barbara colla pependit Caelati medio cum saliere foro*, iv 5 51. Observe the pluperfect *venerat* here and at 68. 112: *sancissima divitiarum Majestas, as longissima coenae Spes homini*, 133 134. 113: Cicero has the same words *funestae pecuniae*, but applied to a particular case, Phil. ii 37. 115, 116: on the worship of Abstractions as Deities, cf. Boissier, “Réligion Romaine”—vol i p. 10; and see note to vi 1. 116: we must suppose some bird to have built its nest in one of the temples of Concord at Rome: we do not know exactly to what he alludes; comp. Ov. Met. vi 97. According to the “Times” of Feb. 2, 1875, some coins were found at Bourbonne-les-bains (Haute-Marne) bearing the effigy of Faustina on one side, and, on the other, a bird on a tree with the word “Concordia.” Birds commonly built their nests in the precincts of temples, Herod. i 159. “Concordia, who twitters when the birds salute their nest,” Maclean. “The goddess (i.e., her storks) twitters when votaries salute the nest,” Escott. The Latin will bear either sense; I prefer the latter.

117: *sed cum summus honor*. We should be inclined to accuse Juvenal of exaggeration more often than we are now entitled to do, if the epigrams of Martial had never reached us: see Mart. xii 26, quoted on 100, also Mart. ii 18 and x 10, *Cum tu laurigeris annum qui fascibus intras Mane salutator limina mille teras Hic ego quid faciam? quid nobis Paule relinquis, Qui de plebe Numae densaque turba sumus?* a passage very closely resembling this one. *rationibus*, properly his calculations, estimates, accounts, vi 511. 119: *quibus hinc toga*. cf. Mart. iii 30, *Sportula nulla datur . . . unde tibi togula est?* In ii 85 he begs a rich friend to give him an old toga, *rasam tu mihi mitte togam*; compare Pers. i 54. 120, 121: *densissima lectica*, a thick crowd of them: *densissima ruga Cogitur in*

frontem, xiii 215 216. As it would hardly pay to get out, or hire, a *lectica* to go in quest of a shilling or so, one is led to think of these people as going a round of houses: but this does not altogether tally with what follows. Probably the whole thing is somewhat coloured. *Hic*, “Here’s a fellow who,” &c. 123: *jam* indicates the practice he has had at this kind of thing. He has already grown cunning about it.

127: compare Martial iv 8. *dies* may here be rendered by “the day” or “the work of the day.” It is often used in the latter sense, *salvo et composito die*, “all the day’s work having been performed,” Plin. Epp. ii 17: *Totum diem meum scrutor, facta ac dicta mea remetior*, Senec. de Ira. iii 36; *Vides quam honesti quam severi dies*, Plin. Epp. vi 31. We have had *noctibus* for night-work in 38, and compare Auson. Ep. 147, *Sit tuus hic fructus, vigilatas accipe noctes. rereim*, “of engagements.” The poor clients are dragged about, all day, at the heels of their patron. 128: *jurisque peritus Apollo*. There was a statue of Apollo in the Forum, as we learn from Pliny H. N. vii 53, where he speaks of the *Apollinem eboreum qui est in foro Augusti*. This is what Horace has been supposed to allude to in the well-known *sic me servavit Apollo*. Juvenal calls Apollo “learned in the law,” from having stood there so long, listening (in effigy) to lawsuits. So Martial says to the statue of Marsyas, which was also in the Forum, *Ipse potes fieri Marsya causidicus*, ii 64 8. Sometimes the *sportula* was actually distributed in the courts, *Convenitur in media basilica, ubi tam palam sportulae quam in triclinio dantur*, Plin. Epp. ii 14. 130: *Aegyptius atque Arabarches*, “some Egyptian and Arabian official.” The word *Arabarches* (or *Alabarches* according to one reading) occurs in Cicero ad Att. ii 17, and in Josephus. It is not exactly known what this title means. The reference is probably to some small provincial officer who had got his statue put up. Heinrich has a long and learned note on the subject, which may be consulted. 131: the Romans greatly dreaded a desecration of this kind for their tombs, monuments, &c.: *Erit mihi curae, ut testamento caveam ne mortuus injuriam accipiam; praeponam enim unum ex libertis sepulcro meo custodiae causa, ne in monumentum meum populus cacatum currat*, Petron. 71; *Hospes ad hunc*

tumulum ne meias, ossa precantur tecta hominis, part of an old inscription cited by Heinsius ad loc; Hor Sat. i 8 38; A. Poet. 471; Pers. i 113. *non tantum mejere*, understand, "but also do something worse." *non tantum* is frequently used in this way: *Rem atrocem nec tantum epistola dignam*, Plin. Epp. iii 14; *Oscula jam sumet; jam non tantum oscula sumet*, Ov. Am. i 4 63.

132: the clients had received their *sportula* in the morning; but after running about all day, they expected to be offered something to eat. Not getting it, they go off with their *centum quadrantes* (or elevenpence) to buy necessaria. *Vestibulum* was the space before the door: *locus ante januam domus vacuus*, Aul. Gell. xvi 5. Private houses generally lay somewhat back from the line of the street, and this space was often considerable, and decorated with statues &c. vii 126. This seems to have been the place where the clients waited their patron's pleasure: *Exclusorum clientium turba referta vestibula*, Sen. Cons. Marc. 10. 136: *rex horum*, the great man, their patron. *rex* is very common in this sense, v 14 137; and *regina* is similarly used, *utuntur his (eunuchis) reginae*, "great ladies," Ter. Eun. i 2 88, Mart. x 64 1. *jac.* reclines at table, as at viii 173; so of Piso *Gracci stipati, quini in lectulis. Ipse solus*, Cic. in L. Calph. Pis. 27.

137, 138: Ribbeck rejects these lines, and it is not easy to give them a clear meaning. Mr. Simcox translates—"With all his costly tables, he finds one quite room enough to eat up an heritage upon," "out of all these splendid tables," &c., and this is as good a translation as any. *de* is not unusually put in this way; *Praeteriine tuas, de tot coelstibus, aras?* Ov. Her. xxi 179, and ex. *Omnibus ex illis Lotide captus erat*, Fast. i 416. The passion of the Romans for costly tables is well known. According to Mart. one man had nearly two hundred of them, vii 48. *patrimonia*. Seneca says, in the same way, that women suspend "whole fortunes," *patrimonia*, from their ears in the shape of ear-rings, De Benef. vii 9. 139: we shall get rid of parasites, it is true, if this practice of dining alone goes on.

140, 141: for *quanta est gula*, compare Mart. v 70 5, *O quanta est gula centies comesse*; Juv. v 94 158. Pliny H. N. viii 51 tells us that P. Servilius Rullus was the first to serve

up whole boars at entertainments, "now," he adds, "an everyday practice." *Non coenat sine apro noster, Tite, Caecilius*, Mart. vii 59, and compare his epigram already quoted, vii 27. The commentators quote Varro R. R. ii 4 10, *Suillum pecus donatum a natura dicunt ad epulandum*. 142: *poena tamen praesens*, it comes home to you, makes its presence felt; so *praesens numen*. *Mullorum leporumque et suminis exitus hic est Sulfureusque color, carnificesque pedes*, Mart. xii 48; *vides ut pallidus omnis Coena desurgat dubia?* Hor. Sat. ii 2 76, Hor. Sat. ii 7 107—109. *cum tu deponis amictus*; perhaps there is a satirical allusion here to 133 above, where the poor clients are said *deponere vota*; see iii 143 note. 143: *crudum*, raw, i.e., undigested. Elsewhere, it is active, "not digesting," "gorged with food." *Crudi tumidique lavemur*, Hor. Epp. i 6 61. Martial puns upon this double sense of the word in iii 13, *Accusas, rumpisque coquum tamquam omnia cruda Attulerit, numquam sic ego crudus ero*, i.e., "I shall never gain an indigestion in this way." 145: the story of your death makes its way from one dinner-table to another, a piece of news, but not a subject of gloom. *fabula*, the tale, story. *Habes omnes fabulas urbis*, Plin. Epp. viii 18; *Heu me per urbem (nam pudet tanti mali) fabula quanta fui*, Hor. Epod. xi 7 8; *Occurrit illi sportularum fabula*, "a rumour about the sportulae," Mart. iii 14. Compare Suet. Domit. 15, where a story *coenantibus inter ceteras dici fabulas refertur*, Ov. Met. iv 189. The rich man's friends are angry that they have had no legacy left them, so they scoff at his funeral, "and the town laughs at their indignation," adds Mr. Simcox, referring (with other editors) the expression *nova nec tristis fabula* to what is described in the following line. In that case *et* would be better than *it*, and so Jahn and Ribbeck edit. But the *nova nec tristis fabula* is the news of the man's death. Compare xi 3 4, *omnis convictus . . . de Rutilo*.

147: *quid nos dura refugimus Aeias? quid intactum nefasti Liquimus?* Hor. Od. i 35 34. 148: *eadem cupient facient que*, will be animated by the same desires, and engage in the same actions. 149: *in praecipiti stare* is found in Virgil, Aen. ii 460, in a sense approaching, but not quite identical with, that in which it seems to be used here. cf. Conington's

note. *In praecipiti stetit*, has reached a climax; has come to a crisis: *casus medicus levavit Aegrum ex praecipiti*, Hor. Sat. ii 3 293; Petron. 55. 150: *totos pande sinus*. The younger Pliny is very fond of this image; *Doloris velis latissime vectus es* Epp. iv 20: *Dedimus vela indignationi, dedimus irae, dedimus dolori*, vi 33; *Immile rudentes, pande vela, ac si quando alias, toto ingenio vehere*, viii 4. Quintilian uses it in his preface to his bookseller, *permittamus vela ventis*. Ov. Fast. ii 3, Virg. Georg. ii 41, iv 117, Cic. de Leg. Agr. i 9, Long's note. 151: there is a hiatus after *materiae*. This is very common in our poet, ii 26, iii 70, &c. 153: *simplicitas* is put here for *libertas*, the word he dare not mention. It means "frankness, outspokenness:" *Rogo ut mihi semper, eadem simplicitate, quoties cessare videbor, convitum facias*, Plin. Epp. vi 12, so *simpliciter*, "without disguise," Epp. i 13. For a somewhat similar example of reticence, cf. Plin. Epp. viii 6, *tanta Pallantis ipsius (quid dicam nescio)*, where *insolentia* or some such word must be supplied. 154: Mucius (or Mutius) was ridiculed by Lucilius, as appears from Pers. i 114, *Secuit Lucilius urbem, Te Lupe te Muci et genuinum fregit in illis*. The meaning is, "What does it matter what Mucius did? But try your hand on Tigellinus, for instance, and see what will happen to you." Tigellinus, the favourite of Nero, perished under Otho. The name is used here proverbially. 155: *pone Tigellinum*, &c. The sense seems to be, "Dare to portray Tigellinus, and you will soon be ablaze in the midst of the faggots like the wretches who burn and smoke with a stake under their chins, marking a broad furrow in the sand as your body is dragged (to execution) through the arena." There is no difficulty in *deducis* for *deduces*. The present pictures the scene as if actually going on; and, moreover, *deducis* is attracted into the present tense, as it were, by the *ardent* which precedes it. These changes of tense from past and future to present, present to past, &c., are exceedingly common in Juvenal, and indeed in all the Roman poets. Compare x 17 18 xii 64 sqq. Heinrich has suggested *aut* for *et*, without MS. authority; but, perhaps, the neatest emendation is that offered in the Porson tracts (quoted by Jahn), *Et latum media sulcum quae dicit arena*. It is, however, quite

true that *diducit* might stand, “*i.e.*, *quae taeda diducit*. In Gr. and Lat. the relative is often to be supplied from a preceding clause in a different case,” Mayor. This is Madvig’s view. In every case where the second clause is thus, so to speak, hung up in the air, *et* may be rendered in English by “while.” But I hardly think that this explanation applies here. M. Despois, the French translator, takes it, “You leave a large furrow of calcined matter.” Of all renderings, the feeblest is that which would give to this line a metaphorical meaning, “You will be burnt alive, and *you are only ploughing the sand!*” There are many other explanations of these lines, but I believe the above to be the best of a passage about which there must always be some doubt. The reference is to the well-known execution of the Christians under Nero, on the charge of having set fire to Rome, Tac. Ann. xv 44. The fire broke out in the house of Tigellinus, the infamous favourite of that emperor. According to M. Cato (quoted by Aul. Gell. iii 14), this mode of torture must have been an old one : (*Carthaginenses*) *homines defoderunt in terram dimidiatos, ignemque circumposuerunt. Circumdati defossis corporibus ignes*, Sen. de Ir. iii 3, where Gronovius, in a note, quotes other passages where it is mentioned. *taeda* is the wood of the *pinus*; *taeda*, Virg. Aen. iv 505. Here, as constantly where these two words are in question, the MSS. vary between *diducere* and *deducere*.

158, 159 : the words of the poet, “What! are wretches polluted with the foulest crimes to lord it over us with impunity, and I not to speak out?” *Qui dedit ergo tribus, &c.*, is merely put illustratively, “A man who, for instance, has poisoned three of his uncles.” *Pensilibus plumis. pluma paterna*, vi 88. *pluma Sardanapali*, x 362. Mart. xii 17 *dormit et in pluma, purpureoque toro*, where the word is used in the sense of “luxury.” Here it means “borne aloft in his palanquin, with its luxurious appliances in the way of feather-beds,” “in luxurious elevation.” **160** : the friendly interlocutor here resumes. “Far from speaking out, if you should meet one of the individuals to whom you refer, who have risen to great positions by their crimes, your finger to your lips! Not a word! Even to say *hic est* (here comes the great man! Pers. i 28), Mart. v 13 3, *εὗρος ἵξενες*, Lucian.

Somn. 11, would be dangerous. His guilty conscience would see in you an accuser." Divested of poetical exaggeration, the meaning is very clear. *venire contra*, to meet; so *adversum ire*, to go to meet, Ter. Ad. i 12. 162 sqq: the meaning is, write about Turnus and Aeneas, or Achilles or Hylas, people who are dead and gone, or who never existed, and you will be safe enough. But dare, like Lucilius, to satirise living individuals, and you will find it no joke. *Committas*. *committere* is commonly used in the sense of, "to match a pair of gladiators," "to set fighting together;" *committere classes*, Mart. Sp. 28; *victores committit Venus*, viii 43, Juv. vi 436, *so ανθημι, συμβάλλω, συντλάσσω*. 163: *percussus Achilles* may be rendered "the death of Achilles." Numerous instances of this common Latin construction are to be found in Juvenal: *extinctus passer*, vi 8, the death of a sparrow; vi 288-291, xiii 205 206. Perhaps as good an illustration as any is to be found in Horace, *ademptus Hector Tradidit fessis leviora tolli Pergama Graii*, the removal of Hector; and again, *invisum nepotem Marti redonabo. Nullum illi limen praecclusa Caesaris domus abstulit*, Sen. It is a construction which often leads to ambiguity, e.g. *eruptae virginis ira*, Virg. Aen. ii 413, *patris occisi crudelitas*, Spart. Carac. 3, where the sense intended is only to be gathered from the context. cf. v 9 10 note, Madvig. Lat. Gr. § 426. Add to what he says of a substantive used with the perfect participle in this way, the case of a substantive used in apposition with another. For instance, *Ilo quaeratur coniux Lavinia campo*, Virg. xii 80, does not mean that Lavinia is to be sought, but a marriage with Lavinia, "Lavinia's hand," *nunquam ille te fratrem ulli minatus est*, Sen. Cons. ad Polyb. 22. And similarly of a substantive with an adjective, *reducit socios, Nuntio*, Aen. i 390. *Degenerisque Neoptolemum narrare memento*, Aen. ii 549; *plenum Nerone propinquuo*, Juv. viii 72, full of his relationship to Nero. You may choose such themes as Virgil chose, and Statius and Valerius Flaccus. 165: *secuit Lucilius urbem*, Pers. i 114, quoted above. 169: *ante tubas*, or *ante tubam*, is a proverbial expression, according to Conington, Virg. Aen. xi 424. *galeatum*. The Roman soldier on the march carried his helmet slung over his right shoulder. They are so represented on

Trajan's Pillar. He would put on his helmet, then, just before the actual fight. In one of Caesar's battles, the Romans are represented as having been attacked before they had time to put on their helmets, Bell. Gall. ii 21; so Turnus is *tempora nudus adhuc*, Virg. Aen. xi 489, and Achilles puts on his helmet last of all, Il. xix 380 381; and Odys. xii 121. 170: the poet resumes at *experiār*. The principal roads leading out of Rome and other cities were lined for a considerable distance with tombs on both sides, as may be seen in "the Street of Tombs," at Pompeii, at this day. The meaning is, "I will try my hand, then, on the dead." Heinrich supposes Juvenal to allude to Domitian and his favourite Paris, the former of whom was buried on the Flaminian, and the latter on the Latin Way. But the allusion seems to me to be more general. Juvenal was not going to confine himself to satirising Domitian and Paris. The *via Flaminia* is mentioned by Martial as a place of sepulture, vi 28 and xi 13, *Quisquis Flaminiam teris viator Noli nobile praeterire marmor*. It has been mentioned above, 61.

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE II.

THE writer commences with an attack upon some of the demure hypocrites of the age, who, affecting the exterior of philosophers, are given to every kind of secret vice. And these men profess to condemn others! like Domitian, who was re-enacting severe laws against adultery, at the very time that he had an intrigue with his own niece.

He puts into the mouth of one Lauronia a sharp reply to one of these fellows who was crying out about the vices of women. "The men," she says, "are infinitely worse than the women;" and she gives instances of this depravity. And she speaks truth. "There is Creticus, a magistrate, actually proposing laws against immorality in an indecent dress. Some day he will go still further, and join one of those impious and unnatural associations, in which males imitate the secret religious rites, and ape the appearance and manners of women. Men of the highest rank are married to other men, noblemen fight as gladiators in the arena."

If there were in reality an Inferno, how the shades of the glorious old Romans would be disgusted, as often as they were joined by a new-comer of this description. "Alas!" concludes the poet, "though we have conquered nearly the whole world, the vanquished will not imitate us in our depravity, though, indeed, sometimes a young foreigner gets tainted by our vices, and carries back the slime of Rome to his native land. So true it is that evil communications corrupt good manners."

This satire speaks of the conquest of the Orcades 161, and the censorship of Domitian 30 121, as recent events. The former occurred in A.D. 84, and the censorship began at about

the same time. The bulk of the Satire was consequently, in all probability, composed either during the life of Domitian, or shortly after his death; 29–33 look very much like an addition inserted after the last-named event. They would be just as well, or perhaps better, away, as regards the sense. As the Satire stands, it could not possibly have been recited or published till after the tyrant's assassination, and probably, in any case, it did not see the light till he was out of the way.

The first line *may* contain an allusion to the Sarmatian war, which took place A.D. 93, and this date would tally with the other indications.

NOTES TO SATIRE II.

1: *ultra Sauromatas*, i.e., to the ends of the earth. The *Sauromatae* are mentioned again at xv 125 and iii 79. There were *Sarmatia Europaea* and *Asiatica*, which may be roughly described as Russia in Europe and Russia in Asia. 3: *Curius*, Marcus Curius Dentatus, the conqueror of Pyrrhus, passed among the Romans for a model of the old-fashioned virtues. He is again alluded to at xi 78, *Curius parvo quae legerat horto Ipse focus brevibus ponebat oluscula*, and more than once by Horace. Compare with this passage, and other touches in the Satire, Mart. i 25, *Aspicis incomptis illum Deciane capillis, Cujus et ipse times triste supercilium Qui loquitur Curius, assertoresque Camillos?* *Nolito fronti credere, nupsit heri*; and again ix 28. It seems difficult to deny that in these and other passages, one poet must have imitated, perhaps unconsciously, the other, especially as it admits of hardly any doubt that they were friends. Compare also Mart. vi 64, vii 58 and 68, xi 16. *Bacchanalia vivunt*; so Cicero says *Studio illa nostra, quibus antea delectabamur, nunc etiam vivimus*, Ep. ad Fam. xiii 28, "in that studious way." 4: *primum*. There is no necessity for supplying a *deinde*, cf. 44 and v 12, Plin. Epp. vii 24. *Indocti*, cf. xiii 181 note.

5: *Chrysippus*, the stoic philosopher. 6: *Aristotelem similem*; Maclean quotes Mart. i 110 for a like use of *similis*. It is also used in the same way by him at vii 87 4, *Si Cronius similem cercopithecon amat*, i.e., a long-tailed ape, the image of himself; *In avem similem gestiebam*, in the likeness of a bird, after the fashion of a bird, Appul. Met. iii 59; *te similem*, your likeness, Stat. Silv. iii 3 201; *similes ceras*, id. v 1 1. *Pittacus*, one of the seven sages. To set up busts of eminent philosophers is enough to constitute one of these humbugs a top-sawyer among his fellows. 7: the Romans, like ourselves, were in the habit of putting busts of eminent poets,

&c., on their bookcases: *Hoc tibi sub nostra breve carmen imagine vivat*, Mart. ix 1, and the Ep. to Turanius which follows (*Stertinius*), *qui imaginem meam ponere in bibliotheca sua volui*; Cicero, Epp. ad Att. iv 10; compare Juv. vii 28 29. *archetypos Cleanthes*, are “originals of Cleanthes.” *archetypus*, as an adjective, is found several times in Mart. vii 11, viii 6, xii 69, and the Lemma or heading to xiv 93, *Pocula archetypa Cleanthes*, the stoic philosopher; some make the busts of Cleanthes guard the bookcases. But cf. iii 206, *Graecos servabat cista libellos. pluteum*. H. Vales. and others read *pluteum*. A bust of Cl. might appropriately figure on a well (for he used to draw water), but would one of the people here alluded to be likely to have a well? These men lived probably on the top-story of an *insula*, and got their water from the public tanks. To talk of their putting statues on their wells would be absurd. 8: *fronti*; another reading is *frontis*. *Frons* is the outward appearance: *frontis tenerae cupis videri*, Mart. iv 6; *severa Catonis frons*, id. xi 2; *Decipit frons prima mullos*, Phaedr. iv 1. 9: *tristibus obscenis. habet tristis quoque turba cinaedos*, Mart. vii 58. Quintilian (proem to Inst. i) speaks of these sham philosophers much as Juvenal does: *Vultum et tristitiam et dissentientem a caeteris habitum pessimis moribus praetendebant*; and again, *In publico tristes, domi dissoluti*, xii 3. *tristis, tristitia*, signify “gloominess,” “a seriousness of a repulsive kind, which shows itself in the countenance and the manner; something of dissatisfaction with men and things,” Long. 10: *Socraticos cinaedos*, the unnatural scoundrels who pretend to be followers of Socrates. It is true that Socrates himself was not a stranger to practices which we should term unnatural; but I do not think the poet had that in his mind here. He speaks of the philosopher elsewhere with great respect, xiii 185, xiv 320. 11: *hispida membra. Sunt tibi crura pilis et sunt tibi pectora setis Horrida, sed mens est Pannice vulsa tibi*, Mart. ii 36; see also id. vi 56 and ix 48. 12: *levi*, depilated, viii 16 and 114 notes. 13: Mart. vi 37, xii 97 9. Whether the unnatural practices hinted at are calculated to bring on the complaint mentioned, is a question on which we are, of course, content to remain ignorant. If not, the sense will be that the man, happening to have the piles, has to get lanced, and

then his effeminacy is exhibited to the doctor. But the former is probably intended, and the position of the words (with the emphasis on *mariscae*) points to it. 15: cf. Mart. i 25, quoted at 3, and xi 2. The stoicks cut their hair short: *detonsa juventus*, Pers. iii 54; *Asperitas agrestis et inconcinka gravisque Quae se commendat lonsa cute dentibus atris*. *Dum vult libertas dici mera, veraque virtus*, Hor. Ep. i 18 6. 16: *Peribomius* is some one who does not mince matters, but proclaims himself what he is. The poet says he prefers a man of this sort, who is simply a kind of madman. The name has been derived from *τιστής* and *βωμός*, one about the altar, a dissolute priest. 17: *imputo*, v 14 note. A man like this, who makes no pretence to decency, is hardly a responsible being. I lay his sins to the charge of the Fates. *morbum*, his unnatural, depraved taste. So at 50, *morbo pallet utroque*, and ix 49, *jam nec morbo donare parati*. Seneca says, *Impudicus morbum confiteatur ac publicat*. Similarly *νέσος* in Greek. Compare, Hor. Od. i 37 9. *incessuque fatetur*; these wretched creatures moved in such a way as to advertise their filthy pursuits. *Turpe incedere* is said by Catullus to be a mark of prostitutes, 42 8; and *incessus compositus* occurs in the same sense in Petronius, 126; *gressus delicatus et languidus*, Phaedr. v 113; *Habituue et incessu, an illo muliebri ornatu mereretur imperium?* (of Otho), Tac. Hist. i 30; *Impudicum . . . incessus ostendit*, Sen. Epp. 52; and probably these men imitated, in some way, the movements of the other sex. 18: *simplicitas*, frankness, outspokenness, as at i 153, only here, of course, in a bad sense. 21: *Varillus*, a name formed, as Heinrich observes, from *varus*, straddling, Hor. Sat. ii 3 56; the same root as *varix*, whence our "varicose." Here it is the name of some imaginary profligate, who retorts upon *Sextus* (put for a senator, or person of distinction), "Why should I be in awe of you? You are as bad as I am;" or, as we should say, "Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones." cf. Cic. Verr. Act. ii. Lib. 3, c. 2, which may have been in Juvenal's mind; also Id. ad Div. viii 14, ad fin. where the same idea is expressed. And again, Sen. de Ira. ii 28. 23: *loripedem*, Gr. *ἰουαρίτευς*, thong-footed; some sort of malformation, which caused the person afflicted to drag his foot along

the ground, instead of lifting it up; *loripedes . . . quibus serpendo ingredi natura est*, Plin. H. N. v 8; and *gentem . . . anguum modo loripedem*, H. N. vii 2. 25: cf. vi 283, Val. Flacc. i 586, *maria omnia coelo Miscuit*, Virg. Aen. v 790. Virgil himself imitates Lucret. iii 854, *Non si terra mari miscetur et mare coelo*. Livy puts the expression into the mouth of a speaker four centuries and a half before Christ, *Quid tandem est cur coelum ac terras misceant*, iv 3, when it was doubtless quite unknown. 26: *Verres*, whose extortions in Sicily have been made known to us in Cicero's Orations. *Milo*, the murderer of Clodius, 27, defended by Cicero. 27: *Clodius*, see vi 337-345, where he is again introduced. Catiline and Cethegus are named together again at viii 231 and x 287.

28: Martial speaks of Antony as *levius tabula quam Cicerone nocens*, i.e., doing less harm by the whole of the rest of his proscription list than by the murder of Cicero alone. The *discipuli tres* are the second triumvirate, Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus. 29: Domitian is now introduced unmistakably for the first time in these Satires. The allusion here is to his intrigue with his niece Julia, the daughter of Titus, whose husband he put to death. She subsequently died from the effect of drugs taken to procure abortion, Suet. Domit. 22. At this very time he was enforcing with increased stringency the Lex Julia de Adulteriis, *leges revocabat amaras*, 30 and below 37. A contemporary of Juvenal describes this monster in terms very similar, *Nec minore scelere, quam quod ulisci videbatur, absentem inauditamque (Corneliam) damnavit incesti, cum ipse fratri filiam incesto non polluisse solum verumetiam occidisset. Nam vidua abortu perit*, Plin. Epp. iv 11. 30, 31: Macleane takes *omnibus* with *amaras*, "bitter to all." I prefer taking it with *timendas*. 31: The story of Venus and Mars, detected in their intrigue by Vulcan, is related by Ovid. Met. iv 171 sqq. 32: *abortivis* is here probably "means of abortion," as at vi 368; but it might mean "embryos," "opened her womb to so many embryos;" cf. iv 67 note, where a similar choice of renderings may be offered. 34: *vitia ultima*, the most depraved of men, *vitiissimi*, not *vitiessimae*, as Heinrich takes it. The reference is to the illustration he has given above, 21 22, Varillus retorting

upon Sextus. The abstract for the concrete, a very common usage in Greek and Latin; see i 110 note for instances in Juvenal. 35: *Scauros*; probably only one person is alluded to here (cf. viii 11 note), M. Aemilius Scaurus, the elder. There were two well-known personages of the same name, father and son; but it is difficult to suppose that the son could be held up as a model. In Hor. Od. i 12 37, however, we have *Regulum et Scauros animaque magna Prodigum Paulum*, where it would seem that both are intended. However that may be, the elder Scaurus is highly praised by Cicero, *Ecuem hominem vidimus . . . parem consilio, gravitate, constantia, caeleris virtutibus . . . M. Aemilio Scauro fuisse*, Pro. Font. 7. This, and perhaps the passage in Horace, may have furnished Juvenal with his illustration, for he was evidently a reader and admirer of Cicero and Horace. The Scauri are again introduced favourably at vi 604 and xi 91.

36: *Lauronia*; another reading is *Laronia*, which Heinrich prefers. There is a Laronia (or Lauronia, for there, too, the MSS. differ) spoken of by Martial as *orba, dives, anus, vidua*, ii 32 6. 37: Domitian, as mentioned above, re-enacted the Lex Julia: *Julia lex ex quo populis Faustine renata est Atque intrare domos jussa pudicitia est*, Mart. vi 7; cf. Stat. Silv. v 2 102. That it was sometimes put in force in Trajan's reign is shown by Pliny, Epp. vi 31. *Non tulit clamantem*, "would not stand his crying out," as we should say; like *Quis tulerit Gracchos querentes?* above, 24. 40: *Tertius Cato*; this is like *Sterlinius sapientum oclavus* in Horace, Sat. ii 3 296. Cato the Censor and Cato Uticensis are the two alluded to. Everything of extraordinary merit was figured as having come down from heaven. *Coelone peractum fluxit opus?* exclaims Statius at sight of Domitian's equestrian statue, Silv. i 1 2. So, *omnes . . . Cn. Pompeium sicut aliquem . . . de caelo delapsum intuentur*, Cic. de Imp. Cn. Pomp. 14; and he hopes that his brother will appear to the Greeks *de caelo divinum hominem esse in provinciam delapsum*. Ad Quint. Fr. i 1. 41: *opobalsama* are mentioned by Martial, xi 8 and xiv 59, where, however, they are spoken of with more favour, *Balsama me capiunt, haec sunt unguenta virorum*. They were the juice (*έσις*) of the balsam-tree, and appear to have been the same as the

balm of Gilead of Scripture. Pliny has a long account of the tree and its produce, H. N. xii 25. He describes it as a plant indigenous to Judaea, from which country it was introduced by Vespasian. It paid tribute. The perfume was more highly prized than any other. A very similar account will be found in Strabo, xvi 2 16 and 41. 43 : *vexantur*, "are to be disturbed," refers to *dormis* at 37; compare i 126, *noli vexare, quiescit*. 44 : the *Lex Scantinia* was a law against unnatural offences. According to Suetonius, Domit. c 8, Domitian revived this law, and some people were condemned on the strength of it. But, looking at the state of Roman society, it is difficult to suppose that it could ever have been seriously enforced in the times of the heathen emperors. The first i, which is long here, is short in Ausonius : *Scantiniam metuis*, Ep. 89. 46 : *umbone*; *In turbam incideris, cunctos umbone repellat*, Mart. iii 46; *junctis umbonibus umbo*, Silius, iv 354. 47 : *magna—concordia*, "Birds of a feather flock together," as we say. 49, 50 : *Tedia, Cluvia, Flora, Catulla*, are put for prostitutes. *Hispo* is any wretch given to unnatural propensities. A senator of that name is mentioned by Pliny, Ep. iv 9. *morbo*, cf. 17 note. I have not here or elsewhere closely translated passages which are not presentable to the modern reader. *pallet*. *Palleat omnis amans; hic est color aptus amanti*, Ov. This man's "pallor" is evidence of more than one kind of lust. 51 sqq : in the sixth satire we shall find Juvenal giving a very different account of the Roman ladies from that which he here puts into the mouth of Lauronia, and representing a great number of them as doing the very things which she affirms to be the extravagances of a few. But the sixth satire is, in all probability, the work of maturer years, and the second, one of the poet's earliest essays in the same style; internal evidence has led nearly all the commentators to this conclusion. In youth he would naturally be the champion of the fair sex. 53 : *comedunt coliphia paucæ*. Martial makes Philaenis, a woman, eat a good many of them, *coliphia sexdecim comedit*, vii 67. The word appears again in Plautus, Pers. i 3 12, *Collyrae facile ut madeant et coliphia*: *Ne mihi incocca detis*; where Weise renders *panes recenti caseo commixti*—i.e., a sort of cheese-cakes.

Forcellini gives a different sense to the word. We do not know what they were; but they appear, from the context, to have been a kind of food more fitted for men than women, and very likely in favour with the athletes. 54-56: *trahere* must be here "to card." The wool when carded, *vellera peracta*, would be put into baskets, *calathis*, ready for spinning, 54, 56. Compare Catull. lxiv 319 sqq, *Ante pedes autem candardis molia lanae Vellera virgati custodibant calathisci. Hae tum clarisona pellentes vellera voce etc.*; in which passage the whole process of spinning is described. Ov. Met. iv 10. 57: *pellex*, a married man's mistress, and she was so called in respect to the man's wife, vi 272: *Non maritus sed uxor pellicem habere dicitur*, Forcellini; and Aul. Gell. defines it, *Pellicem autem eam appellatam probrosamque habitam quae juncia consuetaque esset cum eo in cuius manu mancipioque alia matrimonii causa foret*, iv 3. But it came, in time, to signify a mistress generally. *codex* was a log of wood to which slaves were chained by way of punishment: *Codicis immundi vincula sentit anus*, Propert. iv 7 44. Here the *pellex* may be supposed to have been detected and punished by her mistress. 58: there is a *Hister* mentioned again at xii 111 as a legacy-hunter. 59: *puellae*, his virgin-wife. Compare ix 70 sqq and Mart xii 98, *Uxor cum tibi sit puella*. *Puella* and *virgo* are often used for young brides: *Te senes parci miseraeque nuper Virgines nupiae (metruunt)*, Hor. Od. ii 8 21; *Vos O pueri et puellae Jam virum expertae*, Od. iii 14 10, and Juv. vi 258. But here the meaning is more definite. 60: *sine ulla controversia vel dissensione, tribus nobis in uno conveniat lectulo*, says the husband in Appuleius, Met. ix 196. 61: *tu*; "Do you then, young lady," &c.; the word is not addressed to the sham philosopher. *cylindros*, precious stones cut in this form, Pliny, xxxvii 5. Probably worn by women as ear-rings. Tertull. de Cult. Fem. speaks of their being placed in the handles of swords.

65: *Stoicidae*, "My little stoicks," as we should say: a term of contempt. 66: *multicia*, some sort of thin garments. The precise substance is unknown. I have translated "gauze." 67: *Creticus* is used again, viii 38, for a man of great family and position. The names which follow are those of married women guilty of adultery. *Procula*

occurs again at iii 203, but in an entirely different connection. 70 : *togam*; the *toga*, in place of the *stola*, appears from several passages to have been the dress of prostitutes, and it seems that married women convicted of adultery were sometimes condemned to wear it. Horace opposes *matrona* to *ancilla togata*, Sat. i 2 63, and again 81 82, *tenerum est femur aut crus
Rectius atque etiam melius persaepe togatae est. Coccina famosae
doras et ianthina moechae Vis dare quae meruit munera? mille
togam*, Mart. ii 39. *Thelin viderat in toga spadonem, Damnata
Numa dixit esse moecham*, x 52. Compare also Mart. i 36, vi
64 4, and Cic. Phil. ii 18 44, where *toga* and *stola* are contrasted. The sense here is, "Adulteress as she is proved to be, and condemned to wear a toga, she would shrink, even in her degradation, from wearing such an indecent garment as that of yours." 71 : *nudus agas*, &c.; the sense is, "Better strip stark-naked at once, and plead in that state; for then everybody would believe you to be mad, and the disgrace would be less." By reading *infamia*, for *insania*, Heinrich appears to me entirely to destroy the sense of this passage. Compare Mart. vi 77, *Rideris multoque magis traduceris Afer Quam nudus
medio si spatiere foro*, where *nudus* means "naked," and not merely "one dressed in a tunic only," as it does in some places, and as Heinrich takes it here. 72—74 : "A pretty dress for the old Romans, our glorious ancestors, to have seen you in!" The *montanum vulgus* may refer to the early inhabitants of the Palatine Hill, the most anciently settled part of Rome. "Its citizens were long called *Montani*, and the term Mount, while applied to the other heights belonging to the city, was above all, associated with the Palatine." Mommsen's "History of Rome," Book i. chap. iv. Or the poet may have used "mountaineer" merely in the sense of "rough, primitive." Compare vi 58, xi 89 159. *modo* is not here *vix*, "barely," as some render, but "recently," as below 160. This is, moreover, indicated by *vulneribus crudis positis aratis* might mean that they would have left their ploughing to look at him. The warriors returning from the wars, with their wounds yet unhealed, would stop on their way: the old Romans would lay down their ploughs to listen to and to gaze at Creticus, proposing laws in such an attire. But the better sense is, "these

mountaineers who left their ploughs," Macleane. *Jura dabat populis posito modo consul aratro*, Ov. Fast. i 207. 75 : for the precise functions of a Roman *Judez*, see Dict. G. and R. Ant. 77 : *libertatis magister*; *libertas* seems to mean here that freedom from the dominion of the passions which was claimed for themselves by the stoics, and *magister* may be either "you who are a master of your own freedom," or "you who are a professor, teacher, of philosophical *libertas*." *magister* is used in this sense at 114. *acer et indomitus*. Lucan has the same expression, Phars. i 146. 78 : *perlukes*, *perlucidus*, of an effeminate man, Sen. de Const. Sap. 18 ; and this practice of wearing transparent dresses is often alluded to by him : *Quid si contigisset illi videre has nostri temporis telas, quibus vestis nihil celatura conficitur, in qua non dico nullum corpori auxilium, sed nullum pudori est?* Sen. Epp. 90 ; and he expresses himself in almost the same words, De Benef. vii 9, and again Cons. Helvid. 16. *Vestis quae nihil amplius nudaret, cum poneretur.* 80 : Mr. Evans seems to think that *grex* cannot apply to pigs, and has introduced a sheep, "the scab of a sheep, or pigs from mange;" but this is a mistake. 81 : "And a grape contracts a taint by the mere sight of another grape." A poetical image, identical with that of the proverb quoted by the scholiast on this verse, *uva uam videndo varia fit*. This does not seem difficult to understand as a metaphorical expression, but Heinrich has succeeded in giving a literal and prosaic aspect to the line, by reading *contacta*; cf. Mart. x 74 10 11.

82 : "You will go on from bad to worse if you take to that dress," Macleane. The meaning, I think, is, "You will one day dare something even worse than that dress." *Foedius aliquid audebis, as aliquid de moribus audent*, 2. 83 : *fuit*. Heinrich and Ruperti (and Macleane) read *venit* in the sense of *evenit*, on the strength of vii 29 : *Ut dignus venias hederis et imagine macra*. I am quite satisfied with *fuit*, which is the reading of nearly all the MSS. It is an aorist, as *posuere* at 85. The same sentiment occurs in Sen. Agamem. 153, *Extrema primo nemo tentavit loco*. The poet then describes the proceedings of a certain club or society, whose amusement it seems to have been to parody the rites of Bona Dea, to which only women were admitted, men being rigidly excluded, vi 336 sqq. Similarly

this crew excluded women. *Accipient te*, “You will be getting into company,” as we say. 85: *tereti pendent redimicula collo*, Calp. vi 38. 86. 87: *Bona Dea*, a Roman divinity, the sister, wife, or daughter of Faunus, cf. Macrob. Sat. i 12, who identifies *Bona Dea* with *Terra*, and speaks of the sacrifice of a sow. 88: *exagitata*, driven away, Ov. Her. iii 77. “To exagitate” was used in English in the same sense. Hooker, in his “Ecclesiastical Polity,” says of the Scotch Kirk, “We must not exagitate them.” 90: *cornu* must not here be confounded with “a horn.” It means the pipe, which was frequently made of the material “horn,” as our flutes of silver, &c.: *adunco tibia cornu*, Ov. Met. iii 533; *inflato Bercynthia tibia cornu*, id. xi 16, Juv. vi 315. 91: *Cotyllo* was a Thracian divinity, the patroness of all sorts of licentiousness, Hor. Epod. 17 56. The name *Baptae* (*βάπται*) was given to those who celebrated her rites, from the purifications which were originally connected with the ceremony. *Cecropiam*, i.e., Athenian, from *Cecrops*, the first king of Attica. Her worship had been introduced into Athens and Corinth. 93: *fuligine*, soot. *Oculos fuligine porrigunt*, says Tertullian. 94: *vroducit*. The eyebrows were artificially lengthened, so as to meet over the nose, which was considered a great beauty by the ancients; Ov. A. A. iii 201, Petron. 127. *acu. Punctaque lasciva quae terabrantur acu*, Mart. xi 45 6. 94, 95: *trem. ocul.* cf. vii 241, opposed to the *έμμα ἡσυχος*, of the Greeks. But it may mean here only “trembling under the operation.” 95: *vitreo Priapo*, a glass of obscene shape; and so cakes were made in this form. *Priapus siligineus*, Mart. xiv 69. 96: *tortos servat vesica capillos*, Mart. viii 33 19. *reticulum aureum* is mentioned as worn by women, Petron. 67. 97: *scutulata* were dresses of a lozenge-shaped pattern—checks, plaids, as we might perhaps call them. Pliny applies the word to cobwebs, *scutulato rete*, H. N. xi 24. See also H. N. viii 48, where he says they came from Gaul. They were doubtless in favour with women. *galbina*. *Galbino succincta cingillo*, Petron. 67. 98: Juno was the goddess of women, what his *genius* was to the man. They are so distinguished in Plin. H. N. ii 7, Sen. Epp. 110, &c. *Natalis Juno sanctos cape thuris acervos*, Tibull. iv 6 1. *Juno mea* is the oath of a woman in Petron. 25.

Here the man, the more completely to imitate the other sex, has taken Juno for his genius, and his servant, following his lead, swears by the goddess. 99 : *speculum*; the mirrors of the Romans were for the most part of metal, and could be carried in the hand. Martial describes a detractor as *patris ad speculum tonsi matrisque togatae Filius*, vi 64 4. *pathici Othonis*. So *mollis Otho*, Mart. vi 32 2. His effeminacy is described by Suetonius. Tacitus, however, gives an entirely different account of his last march, describing him as *horridus, incomptus, famaeque dissimilis*, Hist. ii 11, i 21 22. These lines are a parody on two passages of Virgil, *Clipeum magni gestamen Abantis*, Aen. iii 286, and (*Turnus*) *validam vi corripit hastam Actoris Aurunci spolium*, Aen. xii 93. Observe the force of the imperfect in *videbat*. 101 : *tollit vexilla* alludes to the taking up of the standards as the signal for the engagement. *Tollite jampridem victoria, tollite signa*, Lucan. i 347. 102, 103 : This construction (with *est* left out) is common in Juvenal, cf. viii 198 199. *Signatae tabulae*, 119 below. 104 : *Galbam*. Juvenal seems to have looked on Galba with some degree of favour, vi 559, viii 222. This may have been owing to the fact that Vespasian, the founder of the Flavian dynasty, destroyed his statue, from a belief that Galba had intended to assassinate him. It has also been suggested that one ground for this partiality may have been that Galba recalled Thrasea from banishment, cf. v 36. Juvenal probably hated the whole Flavian family, typified, in his eyes, by Domitian. Nowhere is a line of praise given to Vespasian or Titus. 105 : *curare cutem, curata cuticula sole*, Pers. iv 18. Both passages (as Coningt. remarks) being perhaps borrowed from Hor. Ep. i 2 29 and 4 18. 106 : *Bebriacum, or Bedriacum*, was situated between Verona and Cremona. Not far from here was fought the decisive battle between the troops of Vitellius and Otho, which ended in the defeat and death of the latter, A.D. 69. 108 : *Semiramis*, one of the mythical founders of Nineveh, was celebrated for her voluptuousness, Ov. Am. i 5 11. 109 : *Cleopatra*, the Egyptian queen, defeated by Augustus at Actium. There is force in Heinrich's observation that *moesta* is out of place here. Cleopatra would not be *moesta* till after she was defeated and flying, and then

she would not be likely to pay extraordinary attention to her personal appearance. He suspects the monks have altered *moecha* into *moesta*, and quotes Propert. iii 11 39, *meretriz regina Canopi*, and Plin. H. N. ix 35, *regina meretriz*; cf. Juv. x 84 note; but *moesta* may be a conventional epithet, as *imbellis* in Virg. Georg. ii 172, *Imbellum avertis Romanis arcibus Indum*. 110: *reverentia*, "respect for:" *Salva sit artopae reverentia*, v 72; *maxima debetur puerō reverentia*, xiv 47; *reverentia legum*, xiv 177. 111: *Cybele*, or *Rhea*, the great Phrygian goddess, whose worship was introduced into Rome during the second Punic war. *fracta vox*. *infracta vox* is similarly used, Aul. Gell. iii 5, and is coupled with *capillus compositus* and *oculi ludibundi*, an effeminate voice. 116: the *Galli*, or priests of Cybele (whose name we shall meet with further on, and so called from *Gallus*, a river in Galatia, Plin. H. N. v 32, Ov. Fast. iv 361), were eunuchs, Plin. H. N. xi 49; cf. Juv. vi 512 513 514, and Mart. iii 81 3. *Abscissa est quare Samia tibi mentula testa?* 119: *feliciter*, "Good luck to them!" a common exclamation. "*Feliciter*" *subclamant*, Phaedr. v 1. 120: Juvenal here changes to the present in *sedet*, see notes to i 155. *Gracchus* "brings" the *quadringenta sestertia* in our idiom; *bis quingenta dedit* (*Caesennia*), vi 137. 121: *censore* seems to be an allusion to Domitian, iv 12 note. 122: *horrees*, "Would you be more horrified?" as though it were written *magis horrees*, the comparative force in *majora* following being attracted to the preceding word. This is very common. Two examples have been given in the notes to this Satire: *tenerum est femur aut crus Rectius alque etiam melius persaepe togatae est*, Hor. Sat. i 2 81; and again, *Rideris multoque magis traduceris Afer Quam nudus medio si spatiere foro*, Mart. vi 77. 123: the ancients looked for *monstrosi hominum partus*, Lucan. i 562; *insolitos animalium partus*, Tac. Hist. i 86, among the other prodigies which generally preceded disasters. *bos* is common. An ox bringing forth a lamb would no doubt be a greater prodigy—if prodigies admit of comparison—than a cow doing the same; but here a cow seems to be meant. 124: *flammea*, cf. vi 225: *Praeluxere faces, velarunt flammea vultus*, Mart. xii 42 3. 126: *clipeis ancilibus*. These *ancilia*

were the shields sacred to Mars, which the Salii or priests of Mars carried through the city, hung to their necks by a leathern thong (see woodcut, art. "Salii," Dict. G. and R. Ant.) on the Kalends of March. *Ancilorum et nominis et togae oblitus*, Hor. Od. iii 5 10. cf. Ov. Fast. iii 371 sqq. See note to Juv. vi 604 on the *Salii*. 128: *Gradivus* is a name of Mars, and the field mentioned below is the Campus Martius. For *Latiis pastoribus*, compare viii 275. *galeam quassare*, as a sign of impatience, occurs in Valer. Flacc. vii 577 578, of which this may be a reminiscence; and compare *seu posita respirat cuspide Mavors*, Stat. Theb. vii 10. 131: *officium*, a complimentary attendance, as in vi 203, *labente officio*, and in Plin. Epp. i 9, *Officio togae virilis interfui*, "I attended at the ceremony of assuming the *toga virilis*"; Juv. iii 126 239, v 13. Hence it came to mean "attentions" generally: *Gratissimum experior quod officiorum nostrorum meminisse cum sribas*, Plin. Epp. vii 15, a sense which survives in our "good offices:" *Officium nuptiale*, Petron. 25. 134: *nubit*, the word applied to women. Martial alludes, in several of his epigrams, to these disgraceful marriages, i 25, xii 42. 135: *liceat modo vivere*, "If our lives are only spared." This seems to have been a common form of expression: *Modo liceat vivere, est spes*, Ter. Heaut. Tim. v 2 28; *tivam modo, plura dolebis*, Ov. Rem. Am. 391. 135, 136: *fient Fient*. For a similar repetition at the beginning of a line, of the word ending the preceding line, thus adding force and emphasis to the expression, compare v 112 113, vi 279 280, viii 147 148, Pers. iii 41 42. 136: *acta*. The *acta diurna*, "a gazette published daily at Rome by the authority of the Government during the later times of the Republic, and under the Empire, corresponding in some measure to our newspapers," Dict. G. and R. Ant. and Becker's "Gallus," which should be consulted for further details, also Friedländer, Fr. ed. vol. i p. 69. Unfortunately no genuine specimen of these *acta diurna* has come down to us. A curious one, evidently fictitious, is given in Oudendorp's edition of Suetonius J. Caes. 20; cf. Juv. ix 84, vii 104. 137, 138: the same idea is to be found in Mart. xii 42, quoted above, as having been written on the subject of one of these marriages: *Dos etiam dicta est;*

nondum tibi Roma videtur Hoc satis? exspectas numquid ut et pariat? 139: *Di melius.* *Sed melius*, the other reading, seems tame. 140: *indulgere*, with an accusative of the thing and a dative of the person, in the sense of to give, grant, allow, is very common in Juvenal and his contemporaries; but not in earlier writers, who use *indulgere alicui* or *aliquem*, but not *indulgere aliquid alicui*. 141: *Lyde* is any fat old woman who sells drugs to cure barrenness; *pyxide* is the box that contained them. At xiii 25 we have the same word used for poison-box, *partos gladio vel pyxide nummos*. *Turgida* is a little touch, like *pinguis Lateranus*, viii 147, quite after the manner of the poet. 142: *Luperco*, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. article "Lupercalia." It was the festival held once a year (on February 15) in honour of Lupercus, the god of fertility. Two noble youths ran about, with goat-skins cut into thongs, striking those whom they met. Such as were struck were supposed to be rendered fruitful. Of course women who wanted children, and who believed in the superstition (as, doubtless, most women did), would naturally get in their way. This is one of the heathen practices against which the fathers warn the Christian women. *Luperco* may be either the god or his priests. I prefer the former, as more in accordance with Juvenal's manner.

143: the appearance of the nobility in the arena excites the ire of our author. In viii 189 sqq. he inveighs against their appearance on the public stage as actors in farces; and at 200 again adverts to the subject of his present indignation; cf. iv 99 100. *fusca* was a trident with which one kind of gladiator called the *retiarius* (from his carrying a net) was furnished. He was lightly armed, *tunicatus*, wearing his tunic and no armour. His object was to throw his net over the head of his antagonist, who was usually a *secutor* or *mirmillo*, and if he failed in his attempt, he ran away, with his adversary at his heels, and prepared for a second cast; see woodcut in Dict. G. and R. Ant. article "Gladiatores." On the tomb of Scaurus at Pompeii were found bas-reliefs of this kind of combat, and it has been graphically described in Lord Lytton's novel, "The Last Days of Pompeii." 145-148: the *Capitolini*, the family name of several Roman gentes;

Marcelli, an illustrious plebeian family of the Claudian gens; *Catuli*, a family of the Lutatia gens, of whom a great illustration was the Catulus mentioned at viii 253; *Pauli* were of the Aemilia gens; *Fabii*, another well-known family often spoken of by Juvenal, viii 14, xi 90, &c.; cf. Dict. G. and R. Biog. These names are introduced illustratively, as we should say, "a man more noble than all the Howards, Stanleys, Cecils, Churchills," &c. The *podium* contained the reserved seats for persons of distinction, and was next to the arena, after the fashion of our "orchestra stalls." It may still be seen in the theatres at Pompeii. *his licet ipsum*, &c., is ironical. The person who gave the show (*munus*) was often of very low origin, iii 36 note; and if *ipse* means the emperor, the same observation applies, the Flavia gens being, as Suetonius remarks, *Vespas. i obscura ac sine ullis majorum imaginibus.* 149—152: *dic, quaeso, num te illa terrent, triceps apud inferos Cerberus Cocyti fremitus, transvectio Acherontis etc.* Cic. Tusc. Quaest. 5, and cf. for the same sentiment Tusc. Q. i 21, de Nat. Deor. ii 2, De Divin ii 15, &c., Cluent. 61, &c. (Another reading for *et contum* in this place is *Cocytum*.) *Cerberus et furiae jam vero et lucis egestas . . . Qui neque sunt usquam nec possunt esse profecto,* Lucret. iii 1011. Seneca too has something very like this, *Nemo tam puer est, ut Cerberum timeat et tenebras*, etc., Epp. 24 Troad, 404 sqq., &c., and compare Propertius iii 5 39 sqq. *aliquos manes* is the better reading, though Propert. has *sunt aliquid manes*, iv 7 1 and Ovid. *omina sunt aliquid* Am. i 12 3. *Si numina Dirum Sunt aliquid*, Met. vi 543. 152: *nec as nequidem*. Madv. Lat. gr. § 457. *qui nondum aere lavantur*, "who are too young to be taken to the public baths." The usual charge was a quadrans, about half a farthing. Hence *res quadrangularia* of a bath. 153: *sed tu vera puta*, "but suppose them to be true," "suppose for the sake of argument;" so used v 7, also Hor. Sat. ii 5 32, Ov. Met. xiv 488. This, from the context, is clearly the meaning, and not, as Gifford, Evans, and others render, "but be thou persuaded that these things are true." "That there are manes, and subterraneous realms, and Charon's pole, and frogs, and one bark to carry over so many thousands of people, not even little children believe now-a-days. Nevertheless, do you be-

lieve in them?" This would be a very strange mode of introducing the announcement of the writer's belief in a future state, which we may be sure Juvenal never would have had the bad taste to adopt. The theological opinions of the commentators have evidently biased their interpretation; and, yet, I do not understand from this passage, with some, that the poet ridicules all idea of a future life, but merely that he laughs at the mythology of his time, as he seldom fails to do, when the occasion arises. Seneca, just quoted, certainly did not deny the immortality of the soul. Nor did Cicero. Juvenal says, "Suppose our popular Inferno to be true, with Charon, &c., how would these fellows be received when they got there? The honest shades would have to call for sulphur," &c. In III 264—267 the poet again treats the fable of Charon in a jocose vein. *Curius*. cf. 3. *Scipiadae*. Scipio Africanus major and minor. *Fabrius*, the opponent of Pyrrhus. *Camillus* saved the city from the Gauls. The *Fabi*, three hundred in number, were defeated and slain by the Veientes at the river *Cremera* in Etruria B.C. 477. *Cannae*, the great battle in which Hannibal defeated the Romans. *Juventus* here, in its proper sense, the fighting population, the men of military age. 156: *tot bellorum animae*. Ruperti takes *bellorum* for *bella-torum*. Maclean says, he is wrong. I am not so sure of that. *triumpho* is used for *triumphanti* in xi 194. *tot* may be taken with *bellorum* or *animae*; I prefer the former. *tot bellorum victores*, Tac. Hist. ii 28. *tot bellorum superstitem* Ann. ii 71. *fortes animas, belloque peremptas*, Lucan i 447. 157: Lustration consisted in the sprinkling of water, by means of a branch of laurel or olive, and the burning of certain materials, such as sulphur, or pine torches, the smoke of which was supposed to have a purifying effect, Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Lustratio." 159: *Illuc heu miseri traducimur*, "To such a pitch of degradation have we been brought!" As to this sense of *traducere*, cf. viii 17 note. The words may refer to what has preceded, and to what follows, as well. 160: The Romans never conquered, nor even seem to have explored, *Iuverna* Ireland. But this is a figurative way of speaking, and probably the exact situation of Ireland was not known to Juvenal. The Orkney Isles had, at any rate, been discovered and taken

possession of by Agricola A.D. 84. 161 : *minima contentos nocte Britannos. Nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas*, Tac. Agr.

12. 163 : sqq. Reference is here made to some event, like Gracchus's marriage above, not otherwise known. 164 : *cunctis, i. q., cunctis caeteris*, as often. *rimatus frondosum fustum cunctis vastiorem*, Appul. iii 61, where, as elsewhere, the writers of some of the MSS. have interpolated *caeteris*. Cf. Juv. viii 97 and xi 66 *toto grege mollior*. 164 : *ephebis* is a word taken from the Greek, and is here, I think, applied to the companions of Zalates, who were Orientals. I do not think the meaning is "more soft than any of the Roman youth," for that could hardly be said. They were foreigners, and Juvenal uses a term of foreign origin in speaking of them. As for their being worse than the Roman youth, the poet is, on the contrary, urging that if they stay long enough, not Zalates alone, but the rest of them, will take back *praetextatos mores*, "the manners of the young Romans." 168 : compare ix 130, *nunquam pathicus tibi deerit amicus*. Similarly at iii 303, *deerit* is a dissyl. : so *deesse* in Lucret. i 43, and *deerraverat* in Virg. Buc. vii 7 &c. 169 : *braccae*, "breeches" Cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant., where an engraving is given. Tacitus calls them *barbarum tegmen*, Hist. ii 20. *barbara tegmina crurum*, Aen. xi 777. 169 : *mittentur* "will be sent to the right about," as we should say. They will abandon their native costume and their manly sports. Heinrich takes *mittentur* to mean "will be sent them as presents (by their lovers); " but this seems to me certainly wrong. 170 : *nostra vicia late vagantur*, says Pliny, Epp. iv 22. Some render, "So Artaxata imitates the manners," &c. ; in which case Artaxata will be the nominative. For *referre*, to recall, imitate, cf. i 66. I prefer the translation I have given, as most in harmony with the context. *referunt* is "they carry home." *domum haec ab aede Veneris refero vasa*, Plaut. Poen. iv 2 25. *laudem et spolia ampla refertis*, Virg. Aen. iv 93.

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE III.

THE poet, designing to satirize the vices and incommodities of the city, represents himself as walking to one of its gates, with a friend, one Umbricius, who is leaving Rome. They halt in the valley of Egeria outside, and Umbricius states the reasons which have led to his departure.

The city offers no field for honest industry. It is infested by a herd of low upstarts, ready to turn their hands to anything for gain, and for them it is a very suitable residence. *I* am unskilled in these ignoble arts, and have determined to retire into the country. The place is full of Greeks and Orientals of all kinds, and the Romans have taken to imitate them. These Greeks are the grossest adulators in the world, and a race of actors. They creep into great houses and acquire influence for their own base ends. They inform against their best friends, if it suits their purpose. Moreover, what can the poor gain by their complimentary attendance on the great, in a town where rich men themselves play the part of toadies and fortune-hunters? Money is everything in Rome. The poor are exposed to every kind of insult, ridicule and inconvenience.

The country is far preferable. There you don't have the spectacle of houses falling in and fires, in which the poor man loses his all and is reduced to beggary, while the rich man gets presents enough from those who court his favour, to enable him to build a new house. A modest retreat can be purchased in the country for the same sum that it takes to hire a dark garret in the town. Then, who can sleep in Rome, but the wealthy? Such a noise and clatter is there in the streets all night long. The great are conveyed quite comfortably wherever they want to go, in their palanquins, while the humble pedestrian has to battle with the crowd,

and gets hustled and knocked about, and trampled upon and crushed to death. Then consider too the danger of things falling on your head from the tops of the houses ; the midnight encounter with drunken young aristocrats, who beat and pummel the unfortunate plebeian, without mercy ; not to speak of the chance of being stuck by a footpad, and other perils too numerous to mention.

Here the waggon containing Umbricius' furniture comes up, and the friends part, Umbricius concluding with an offer to leave Cumae (the destined place of his retirement) and to visit Juvenal at Aquinum, when next he goes there, for the purpose of assisting him in his Satires.

"This Satire," says Macleane, "may have been written about the same time as the last ; but it is impossible to say." This really sums up all that can be said, with any advantage, on the subject. It has been supposed that *siccandam eluviem* at 32, and 307, refer to the works undertaken by the Emperor Trajan in the Pomptine Marshes, but this is very doubtful. If *Isaeus*, 74, as is probable, refer to the person mentioned by the younger Pliny, we should have a faint indication that that passage at all events was not written before the reign of Nerva. For Pliny Epp. ii 3, evidently speaks of Isaeus as newly arrived in Rome : *magna Isacum fama praecesserat major inventus est*, and in the epistle next but one preceding he refers to the public funeral of Virginius Rufus. Now, Virginius Rufus died in A.D. 97. This indication would indeed be of more value if Pliny had not expressly told us that he did not profess to observe any order of time in publishing his collection of letters.

The Satire, like several others, has, I think, been added to at subsequent periods by the author.

NOTES TO SATIRE III.

1 : The poet supposes a friend of his, one Umbricius, to be leaving Rome, in disgust, with the view of taking up his abode at Cumae. While his furniture, &c., are being stowed away, Umbricius is represented as walking on with his friend Juvenal. They stop outside a gate in the city, 11, and while waiting, Umbricius delivers himself of his sentiments, 21-314. At 315, the carriage comes up to them and the friends part company (see on 316). There is no reason whatever for identifying this personage with the man of the same name mentioned by Pliny as a distinguished soothsayer, and by Tacitus, Hist. i 27. Indeed the text is opposed to this supposition. Umbricius, like Calvinus xiii 5, and Fuscinus xiv 1, may be anybody. Nor is there the slightest sense in coupling his departure from Rome with "the expulsion of the philosophers by Domitian A.D. 90." This man evidently goes of his own accord, and no allusion whatever is made by him to the event in question, an omission which would be inconceivable, if that were directly, or indirectly, the cause of his exodus. *confusus*, "upset" as we say. *nec minus est confusa Venus moriente Tibullo*, Ov. So *confusio*, Plin. Epp. ii 20. The Greeks used *συγχίω* in the same way, *τι συγχύθεισας ιστηκας*; Eur. Med. 1005. 2 : *vacuis*. So *vacuum nemus*, *vacuae Athenae*, *vacuum Tibur*, in Horace. In the two last examples it means "idle." The meaning here is "deserted," "thinly peopled," as at x 102, *vacuis aedilis Ulubris*. The Sibyl had her seat at Cumae. 3 : *unum civem*, "one more citizen," that is. 4, 5 : It was the road to the fashionable watering-place of *Baiae*. *amoeni recessus* is literally "of a

pleasant retirement," i.e., "pleasant to retire to." We have no idiom exactly corresponding to this expression. Coningt compares with it *Herculeas arbos umbrosa coronae*, Georg. ii 66, and *fallax herba veneni*, Ecl. iv 24, "a poisonous herb." The genitives are, as he says, genitives of quality, or attributive. The Suburra, a thoroughfare of Rome, is frequently mentioned by Martial, and once in connection with Juvenal. *Dum tu forsitan inquietus erras Clamosa Juvenalis in Subura*, Mart. xii 18. It is here used for Rome generally, as we might say "I prefer even Lundy Island to Cheapside." *Prochyta* is a small island now known as Procita. In a letter of Anton. Pius to Fronto, there is an expression which reminds one of this *Mallem Mehercule Gyaris cum illa (Faustina) quam sine illa in Palatio vivere*, Fronto (Mai) Epp. 2. *solum* in the next line is used as *sola insula*, Catull. 64 184, "devoid of inhabitants." 7: *horrere*, "to live in dread of." 8: *mille*, the thousand other. We have just had another instance of this, at ii 164, *cunctis ephebis*, "all the other youths." 9: *Augusto recitantes mense poetas*. Cf. i 2, note. This comic touch, coming after the mention of real dangers, strongly resembles a passage in viii 216–221, where *Troica non scripsit* is introduced in the same way, after some of Nero's real crimes have been referred to. On these recitations cf. i 1, and see Friedländer, vol. iv p. 72, Fr. ed. 10: *componere* is the proper word for "to pack up," a sense of the word which does not seem to be given in the Dictionaries. *Omnia Duc adjutores tecum ad navim qui ferant: Omnia composita sunt quae donavi ut ferat*. Plaut. Mil. Glor. iv 7 20 21. *I ergo intro, et compone quae tecum simul ferantur*, Ter. Hec. iv 3 5. *domus*, "his movables," his family and slaves, if he had any. *reda* was originally a Gallic word. Quint., Inst. Ori 5. 11: *madiadam Capenam*. The Porta Capina, leading to Capua, wet from the dripping of an aqueduct which went over it. *Capena grandi porta qua pluit gutta*, Mart. iii 47. 12: *constituebat*, "used to make assignations," as at vi 487. *Constitui cum quodam hospite me esse illum conventuram*, Ter. Hecyr., i 2 120, and iii 4 23. The nymph Egeria is alluded to. 13: *sqq.* The Jews, who were not allowed to enter the city, seem to have become squatters in this grove, which they were permitted to

inhabit on payment of a small rent. Juvenal elsewhere speaks of them as beggars: *Arcanam Judaea tremens mendicat in aurem*, vi 543 sqq. and Martial *a matre doctus rogare Judaeus*, xii 57 13. The basket was probably to put their provisions in, and the hay to lay their heads on, Juv. vi 542. In relation to the miracle of the loaves and fishes, it has been suggested that each apostle may have carried a basket of this kind, which he filled with the fragments. 16: *Camenis*. The four Roman divinities, Antevorta, Postvorta, Carmenta, and Egeria. See Dict. G. and R. Biog. and Myth. *dissimiles veris*, that is to say, unlike what they are by nature. 18: *praesentius*. Another reading is *praestantius*. I prefer the former, which seems to have been the reading of P. Besides the passages quoted by the commentators from Virgil (whom Juvenal often copies) *praesentia numina Fauni*, Georg. i 10, *nec tam praesentes alibi cognoscere Divos*, Ecl. i 42, and the line in Juv. xi iii, *Templorum quoque majestas praesentior*, Pliny the younger in describing the temple of Clitumnus, the river god, uses the same expression, *praesens numen*, Epp. viii 8, and Clandian writes of a fountain *Publica morborum requies, commune medentum Auxilium, praesens numen inempta salus*. *Per hodierni diei praesentissimum numen adjurans*, App. Met. iii 51; Ov. Her. 21 150. The meaning seems to be as in Ovid. Fast. iii 295. *Lucus Aventino suberat niger ilicis umbra Quo posses viso dicere numen inest*; and compare also, Fast. v 673, *Est aqua Mercurii portae vicina Capenae; Si juvat expertis credere, numen habet*. But there can be no special sense here of "powerful to aid," or "efficacious;" but simply "present," "present to the imagination." It has been objected that Servius, when commenting on the two above quoted passages of Virgil, does not allude to this place in Juvenal, but I do not think there is much in that. *praestantius* would be very tame. *praesent.* and *praestant.* are similar MSS. vars. in Virg. AEn. xii 152 and 245. The poet has throughout Ov. Met. iii 157 sqq. in his eye. 20: *violarent*, used as in Virg. AEn. xii 67, *ingen. toph.* is like *nativus pumex*, Ov. Met. x 692. *tophum*. The *tufa*, a porous volcanic rock (out of which the catacombs are cut), is meant. *Antra subit tophis laqueataque pumice vivo*, Ov. Fast. ii 315.

21, 22: compare Martial iii 4 7 8 v 56 8-12. *honestorum* may be understood before *laborum*. **23, 24**: Properly *res deteritur*, not *deterit*. here was the form commonly used in Juvenal's time, Quint. i 7 22. **24**: *proponimus*, the plural for the singular, as i 15, *et nos consilium deditus Sulla*. **25**: *fatigatas*—alas. Sc. to Cumae, cf. Virg. Aen. vi 14 sqq. **26**: so *cruda Deo viridisque senectus*, Virg. AEn. vi 304. **27**: *Dum res et aetas et sororum Fila trium patiuntur atra*, Hor. Od. ii 3 5. Lachesis is often represented as weaving the thread of life. *Cum mihi supremos Lachesis perneverit annos*, Mart. i 89 9. Elsewhere it is Clotho. As in the case of Aeacus and his brother judges, i 10, the poets shifted about the attributes of the Destinies, at their pleasure. **28**: Old age leaning on a stick is a common image, *baculum premit inclinata senectus*, Calpurn. v 13, Ov. Met. vi 27. Compare Æschyl. Agam. 74. **29, 30**: *Artorius* and *Catulus*, like *Proculeius*, and *Gillo*, i 40, are any two scoundrels. *patria* may be used here in the sense of "le pays" in France. **31**: *facile* is usually taken to signify "to whom it is an easy matter," "who have the means of." I think the sense is, "who have an aptitude for that kind of work." *conducere* is to take a contract for the execution of public and other works, such as are afterwards described. *Pars hominum gestit conducere publica*, Hor. Epp. i 1 77. *mea fiducia opus conduxi et meo periculo rem gero*, Plaut. Bacch. iv 3 115. The general meaning is, "men who will undertake to do anything for money, build a temple, clear the bed of a river, construct a harbour, cleanse the public sewers, furnish a funeral, or sell a gang of slaves by auction." **33**: *caput* must be here "a person," as often. *Triginta minas pro capite tuo dedi*, Cic. Verr. Some take the meaning to be "or to sell themselves, if need be," others, "at the risk of being sold as slaves in case of default," where *caput* will have the sense of "freedom," "Leben und Freiheit," Heinr. But both these renderings require *aut* for *et*, and yield, to my mind, an inferior sense. *domina* with *hasta* offers no difficulty, *dominas manus*, Ov. Am. ii 5 30. *dominae arcae*, Mart. iii 31. *domina urbs*, Nemesian. Ecl. i 83 (as *τύγαρρος τόλις*, Thucyd. i 122). A spear was put up at auctions, a symbol derived from the practice of selling

booty acquired in war under a spear. So *hasta posita bona vendere*, Cic. de Off. ii 8. *auctionis hastae*, Seut. J. Cæs. 5a. *ipsum bonaque subjecit hastae*, Id. Aug. 24, Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Auctio." *ubique hasta et sector, et inquieta urbs auctionibus*, Tac. Hist. i 20. 34: sqq. These people, who were formerly in the lowest stations, *ex gr.*, members of orchestras in companies of strolling gladiators, now give shows on their own account. Martial has similar complaints on people of low origin presuming to exhibit shows to the public. *Das gladiatores sutorum regule, cerdo*, iii 16. *Sutor cerdo dedit tibi culta Bononia munus Fullo dedit Mutinae; nunc, ubi capro dabit?* iii 59. *Irasci nostro non debes cerdo libello.* *Ars tua non vita est carmine laesa meo.* *Innocuos permitte sales; cur ludere nobis Non liceat, licuit si jugulare tibi?* iii 99. Cf. Juv. ii 147 148. *municipales*, "provincials" as we should say, viii 238. 36: *verso police*, etc. "At a sign from the many-headed, kill you off any one you like, to court popularity." I think the right reading here is *quem libet*, and not *quum libet*, and that *vulgi* is to be taken with *verso police*. It was the audience in general which gave the signal of death, by turning up the thumbs, and not any particular individual. (At least this was so in the times of the Emperors, though at an earlier period the *missio* or otherwise appears to have rested with the giver of the show.) *occidunt*, "kill," i.e., are the means of killing, iv 110; note below 186, and the above epigram of Martial iii 99. 40: *quoties...jocari*. Compare vi 608. *Secretumque sibi mimum parat (Fortuna).* *voluit* is an aorist. 41: *Quid Romæ faciam?* Compare Mart. iii 38, 13 14. *Quid faciam suade, nam certum est vivere Romæ?* Si bonus es casu vivere Sexte potes, and the whole of iv 5. 42: *poscere*, either "to ask for a copy," or, as Macleane suggests, "to call for the book, i.e., to ask to hear it" (*posco* often has this sense, Ov. Met. iv 274, v 333, cf. Plin. Epp. ii 3), though in the latter case we should rather expect *poscere et laudare*. Sir G. C. Lewis quotes this passage in support of his opinion that books in Rome were very dear. The hearers ask for a copy at the recitation, instead of going and buying the book as we should. But productions were generally recited before publication, so that to ask for a copy would be equivalent to

our asking an author for his book "as soon as it comes out;" the highest compliment a reciter could receive: or it might be a request for a privately made copy of his work, or simply to borrow the MS., cf. Plin. Epp. ix 1, if the latter were not intended for publication. The passage proves nothing for Sir G. C. Lewis's view. On the dearth of ancient books, cf. Friedländer, vol. iv pp. 67 68, Fr. edit. **44**: *ranarum viscera*. See i 70 note. **47**: *nulli comes exeo*, "I am not going out in the suite of any great man." Cf. viii 127. *si tibi sancta cohors comitum*, i.e., the persons composing your staff and suite as governor of a province, in which sense it is constantly found in Cicero, and elsewhere. *fur* means here a thief on a large scale; *furtum* is similarly used by Pliny, Epp. iv 9. The mention of Verres, a little way on, confirms this view. The exactions of these governors of provinces are dwelt on at length in Juv. viii 87, sqq. *exire* has also a technical sense, *cum in provinciam Quaestor exisset*, Plin. Epp. iv 12. **48**: *mancus*. *Dixi me pigrum proficiscenti tibi, dixi Talibus officiis prope mancum*, Hor. Epp. ii 2 20. *Ad mandata claudus, caecus, mutus, mancus, debilis*, Plaut. Merc. iii 4 45. Hor. Sat. ii 7 88. **49**: *diligitur* is used ironically, as *carus* below. In reality the confidant is hated and feared by his patron, 57. "Who is selected for promotion?" *conscius* is the confidant, the accomplice in crime. *Vis fieri dives Bithynice?* *conscius esto*, Mart. vi 50 5. *non sine conscio surgit marito*, Hor. *Accipiunt socios atque agmina conscientia jungunt*, Virg. Aen. ii 267, the bands of their accomplices. Ov. Fast. ii 100. As *ovniawc.* As to *cui* being a dissyl. cf. Paley. Mart. i 52. **50**: Compare i 166 167. **51**: *Nil tibi vel minimum basia pura dabunt*, Mart. vi 50 6. Comparing this with the preceding line quoted at 49, we shall be led to the idea that this is a passage in which one poet may have copied another. **55**: *Tagi. Possideat Libycas messes, Hermumque Tagumque*, Mart. vi 86 5, where *Tagus* is used as a synonym for wealth. It was one of those rivers which were supposed to have gold in their sands. Cf. Mart. i 50 15. **56**: *ponenda*; this may be for *deponenda*, as in Juvenal, and elsewhere constantly; *ex gr.*, three times in three consecutive lines of Plautus, Aul. iv 4 10 11 12. If so, the meaning will be "which you will

one day have to disgorge." And so, after very great hesitation, I have rendered it. But why should the accomplice have to disgorge bribes privately received? Heinrich's explanation, "which you will have to part with at your death," seems to me quite inadmissible. I cannot but think that the rendering which takes *ponenda* for *proponenda* (or *deponenda*, Virg. Ecl. iii 31) may be the correct one. *Invitat pretius animos et praemia ponit*, Virg. Aen. v 292; and it is possible that Juvenal may have had this in his mind. *posito praemio*, Phaedr.; *posita palma*, Mart.; *positis accedit pectora donis*, Silius. If so, the meaning will be "the prizes" (of silence) which are "to be staked" "to be set before you," i.e., the bribes agreed upon. Others construe, "that ought to be spurned." The coupling of *tristis* with *sumas* is a satirical touch, in the style of our author. 57: *magno amico. magni delator amici*, i 33. *magna amicae*, iv 20. *miserae magnaue pallor amicitiae*, iv 74 75.

58: sqq. The poet expresses his dislike of the foreign adventurers who filled the town, Jacks-of-all-trades, consummate actors, flatterers, and toadies of rich men, acquiring influence in great houses by their vile tricks, and abusing that influence in a shameful way. Johnson, in his well-known imitation of this satire, has substituted the French for the Greeks. 61: *quota portio faecis Achaei!* The Greeks, after all, form but a small portion of this foreign rabble. Mr. Evans renders "how small the proportion even of the dregs of Greece," as if it were *faecis Achaeae*. I cannot understand why Heinrich and Macleane put a note of interrogation after *Achaei*. 62: The Orontes is here put for the East generally, as *natus ad Euphraten*, i 104. *Et quas Euphrates et quas mihi misit Orontes Me capiant*, Prop. ii 23 21. 63, 64: *chordas obliquas*. The *sambuca*, or triangular harp, is referred to. Cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Sambuca." 65: *puellas*, as at vi 127. 66: *mitra*. The *mitra* was a kind of Eastern head-dress for women, the form of which is shown in an engraving in Dict. G. and R. Ant. art. "Coma." 66: *Ite* may be either "abi in malam rem," the Fr. "allez!" as Ruperti takes it, or "Hie thither!" 67: *Rusticus ille tuis*. This does not mean that "the very peasants wear light slip-

pers," &c., but "that son of yours, the rustic of old;" *rusticorum militum proles* of Horace, though no longer *mascula*. 67, 68: *trechedipna τρέχιδηπνα* from *τρέχων* and *διπνον*, to run to dinner. The scholiast says they were a kind of shoe. *ceromatico* from *κήρωμα* an ointment with which wrestlers besmeared themselves. *niceteria, νικητήρια*, emblems of victory. All these are Greek words, introduced purposely. 69: *Sicyone, Amydone*, &c. From various parts of Greece and Asia Minor. It has been supposed that the whole of this description refers to a great influx of foreigners which took place under Hadrian. It may be so, and the passage 58-125 may have been inserted in the original draft of the Satire. See note to 76. But Greeks and Orientals had long before been numerous in Rome, and the complaint was an old one. Livy, writing of the year 187 B.C., says, *Luxuriae enim peregrinac origo ab exercitu Asiatico in urbem invecta est . . . tum psaltriae sambucistriaeque et convivalia ludionum oblectamenta addita epulis . . . vix tamen illa quae tum conspiciebantur semina erant futurae luxuria, xxxix* 6. Compare Sen. de Cons. ad Helv. 6, *ex municipiis et coloniis suis, ex toto denique orbe confluxerunt, etc.* 71: The hill named from the osiers is the Viminal. It was a fashionable quarter. I do not quite agree with Maclean, when he says, "these slaves were brought to Rome to be introduced into great houses," as if none but slaves were intended. Free adventurers, as well as slaves, are evidently referred to. 72: "Work themselves inwards, and their patrons out," Dryden. But I do not think this is the meaning. The sense is, "who are destined to gain complete control over these great houses." Lucian, in one of his most amusing productions, gives a rather different account of the life of a Greek hanger-on (at any rate, of the literary class) in a great Roman house, in his day, which was not far removed from Juvenal's. But he says that the man would have to toady and lie, and admits that a great deal of the popular prejudice against the Greeks was not without foundation. De Merced. Cond. 73: *picta mitra Πίγεσσαις αἰσθεμέγραις*, Theocr. xvii 19. 74: *Isaeo*. Isaeus was the tutor of Demosthenes. But it is probable that a Greek rhetorician of eminence, who came to Rome in the

younger Pliny's time, is intended. That author speaks of his wonderful fluency, of the public exhibitions of his skill which he gave, &c., so that he would be well known, Plin. Epp. ii 3. *torrentior*; cf. x 9 and 128, for a similar use of this word.

76: Spartianus, in his Life of Hadrian, has a passage which recalls this line. *In summa familiaritate . . . grammaticos, rhetores, musicos, geometras, pictores habuit.* And Aurelius Victor. Epitome, Hadrian, speaks of that Emperor as *potitus medendi scientia, musicus, geometra, pictor, &c.* The commentators take *alipites* here as "a trainer." I think it has the same meaning as at vi 422.

78: *Graeculus*, "Greekling," a common term of contempt. *Graecula* occurs in the same sense, vi 186. It appears that Hadrian was nick-named *Graeculus*, Spartian. and Aur. Vict. 79, 80: *mediis Athenis*. So *mediae Mycenae*. Virg. Aen. vii 372. Daedalus was generally considered to have been an Athenian. Some have seen in this passage an allusion to a person who played the part of Icarus in a show in Nero's time, where, as was very common, other mythological characters were represented, Suet. Nero, 12. But this is very fanciful. The Daedalus of fable, well known to every one, would naturally be cited after such an expression as *ad summam. ad summam*, "in short;" Pliny the younger invariably uses the form, *in summa*, Epp. i 22, ii 11, &c.

83: *pruna, cottona*. Plin., H.N. xiii 5, speaks of *pruna in Damasco monte nata*. Hence our "Damsons," originally "Damascenes." In the same place, he speaks of *cottona* as a small kind of fig. Mart. xiii 28.

85: The Aventine was an unfashionable quarter. *baccae Sabinae* are here opposed to *pruna* and *cottona*. The olive is meant. *Caerula quot baccas Pallados arbor habet*, Ov. A.A. ii 518, where the same fruit is meant.

86: *Quid quod*, "why add that?" below 147, and elsewhere. *Quid quod usque proximos revellis agri terminos*, Hor. Od. ii 18 23.

87: *faciem deformis amici*. So Lucian, in the work referred to on 72, warns his friend that he will have to compare his patron to Adonis or Hyacinthus, though he should have a nose an ell long, De Merced. Cond. 35. *prudentissima adulandi*, "most cunning in flattery." So in Hor. Epod. 17, *prudens anus*, in a bad sense. *prudens Veiento*, Juv. iv 113.

gallinae) quo marito, &c. *marito* is attracted into the ablative : “ by whom, in his capacity of husband, the hen is bitten.” *maritus gallinae* is, of course, a periphrasis for *gallus*, as *olentis uxores mariti* for *capellae*, Hor. Od. i 17 7, *viri capellarum* for *hirci*, Mart. iii 93 11. *ovis maritus* for *aries*, Calpurn. ii 37. *Quo* for *a quo*, the ablative of the agent, is not uncommon. *Illi scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est*, Hor. Sat. i 10 16, a similar construction.

93: *An melior*, etc. Some render, “ Is he a better actor when he plays Thais, &c.,—i.e., than he is in private life?” But it would seem from 95–97, *mulier . . . rima*, that this is wrong. The meaning is, “ Is there a better actor than he when,” &c.; unless *mulier . . . rima* be taken as thrown in parenthetically. 95: *palliolō* is either a cloak, or a kind of hood. It is not easy to say in which sense the poet intends it here. “ An unveiled strumpet,” Macleane; but I do not think that *Doris* is used in that sense here (*Thais*, above, is, of course). *Doris* seems to be a Greek girl, perhaps a waiting-woman, a soubrette, *D. null. c. pall.* seems to be equivalent to *μονότετλος Δωρὶς ω; κιγα*. Eur. Hec. (quoted by Mr. Simcox), where *μονος.* = *ἀστερ*, clad in a tunic only. Cf. Lid. and Sc. *ad voc.* The German translator, Siebold, takes it in this way, “ gar kein Mäntelchen trägt.” The Spartan girls were thinly clad. 98: sqq. And yet, wonderful as are their performances on the stage, Antiochus and other celebrated actors would excite no great admiration in their own country; for the whole nation is one of actors; they play as well off the stage as on it. (This gives the sense of *tamen*.) The poet then proceeds to give examples of their powers in this respect. With regard to the actors mentioned, the name of Antiochus is not, it appears, found elsewhere. Haemus is mentioned again at vi 198, in very much the same terms; *dicas haec mollius Haemo*. Demetrius and Stratocles are spoken of as great comedians by Quintilian, xi 3, at the end. And Quintilian notes of Demetrius, among other theatrical gestures, the way in which he used to wave his hand, *jactare manus*, using the same words as our author below, 106. 100: sqq. Compare the speech of Gnatho, the parasite, in Terence, cited by the scholiast. *Quidquid dicunt laudo, id rursum si*

negant laudo id quoque: negat quis, nego: ait, aio: postremo imperavi egomet mihi omnia assentari: is quaestus nunc est multo uberrimus, Eun. ii 2; and Martial, who says of one of these adulators, *Omnia laudabit, mirabitur omnia, donec Perpessus dicas taedia mille veni*, xii 83 13 14. 105: *alienum rultum*. So *alias facies*, xv 57. 106: *A facie jactare manus*. These words, as well as *laudare*, might depend on *paratus*. "Prepared to blow a kiss, to signify his approval." Compare iv 118. Some put the stop after *facie*. 108: There are many interpretations of this obscure line; *ex gr.*, "if with upturned bottom the golden goblet smacks," i.e., if the great man drinks off a bumper at a draught and smacks his lips, or, if he dashes the liquor left in the cup on the floor. Dict. Ant. "Cottabos;" and Valer. Max. iii 2 ext. 6, *quodque ex ea (potione) superfuerat, jocabundus illisum humo clarum edere sonum coegerit*. But neither of these meanings suits the context. Britann. and Heinr. take *aur. trul.* as *venter divitis*, and *fund.* as *ano*, giving to the whole the sense of *si pepederit*. I think *pedere* or *cacare* is the sense, compare Mart. x 14 10; but *trul. aur.* for *venter divitis* is a very violent metaphor. *trul. aur.* I take to be a homely domestic utensil, which appears to have been made of gold in some cases. *Ventriss onus misero, nec te pudet, excipis auro*, Mart. i 38, Lamprid. Heliog. 32, and not uncommonly of silver, Plin. H. N. xxxiii 12; Petron. 27. The meaning might then be "if this utensil, when placed under him, shall have given a *crep.* to his *inv. fun.*" i.e., shall have furnished him with an occasion for, &c. "If he has a successful stool," which, strange as it may sound to our ears, is not incompatible with the manners of the period. *fun* for *an.* is not elsewhere found. But no rendering or explanation is at all satisfactory.* Or take 108 in one of the senses first indicated, and suppose something else to be suggested; or, transpose 107 108. 113: *inde timeri*; above 57. *scire volunt*, the change to the plural is common, vi 365 464. 114: *transi gymnasia*. This may be either "pass by"

* In one Bodleian MS. which I examined, *aurea* has *tentosa* written over it. And *trulla* = "pet" in middle-age Latin. Ducange. This shows how some of the later transcribers understood the line.

their training-schools, in which sense *transeo* is almost always used by Juvenal, vi 602, vii 190, x 273, or "pass on to their school," or "pass through"—as we should say "take a turn through." I prefer the first, "Quit the play-grounds of vice" (Escott), though he is wrong in his reference to vii 190, as supporting the interpretation "pass on to." There, *transi* clearly means "pass by." "Leave mere playings at vice (such as the toadyings, &c., mentioned above) and listen to their big-wig crimes (such as the denunciation and murder of one friend by another, next mentioned)." *Et . . . mentio* is quite as prosaic as *A . . . fabula*, xv 72, which Ribbeck cites as a proof of the spuriousness of that Satire. 115: *abolla* was a cloak much affected by philosophers, Mart. iv 53 5. In the next satire it will be found worn by a senator, iv 76. See Dict. G. and R. Ant. article "Abolla," where a woodcut is given. *majoris abollae* may be imp. for pers., "of a very deep philosopher." The rendering here, as often in our author, is somewhat uncertain. That which I have given is intelligible. "Since we have begun to talk about the universities, drop the undergraduates, and listen to a deed chargeable on the doctor's gown," would be an allowable expression with us. 116: sqq. The allusion is to Barea Soranus, condemned to death in the reign of Nero, apparently on the evidence of P. Egnatius Celer. *Celer professus sapientiam, dein testis in Baream, proditor, corruptorque amici, et cuius se magistrum ferebat*, Tac. Hist. iv 10. *occidit*, "caused his death," above 36 and iv 110. 117, 118: *ripa...caballi*. This was Tarsus, according to the scholiast. 119: *non est Romano*, etc. This is just what Lucian makes the people say at dinner, *μόνος τοῖς Ἑλλησι τεύχεις ἀνίστραι ἡ Φαυσαῖς πόλεις*—these Greeks have got sole possession of Rome. It was doubtless a common complaint. De Merc. Cond. 17. 120: *Protagenes*, etc.; any three Greek adventurers. 124: *perierunt*, "have been wasted, thrown away," i 18 note. 125: *Servilli* is used here with emphasis "my long slavery." *jactura* is properly the throwing of part of the cargo overboard, to lighten the ship, as *jactu decidere ventis*, at xii 33; hence a loss, vi 91, xiii 8 and 177. Virg. Aen. ii 646.

126: *ne nobis blandiar*. Pliny has *nisi forte blandior*

mihi, in the same sense, Epp. v 1. 128: *praetor*, "the praetor himself." So *Celso dictare paratae* to Celsus himself, vi 245. He would be attended, in the city, by two lictors. This introduction of the lictors implies that the praetor goes "in full state." When paying unceremonial visits, the magistrates seem to have discarded these officers. Lips. ad Tac. Ann. ii 53. 129: *dudum vigilantibus orbis*, "long since awake and expecting visitors," as he fears. Martial constantly alludes to the court paid to rich widows, &c. *jubes... haerere tuo lateri praecedere sellam Ad viduas tecum plus minus ire decem*, ix 101 and cf. i 50 34, ii 32, iv 56. *orbis* means "without parents, or children." In vi 270 it means "robbed of her young." 131: *claudere latus* is to give a man the wall, when you are walking with him. *Utne tegam spurco Damae latus?* Hor. Sat. ii 5 18. *Mares inter se uxoresque contendunt uter det latus illis*, Sen. Quaest. Nat. vii 32, Livy iii 37, Cic. Philipp. xiii 2. *servi* a man who had been a slave. 132: *alter enim* etc., *Empta tibi nox est fundis non tota paternis*, Mart. ix 37. What the pay of a tribune was is not known, but it has been conjectured to have been not less than forty-eight *aurei*, i. e., about £37 10s. 133: *Calvina* and *Catiena* are two ladies of quality, who prostitute themselves. 136: *Chione* is the name of a prostitute often found in Martial, i 35 &c., from whom probably our author takes it. Martial was read by everybody, and an allusion to one of his characters would be as readily taken as when we speak of "Mr. Sikes" for a ruffian. 137, 138: *hospes numinis Idaei*. This was P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, chosen for his virtue to receive and escort to Rome the image of Cybele, brought from Pessinus in Galatia B.C. 204, Livy xxix 14, xxxv 10. *Numa* is Numa Pompilius. The other person mentioned is L. Caecilius Metellus, who saved the palladium from the temple of Vesta, when in flames, and lost his eye-sight, vi 265. *trepidam* applied to an image reminds one of *juris peritus Apollo* at i 128. 140, 141: The old story, *Virtus post nummos*. *An dives omnes quaerimus, nemo an bonus*, quoted by Seneca, Epp. 115, and again *ubique tanti quisque, quantum habuit, fuit*, a sentiment identical with that in 143 144 below. *Quantum quisque ferat respiendus erit*, as

Ovid puts it, of lovers. 142 : *jugera*, translated "acres" for convenience. But the *jugerum* (or *jugus*) contained in reality 2 roods 19 perches. *quam multa...coenat?* How about his service of plate? 143 : *servat*. There is perhaps an allusion to *servavit* 139 ; "you will get more credit by saving money than by saving a goddess." The sentiment of these lines seems to have been expressed proverbially in the words *assem habeas, assem valeas : habes, habeberis*, Petron. 77. Lucilius (quoted by the scholiast) had said nearly the same thing. *Quantum habeas, tanti ipse sies, tantique habearis.* 144 : *Samothracum*. On the Samothracian deities and their mysteries, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. under "Cabeiri." 145 : *fulmina atque deos*, a hendiadys, according to Heinrich = *vindictam deorum*. But this is quite unnecessary. 147 : *Quid quod*; cf. 86 note. The phrase *materiam praebere jocorum* is used by Seneca de Vit. Beat. 27. 149, 150 : *rupta...patet. rupta cum pes vagus exil aluta*, Mart. xii 26 9. 152 : *in se*, "attached to itself," "inseparable from it." 153 : *exeat*, etc. People often sat in the seats of the knights, who were not entitled to do so, and were thence ejected by what we should call the box-keepers. *Sedilibusque magnus in primis eques Othone contemptu sedet*, Hor. Epod. 4 15. Martial who, though not an eques, had the privileges of one, and the rank of tribune, accorded him by Domitian, says, *vidit me Roma tribunum Et sedeo qua te suscitat Oceanus* iii 95 10. *Nunc est redditia dignitas equestris Turba non premimur, nec inquinamur ; Haec et talia dum refert supinus Illas purpureas et arrogantes Jussit surgere Lectius lacernas*, v 8. 156, 157, 158 : Here, I think, Umbricius takes up the speech of the *designator* and finishes it for him. The *p. juv. juv que l.* must have come there in holiday attire, to look on and to take lessons from what they saw. 159 : L. Roscius Otho introduced the law in virtue of which the first fourteen rows in the theatre, next behind the seats of the senators, were reserved for the knights. Domitian enforced this law rigidly, Suet. Domit. 8. 160 : *placuit*, an aorist, as constantly in Juvenal. *negavit*, 168. *peperit*, 233. Pliny the younger, when recommending a young man as son-in-law to a friend, makes an apology for alluding to his expectations, *cum publicos mores*

atque etiam leges civitatis intueor qui vel imprimis census hominum spectandos arbitrantur, Epp. i 14. 161: *sarcinulus*, again at vi 146, where it means "traps," "bag and baggage." So in Appul. Met. xi 258, *constrictis sarcinulis nave consensa*; and in Petron., &c. Here the meaning must be something not far from our "trousseau." 162: *in consilio Aedilibus* as an assessor to the *Aediles*. So the praetors had their assessors or assistants, *Cur praetor te... in consilium vocavit?* Cic. Flacc. 32 and cf. Sull. 4. 162, 163: *agmine facto*, coupled with *Quirites*, prepares the mind for something martial, and this adds to the force of the passage. "The poor Romans ought to have formed themselves into array, and—emigrated!" *migrare, emigrare* are the regular words for "to shift one's quarters." There is no allusion, that I can see, here to the secession to Mons Sacer, as some have thought. The pluperfect, here joined to the past tense of the infinitive, is particularly emphatic. "Long ago they ought already to have emigrated." *tenuis*, is "poor," as *tenues Afros*, viii 120. *pauper et tenuis*, Plin. Epp. ii 20. *tenuem et obaeratum*, "poor and in debt," Suet. Jul. Caes. 46. 164: *emergunt*, "rise from obscurity." *neque enim cuicquam tam clarum statim ingenium est, ut possit emergere, nisi illi materia, occasio, fautor etiam commendatorque contingat*, Plin. Epp. vi 23. 166: *magno hospitium miserabile*. We are not able to tell exactly how much this would be. There is a passage in Suetonius from which we should infer that 2000 sesterces, i.e., £17 to £18, was a moderate rent in the time of Julius Caesar,—Jul. Caes. 38. Sulla in his humbler days seems to have paid about £25, Plut. Sull. i. 169: The epithets *Sabellus*, *Sabinus* are used as synonymous with frugal, primitive, chaste, &c., above, 85, vi 164, x 299; and the Marsians, who were probably of the same origin as the Sabines, are more than once coupled with them by the poets. *genus acre virum, Marsos pubemque Sabellam*. Virg. Georg. ii 167. Hor. Epop. 17. Cicero couples them in a complimentary way in Vatin. Test. 15. The meaning is, a man would not have such grand ideas in the country. 170: *cucullo*. Ruperti reads *culullo*, a kind of cup or bowl. This would suit the context better, but is against the MSS. *reneto* is the colour of the sea.

171, 172: Under the Empire, the toga was worn by the middle and lower classes in Rome, only as a dress of ceremony, *ex gr.*, on the occasion of a client visiting his patron, i 96, iii 127, Mart. iv 66; the tunic being the usual attire, iii 254. *tunicatus popellus*, Hor. Epp. i 7 65. *tunicati illi*, Cic. in Rull. 2 34. In the country, the toga seems to have been entirely laid aside by all classes. Martial, writing to Juvenal from Spain, says, *Dum per limina te potentiorum Sudatrix toga ventilat . . . (hic) ignota est toga*, xii 18; and Pliny says of his villa, *Ibi nulla necessitas togae*, Epp. v 6, and cf. Epp. vii 3. The body of a deceased person (a freedman) was always clad in "full-dress," Mart. ix 58 7, *pallens toga mortui tribulis*. So Virgil, of the funeral of Misenus, *tum membra toro defleta reponunt Purpureasque super vestes, velamina nota Conjiciunt*, Aen. vi 220-222. 175, 176: *cum . . . infans*, a little touch, quite after the manner of the poet—I had almost said, after the manner of Thackeray—bringing the scene vividly before us. *parasitus infans*, v 145. 178: *honor* may here have the same sense, viz., "official dignity," "magistracy," as in vii 88, *militiae largitur honorem*; viii 150, *finitum tempus honoris*; xi 87, *dictatoris honore functus*, but it may also mean "magistrate" (the person), as in i 110, and 117. In that case the meaning will be, "as the attire of a distinguished magistrate." I prefer the former sense, with *summis Aedilibus*, following, "as the garb of their great office." *clari* and *summis* are used with a dash of satire. Aediles were small police magistrates (the metropolitan ones have just been spoken of somewhat slightly at 162), cf. x 102, and Pers. i 129 130. The highest authorities of the place, however, were content with a plain white tunic, on an occasion of ceremony. In Rome they would have worn a toga. There is force here in *albae*, "plain tunics, provided they are white." White was the colour for festive occasions, birthdays, &c. *Festos albatus celebrat*, Hor. Sat. ii 2 61; *natalicia cum sardonyche albus*, Pers. i 16; *urbanis albus in officiis*, Mart. i 56. 180, 181: *hic aliquid . . . arca*. Not only do men spend more than suits their means and their station, but also this "more" is sometimes begged, borrowed, or stolen from their neighbours. *sumitur* means "is taken" in any way, not

merely "is borrowed," as Maclean renders. An apprentice who robbed his master's till to appear in finery in the company of his sweetheart, would be an example of one by whom *plus quam satis est aliena sumitur area*; so would a swindler on a large scale. Juvenal had all these kinds of things in view, and Rome was very like London. *ambitiosus* is used here precisely as in Hor. A.P. 447; *ambitiosa ornamenta*, pretentious, aiming at show only. So Ovid speaks of his household as *Nota quidem sed non ambitiosa domus*, Trist. i 9 18. 183, 184: *omnia . . . pretio*, the meaning is not exactly the same as our "everything has its price," but rather, "everything in Rome is accompanied by a price,"—i.e., "nothing is done without money in Rome." 184: *quid das etc.*,—i.e., to their slaves. So the bore who wants to scrape acquaintance with Maecenas, says, *Muneribus servos corrumpam*, Hor. Sat. i 9 57. The servants of fashionable doctors have to be similarly feed'd at the present day, as every one knows. *Cossum*: Cossus was the name of a patrician family, of the Cornelia gens. Fabricius Veiento is mentioned by Pliny, Epp. iv 22, and ix 13. He was a senator, and a man of note, originally banished under Nero, but who returned and became an informer under Domitian, and a flatterer of that tyrant. He is called *prudens* in iv 113, and named again iv 123 and vi 113, as well as alluded to as a senator in vi 82. It does not follow that he was alive at the time this passage was written. Perhaps the inference is that he was dead, i 170. His name is used as a type. "What do you pay?" the poet asks, "for a mere glance from Veiento, who, of course, does not condescend to open his lips." 186: The Romans were in the habit of offering the first shavings of their beard to some god, and the day on which this was done was looked upon as a festival. The hair was often cut short at the same time, which was usually that of assuming the "toga virilis." See Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Barba." Rich men would naturally often observe these occasions in the case of their favourite slaves. *secuit nolente capillos Encolpus domino nec prohibente tamen*, Mart. v 48. *Hos tibi Phoebe vovet totos a vertice crines Encolpus domini centurionis amor*, 32. The general practice is frequently alluded to by Martial, and Burmann ad Petron. 107 gives a

number of other references, and cf. also, Petron. 73. Here one patron is having his slave shaved for the first time, and another, his slave's long hair cut; and the clients, to curry favour, make presents of cakes to the household, which are so numerous, that they will have to be sold again, *venalibus*. Compare v 98, *Quod captivator emat Laenas, Aurelia vendat*. In Seneca, Epp. 95, we have a story of an Emperor (Tiberius) selling again a fine fish which had been sent him as a present. *deponit* is "cuts,"—i.e., "causes to be cut," as in the epigram of Martial, quoted above, v 48, *depositus gaudens, matre dolente, comas, not "offers up."* *cultis servis. cohors culta servorum*, Sen. Epp. 110.

190: *Praeneste, Volsinii, Gabii, Tibur*, small country places. Dict. G. & R. Geog. *simplicibus* means primitive, unsophisticated. Some commentators see in the epithet an allusion to the way in which the town fell a victim to the artifices of Sextus Tarquinius. *Gabios turpi fecerat arte suos*, Ov. Fast. ii 690. The story is told in Livy, i 53 54. Gabii is several times mentioned by Juvenal as a small, simple, country town, vi 56, vii 4, x 100. *Gabiis desertior alque Fidenis*, Hor. Epp. i 11 7. 193: *tibicine* is a prop, or shore. *magna parte sui* must mean, "over a large portion of its surface;" in the case of the poorer kind of houses. 194: *labentibus* Heinrich takes to refer to the inhabitants. I think it refers to the walls. In the next line, he and Maclean read *contextit*, which is very awkward, P. has *cum texit*. 197: *incendia*. Fires seem to have been more frequent in Rome than in New York; and the great height of the *insulae*, the abodes of the middle and lower classes, rendered the danger from this source a very serious one. Cf. Aul. Gell. xv. 1, who introduces a man who says "he would sell his country property, and invest in Rome, if it were not for fires." 199: *tibi* is not translatable in English. It is the French "vous" "vous brûlent." the dative ethicus. It is very common in Lucretius. Cf. Munro's note to i 797. *Ecce tibi nuntius*, Cic. ad Att. ii 8. *nobis* is similarly used by Quint. Inst. i 2, at the beginning. *Sed nobis jam paulatim accrescere puer incipiat. so mihi*, Cic. in Catil. ii 5 and *sibi. Ucalegon*. We have here another reference to Virgil, *proximus ardet Ucalegon*, Aen.

ii 311. *frivola* occurs again at v 59. It is generally used with a dash of contempt: *nec inter illa frivola mea tam altus incedo*, "my trumpery," Sen. de Tranq. An. i. 200: *si grad. trep. ab. im.* If that is the part of the house at which the fire begins, you who are in the garrets will be the last to burn. *tibi* (see preceding note) cannot mean, as some take it, "your third floor, i.e., "the floor which you inhabit." The man lodges far above that. There is a little confusion of thought here. For in whatever storey the fire broke out, unless it were his own, the man at the top of the house must be the last, under ordinary circumstances, to be burnt. The people below would make their escape.

202: *et molles quae reddit ova columbae* would be more in Juvenal's vein, if there were authority for it. 203: The Satirist introduces a poor devil whom he calls Codrus, and whom he supposes to have lost his all in the fire, for the purpose of pointing a moral. It does not follow that there ever was such a particular person, still less that he is the man mentioned in i 2. The name may stand, there as here, for a poor starveling poet, which, from the circumstances of his having *Graecos libellos* and *divina poemata* among his chattels, is most likely intended. *Procula minor* "too small for Procula." Maclean tells us that "one of the scholiasts says Procula was a dwarf." I have not been able to find the scholium to which he refers, but if this be so, it will only furnish one out of a thousand instances of the old commentators deriving their interpretation of the text from the text itself. A notable example of this practice is to be found at i 158, *qui dedit ergo tribus patruis aconita*, where Probus says that Tigellinus poisoned his three uncles. *Procula*, which occurs at ii 68, as a woman's name, is probably the man's wife. *Procula minor* is the same construction as *privatis majora foci*, iv 66, *minor igne rogi*, xv 140, and, perhaps, *censu minor*, above. 205: *sub eodem marmore*, under the marble slab of the abacus, which perhaps it supported. 206: *jamque vetus*, that had grown old in the service. 207: The Opici (Greek for Osci) were an ancient people once occupying the central part of Italy. Here the word must be synonymous with "barbarian;" as we use the word Goth,

"Goths of mice." It occurs in the same sense at vi 455. *Quid, inquam, vos Opici dicitis mihi?* Aul. Gell. ii 21. Cf. Wordsworth's Early Latin Fragments, p. 624. *divina poemata* must refer to the *Graecos libellos* in the line above, not to the man's own poems. 208 : *quis enim negat?* "Granted! Codrus had nothing you say: no doubt, still he lost all that nothing." This is one of many passages in which the humour of Juvenal resembles, more than that of almost any other ancient author, the humour of the moderns. Ovid has something of the same turn of expression in A. A.-i 151. *Et si nullus erit pulvis, tamen excute nullum.* 212 : *Asturicus* (if that be the correct reading, and there are many in the MSS.) must be a former owner after whom the house is called, for we hear afterwards of *Persicus* as the present owner. So we find that the younger Pliny lives in the *domus Pedonis*. Mart. x 19 10. (Compare *Quos tenuit Daphnis nunc tenet ille Lares*. Mart. iii 5 6.) Gordian inhabits at Rome *domum Pompeianam*, Capitol. Gord. 2, and Verus is educated in *domo Tiberiana*, Id. Ver. 2. Anton. P. 10. When this house is burnt down, the people all go into mourning, and put on what Horace calls the *lugubre sagum*, Epod. 9 27. Of course, all this, and what follows, is satirical exaggeration. 213 : *difert vadimonia*, literally, "puts off the vadimonia," which were the undertaking of the defendant, in an action-at-law, to appear and answer the plaint against him. As we should say "enlarges the defendant's recognizances." 214 : *casus* means here "the accidents," as at 273, Cf. 222 note. 215 : *ardet adhuc*, "it is not yet extinguished." Not that it is still "raging," as Mr Evans renders. We have just been told that the house is destroyed (*cecidit*); "smouldering" rather. 217 : Euphranor was a celebrated Greek sculptor and painter, in the days of Philip and Alexander. Polycletus (there were two of the name, but the elder is probably meant) flourished about a century earlier. Rome had naturally become possessed, by conquest or purchase, of many of the choicest productions of Greek art. 218 : If we retain *haec*, which is the reading of the best MSS., it must mean "another, a woman." It can hardly be the plural, agreeing with *ornamenta* and supplemental to the line preceding. *Asianorum . . . deorum*, some-

thing costly that had been originally pillaged from a shrine, viii 106–111. 219 : *medium Minervam*, I have translated “a bust of Minerva,” opposed to *tota*, the entire figure, Virg. Ecl. vii 31. It may mean a Minerva (i.e. a statuette of Minerva) to stand in the centre of his bookcase. *modius*, about a peck, literally. 221 : *orborum lautissimus*. He would not have had all these presents brought him, if he had not been *orbus*. Some take the word to refer to his losses by the fire; “most sumptuous of the destitute,” ironically; but I do not think that is the meaning. *jam* seems to be here only the Greek $\eta\delta\eta$, as often. Or it might mean “at once suspected.” 222 : compare Mart. iii 52, *Empta domus fuerat tibi Tongiliane ducens. Abstulit hanc nimium casus in urbe frequens. Collatum est decies. rogo, non potes ipse videri Incendisse tuam Tongiliane domum?* 223 : The fondness of the Romans for the games of the circus is well known. The subject is often alluded to by our poet, vi 87, viii 118, x 80, xi 53 and 197, and repeatedly by Martial. Pliny the younger professes his contempt for them. Epp. ix 6. 223, 224 : *Sora*, *Fabrateria*, and *Frusino* are three small towns in Latium, all of them not very far from Aquinum (cf. 319), a favourite place of the poet, if not the scene of his birth. So he probably speaks of their cheapness from experience. 225 : *Oramus, si forte non molestum est Demonstres ubi sint tuae tenebrae.* Catull. 55 1. “your den.” As to the dearness of house-rent in Rome, cf. Vell. Pat. ii 10, who informs us of the enormous rise in the century and a half preceding his time. Cic. Cael. 7. Becker, p. 22, Eng. ed. Rents had now (some seventy years after V. P.’s time) doubtless gone up still further. 226, 227 : Everything here is on a small scale, *hortulus*, *puteus brevis*, *tenues plantas*, resembling a passage in xi 78 79, where *parvo horto, focus brevibus, oluscula* are put together, and compare xi 137 138, xiv 66 67. But it is one’s own property. 229 : *centum* is used here, as often in the poets, for an indefinite number. *Sume Maecenas cyathos amici Sospitis centum*, Hor. Od. iii 8 13 14. *Centum quadrijugos agitabo ad flumina currus*, Virg. Georg. iii 18; so *mille* at 8 and xii 46. The Pythagoreans were vulgarly held to be vegetarians xv 173. 231 : “To have made one’s self the proprietor of a single lizard.” There does not seem to be any difficulty in this expression;

lizards being so numerous in Italy that it would be next to impossible to be the owner of a garden, however small, in the country, without finding, at some time or other, a lizard upon it. "It is something to have a bit of land of one's own, however minute it may be."

232: sqq. The sense here is somewhat obscure. I take the meaning to be "Many an invalid (*i.e.*, of the poorer class) dies here from not being able to get to sleep—his disease itself being caused by indigestion. For how can one sleep in a garret? Rich men can sleep, it is true." *nam* refers back to the first clause, and explains why they are kept awake. *sed-stomacho* is thrown in parenthetically. "Indigestion brings on the illness, and want of sleep kills the patient," Maclean. *ipsum* for *illum* is better, and there is MS. authority for it. Why undigested food should be represented as the chief cause of sickness, it is difficult to see. It might be said to be the cause of rich men's indispositions, but that would not suit the context. Below we are told that sleeplessness is the *caput morbi*. It is impossible to make anything satisfactory out of all this, and there is a confusion in the passage resembling viii 192 sqq. I do not think that Heinrich is right in taking *aeger vigilando* together. *languor* is constantly used for a disease, illness; *languida uxor*, i 122. *peperit* is an aorist. Compare Plin. Epp. vii 27. *inhabitantibus tristes diraeque noctes per metum vigilabantur, vigiliam morbus . . . sequebatur.* **234:** *meritoria* are lodgings, like *coenacula*, x 18. They are joined together by Suetonius, who, in speaking of the poverty of Vitellius at one time of his life, gives as an instance that, on leaving Rome, he put his wife and children *meritorio coenaculo* into a rented lodging. **235:** *magnis opibus.* "Ce n'est qu'à prix d'argent qu'on dort en cette ville," Boileau, in his imitation. And so it is generally taken. I prefer, however, taking it as "rich men," as also at ix 100, *His opibus numquam cara est annona veneni.* "Les grandes fortunes" is similarly used, and *χρήματα* for "rich men," Soph. Ant. 782, *viribus* "strong men" in xv 104. For the general sentiment conveyed in this passage, compare *Nec cogitandi, Sparse, nec quiescendi In urbe locus est pauperi*, Mart xii 57, and again xii 68, and Hor. Epp. i 17 6; compare Juv.

vi 415 416. 236–238: At this time as a rule the circulation of vehicles was forbidden in the streets of Rome, during the greater part of the day-light hours. There were certain exceptions, as, for instance, in the case of carts bringing in building materials (below 254 sqq.). There were other exceptions, mentioned by Friedländer, "Manners of the Romans," Book i, to which it would seem, from this satire, there might be added the case of removal from town to the country (10, 316), hence the night-traffic was particularly noisy. Seneca has humorously described the noises of the night in Epp. 122. Martial complains of the *mandrae*. *Vixque datur longas mulorum rumpere mandras*, Mart. v 22 7. *mandra* is properly a pen for cattle, and is hence used for the square of a chess-board, where the chess-man is as it were penned up, Mart. vii 72. *stantis convicia mandrae* means literally the abuse from the herd of cattle brought to a stand, i.e., the abuse of the drovers. 238: *Druso vitulisque marinis*. The Emperor Claudius, whose cognomen was Drusus, is described by Suetonius, Claud. 8, as having been very somnolent. His name may have passed into a proverb, and he may be meant here. *vituli marinii* (i.q., *phocae*, Plin. H.N. ix 7. "Seals") are described by the same author as very sleepy, *nullum animal graviore somno premitur*, H.N. ix 13; Virg. Georg. iv 432. 239: *si vocat off. ast vocat officium*. Pers. vi 27. The meaning here, as there, may be simply "If there is a call on him." 240: Liburnian slaves from the north of Illyricum were much in favour at Rome as chairmen, criers, &c., iv 75, vi 477. They were doubtless strapping fellows. *horridus Liburnus*, Mart. i 50. *Liburno* is here, according to Macleane, the dative case, and the construction is *super ora Liburno*, "over his head," not over the people's heads; but this, I think, is wrong. Mr. Munro (ad i 13. Mayor's ed.) seems to understand "He is elevated over people's head by the huge stature of his Liburnians," making *ingenti Liburno* = proceritate Liburnorum; and this may be the correct rendering. 242: This line is pronounced to be spurious by Heinrich. It is certainly a weak line. As for *lectica*, see i 32. *facit somnum* occurs below: *somnum rixa facit. clausa fenetras*; compare iv 21, *Quae rehitur clauso latis specularibus*.

antro. Suetonius, Jul. Caes. 43, tells us that Julius Caesar forbade the use of litters (as also purple robes and pearls), except to persons of a certain age and rank. But long before this, probably any one who could afford a *lectica* used one. 243 : sqq. Horace's description of the streets of Rome will recur to the mind. *Torquet nunc lapidem nunc ingens machina tignum, Tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustris, etc.*, Epp. ii 2 72, sqq. *Vix ego lecticam subsequor*, says Martial, and again, *In turbam incideris, cunctos umbone repellat*, iii 46. 246 : *metretam*. *Plurimus Hispanas mittet mihi nauta metretas*, Mart. v 16 ; cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. 248 : The hob-nails of soldiers' boots are again spoken of at xvi 25. 249–250 : Friedländer thinks a kind of pic-nic must be intended. 250 : *culina* was a kind of brazier in which the things were kept warm. 251 : *Corbulo*. Reference here may be made to the Roman General Corbulo, *qui omnium ora in se verteret, corpore ingens*, Tac. Ann. xiii 8, or it may be to some strong man unknown. 253 : *cursu*. By his rapid march, or perhaps, run. *Cursu in proelium ierant*, "at a great pace," Liv. ii 30. This pace, in the public streets, was thought beneath the dignity of a gentleman, and was peculiar to the slave. *Liberos homines per urbem modico magis par est gradu Ire, servile esse duco festinantem currere*. Plaut. Poen. iii 1 19. And Alexander Severus used to say *ingenuum currere nisi in certamine non debere*. Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 42. 254 : *tunicas sartae*, 150 151, and 171 172, note. 254–256 : *longa . . . vehunt*. *Nec in hunc usum pinus aut abies deferebatur longo vehicularum ordine, vicos intrementibus*, Sen. Epp. 90. It is not impossible that in this passage Domitian's taste for building may be glanced at. *Non, ut ante*, says Pliny in his Panegyric on Trajan, *immanium transvectione saxorum urbis tecta quatuntur*, c 51. And we are told by Spartian that Hadrian *Vehicula cum ingentibus sarcinis urbem ingredi prohibuit*, Hadr. 22, so that this part of the Satire, at any rate, must, one would think, have been written earlier. But see xi 204 note. 257 : *Quaeque trahi multo marmora fune vides*, Mart. v 22. *urbisque tumultu Portatur validis mille columna jugis*, Tibull. ii 6 25. *Nam* refers to *minantur*. *Saxa Ligustica*, "stone from the quarries of Liguria." All this timber and

stone was, of course, for building. *procubuit* and *fudit* are used as aerists, as very often in our author, *peperit* above, &c., &c. 258: *montem*, "any great mass." Here it is applied appropriately to a mass of stones; cf. Stat. Theb. i 145. 261: *domus*, as we should say, "the establishment," meaning the servants. *secura*, as *securos*, 196. They are preparing their master's bath and supper. 263: *Strigibus*. *I puer et strigiles Crispini ad balnea defer*, Pers. v 126. These bath-scrappers have been found in England, and at first very much puzzled some of the antiquaries. See Wright's "Roman, Celt, and Saxon." *gutto*, a flask for dropping oil over the body, made of horn, in some cases that of the rhinoceros, *magno cum rhinocerote lavari Qui solet*, vii 130; and Martial writes of a *guttus corneus*; *Gestavit modo fronte me juvencus Verum rhinocerota me putabis*, xiv 52. It was also used in sacrifices, and was sometimes made of wood, Plin. H.N. xvi 38. 264: *ille*, the master, not "the crushed slave," as Mr Escott has it. Juvenal again (see ii 150 sqq.) introduces Charon and Company, with great humour. *tetrum novicius horret Porthmea* resembles 175 176, *personae pallentis hiatum formidat rusticus infans*. We seem to see the miserable newcomer sitting on the bank and staring, in consternation, at the grim ferryman. 267: *trientem*, the third part of an as; Charon's fee, *μισθίς τῷ πορθμῷ τῆς ναυτιλίας*, as Lucian terms it. *Nec Charon ille, Ditis et pater tantus deus, quidquam gratuito facit et pauper moriens viaticum debet quaerere*, App. Met. vi 121.

268: The poet now goes back to the night, in his usual discursive way, and points out some dangers among the *mille pericula saevae urbis*, which are peculiar to that time. *quod spatium* depends on *respice* (as Heinrich says); so does *quanto*, etc.; so does *quoties*, if the reading *cadant* be adopted, and in that case *testa* may mean "a tile." But if we read *cadunt*, *testa* must mean a piece of broken earthenware, part of the fragments of the *vasa*. *Respice* is simply "look to," "observe," as at x 275, and elsewhere. 269: Pliny speaks of the height of the Roman houses, *altitudinem tectorum*, in a way which seems to imply that they were higher there than in other cities, H.N. iii 5. Those of Pompeii were mostly one-

storied. Augustus ordered that new buildings erected along the public ways should not be more than seventy feet high, according to Strabo. 272: *laedere* is used here as in Ov. Her. ix 88, *ut Tegeaeus aper . . . Incubet et vasto pondere laedat humum*. 273: The usual hour of dining with the Romans was from two to four o'clock. We must suppose that an entertainment is here meant. No doubt, however, there must have been great varieties in the hours of their meals, as with us. According to Horace, Maecenas seems to have dined at sunset. 275: *vigiles . . . fenestrae* as *pervigiles popinae*, viii 158; *pervigilique toro*, xv 43. See note to vi 657 658. 277: *patulas pelves*, i.e., their contents. 279, 280: like Achilles, mourning the loss of his friend Patroclus. This is a clear reference to Homer, Il. xxiv 10 sq. "Αλλος' ισι;
πλευρας κατακιμενος, άλλος δ' αύτος Τεττιος, άλλος δι πηγης,
στρι δ' ορθος άναστας. Juvenal was, in all probability, acquainted with the Greek language, and not merely with a few words of it; and when writing this passage, seems to have had in view the original lines of Homer, whom he often refers to. There is something very humorous in this comparison between the man who has *not* beaten any one, and the hero who has lost his friend. He longs to thump some innocent passer-by, as Achilles longed to kill Hector. 281: *ergo non aliter*, etc. Umbricius continues speaking. "Won't he be able to get to sleep, without having done something of this kind, you will be inclined to ask? No," &c. Some consider this line spurious, as Heinecke and Ribbeck; and Heinrich says *poterit* is inadmissible. I see no objection either to the line as a whole or to the word.

283, 284: *mero*, properly, "with unmixed wine." *cavet hunc quem coccina laena*, etc., i.e., the rich man. Horace says *Te bis Afro murice tinctae Vestiunt lanae, mihi parva rura*, etc., Od. ii 16 35. 286: *deducere* is to escort on my way, Hor. Sat. i 9 59; and *reducere* is used in the same sense by Mart. ii 74. The poor man has the moon and his rush-light for an escort, in the place of the *comites* and the *multum flammarum*, &c. Compare with this passage, Plaut. Amphit. i 1 2, *Qui me alter est audacior homo, aut qui me confidentior Juventutis mores qui sciām: qui hoc noctis solus ambulet?* and Trin. ii 2 32,

Istaec ego mihi semper habui aetati tegumentum meae . . . Ne noctu irem obambulatum, neu suum adimerem alteri. According to Suetonius, the Emperor Otho, in his youth, *ferebatur et vagari noctibus solitus, atque invalidum quemque obviorum vel potulentum corripere*, and then to toss them in a blanket, Otho, 2; and so Nero, 26, and Tac. Ann. xiii. 25; and Appuleius alludes to the same sort of thing, *cave regrediare coena maturius. Nam vesana factio nobilissimorum juvenum pacem publicam inficit*, etc., Met. ii. 32. These pastimes of young men have been reproduced in various ages and various countries. **287.** **288:** *cognosce*, Virg. Ecl. vi 25. *filum.* "A single specimen of an ancient wick has been accidentally preserved. It consists of combed, but not spun, flax, twisted into a sort of string." Dyer, "Ruins of Pompeii." *candela*, like our "dip," was used by the poor. *candelis pauperes, locupletes cereis, utuntur.* Festus ap. Paul, lib. iii. quoted by Janus Macrob. Sat. i. 7. **289:** *Ego vapulando, ille verberando, usque ambo defessi sumus*, Ter. Adelph. ii 2 5. **290:** *Stat contra*, "stands opposite to you;" and there is probably an allusion to the accuser confronting a defendant in a law court. *Stat contra, dicitque tibi tua pagina*, Fur es, Mart. i 54 12. See 298 note, and Juv. viii. 138. *Stat contra ratio*, Pers. v 96. **293:** *conche*, a kind of bean, which appears to have been boiled in the shell: a common dish among the poorer classes of Romans, Juv. xiv 131, and several times in Martial. *sectile porrum.* The *porrum*, or leek, was of two kinds, *sectile*, as here and in Mart. x 48, (elsewhere called *sectivum*, Juv. xiv 133, Mart. xiii 18. *porris fila resecta suis*, Mart. xi 52) and *capitatum*, Mart. xiii 19. The same author speaks of *utrumque porrum*, iii 47. It seems that the *sectivum* was sown more thickly, and cut as soon as it appeared above-ground; the *capitatum* allowed to grow to a head. **294:** *vervecis.* The sheep's head was another favourite dish among the poorer classes, Plaut. Capt. iv 2 40. The whole of this scene is very graphically described, and the "chaff" of the fast young Roman is intelligible in English, even when literally translated. **296:** "Where do you take up your stand, you beggar? What synagogue do you frequent, you Jew?" The *Proseucha* is said to mean "Jews' oratory,"—i.e., a Jewish

place of prayer, erected for the use of those towns where there was no regular building for worship. I have translated "synagogue" for convenience—that being the word by which we usually designate all Jewish places of worship, whether regular or irregular, whatever the nature of the distinction between them may be. *In qua te quaer. pros.* is like *quae prima pericula vito?* Virg. *AEn.* iii 367. *Quem sequimur?* Id. 88. see on Juv. iv 130. 298: *vadimonia faciunt*, at the end of the scene may correspond to *stat contra*, 290, note. Quintilian relates a story of a man threatening to strike an inferior, and then to sue him for hurting his hand.

302-304: You will meet with robbers in the streets, when all the houses and shops are shut up, and no help is to be had. I do not think burglars are meant, 305, note 303: *catenatae*. Becker, Gallus, Sc. iv, gives another sense to this. He supposes that it refers to bottles fastened with chains to prevent their being purloined, and quotes Mart. vii 61, *Nulla catenatis pila est praecincta lagenis*; but I do not think there is much in this. 305: *subitus*, "appearing suddenly," Valer. Flacc. iv 712; "swift," "springing upon you," *ex gr.*, darting upon you at a corner. I do not agree with Macleane in taking "subitus" to mean "that you start up from sleep, and find one of these men by your bed." Juvenal, with all his discursiveness, keeps to the streets in the latter part of this Satire. *grassator* here, as elsewhere, is "street-robber," "foot-pad." Tacit. has *veneno grassari*, Hist. iii 39. 306: "You will find Rome especially dangerous at those times when the emperors take particular pains to make the Pomptine Marshes, &c., safe." The force of the satire will be readily perceived. Various essays were made at different times to drain these marshes, which still continue in their old state, and reference is supposed to be made here to an undertaking of this kind by Trajan. I do not see, however, why these lines should necessarily refer to drainage-works at all. The reference is, more likely, to efforts made every now and then to put down brigandage in those parts. 308: Comp. Sall. Bell. Cat. 37. *Hi Romam, sicut in sentinam, confluxerant.* Sic, "as we see," Macleane. But *sic* goes with *tamquam*; *sic tamquam ad viraria*, "just exactly as they would go to a game preserve." *sic*

tamquam alta in dolia longus Deciderit serpens, bibit et vomit, vi 431 432. *Nam et Odyssea Latina est, sic tamquam aliquod opus Daedali*, Cicero, Brut. 18. 310: *maximus in vincis ferri modus*. The greater part of iron has gone to make chains. A very similar expression occurs at xiv 276 277. *plus hominum est jam In pelago*. The larger part of mankind is at sea. If this had been anywhere near the truth, it might indeed have been said in the words of Herodotus, ὡς ισι κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος ἀνύψειται. *ut timeas*, “so as to make one fear.” 314: The “one prison” was the Carcer Mamertinus, said to have been built by Ancus Martius, Livy, i 33, and which has recently (1872) been thoroughly explored; “a passage, eighty yards long, nearly two high and one wide, having been excavated,” according to a letter in the *Times*, dated March 18th. Mr. Long, Cic. Cat. ii 10, seems to imply that this was the only prison in Rome in Cicero’s time. But this is clearly out of the question. Cf. Burn. Rome, &c., p. 80. 316: Here the carriage comes up and the friends take leave of each other. Becker, Gall. sc. 4, takes this differently. He supposes the carriage to have been waiting outside the gate the whole time. In that case 10 must mean not “while his things are being packed up,” but “his things being all ready packed,” a sense it will hardly bear. B. founds his view on an edict of Claudius forbidding travellers to drive through the towns of Italy in a carriage. Suet. Claud. 25. But the edict does not seem to have been very strictly observed (cf. Friedl. vol. i, p. 41, Fr. ed.), and it does not follow, because carriages were not allowed in the streets of Rome, that what we might style a furniture-van was not permitted. How otherwise could furniture, &c., have been transported from one quarter to another? In any case U.’s vehicle could have come after him in the afternoon of a summer day. (Friedl. loc. cit. which would correspond with the indications here.) In the same strain, Martial concludes the tenth book of his epigrams, *Jam tumidus vocat magister, castigisque moras . . . vale libelle!* x 104 16, and Calpurnius at the end of his Fifth Eclogue has something still more like it, *Plura quidem monuisse velim: nam plura supersunt. Sed jam sera dies cadit*. Cf. note to vii 3. 317: Another reading is *innuet*, here and at viii 153,

and this might be better. *annuere* generally means “to nod assent.” **319**: *tuo Aquino*, perhaps “your favourite Aquinum.” So Persius has *meum mare*. Suetonius, *Liviae . . . Veientanum suum revisenti*, her villa at Veii, Galb. 1. From this line, the authors of some of the early lives of Juvenal, and a vast number of subsequent critics, have derived the idea that Juvenal was born at Aquinum. If we translate *tuo Aquino*, “your Aquinum,” leaving it uncertain why it was called “yours,” we shall be safe. Beyond this, all is mere conjecture. **320**: *Helvinam* occurs nowhere else; and why this name is given to Ceres, we do not know. From coins found at Aquino it would seem that the old town Aquinum was under the protection of Minerva. An engraving is given of one in Dict. Gr. and R. Geog. Inscriptions have also been discovered showing the existence of various temples there, the ruins of some of which are still to be seen, and doubtless there was one of Ceres. An inscription has been found, and is given by Mommsen, I. R. N. 4312. (*Cere*)*ri*, *sacrum (D. lu)nius Iuvenalis trib(unus) coh(ortis I) Delmatarum II (vir) quinq(uenalis) flamen Divi Vespasiani vorit dedicav(itque sua pecunia)*. Cf. ad xvi 1. It certainly seems probable that this refers to our poet, and that *ri* is to be filled up, so as to make *Cereri*. **321**: Some read *converte*, which is equivalent to *convelle*; so *averteretur* and *avelleretur* are readings in Petron. 110. *ni pudet illas*. The Satires are personified, after J.’s fashion. **322**: *gelidos in agros*. This will be readily understood by any one acquainted with the site of Aquinum. *caligatus*, “in stout country shoes,” “in my hob-nailed boots.” The *caliga*, or military boot, was thickly studded with nails, above 248, xvi 24. It was worn by the common soldiers, Suet. Vitell. 7. Hence it has been held to mean “armed at all points;” as Pliny says of the country gentlemen of his time, *Sunt enim ut in castris, sic in literis nostris, plures cultu pagano quos cinctos et armatos et quidem ardentissimo ingenio diligentius scrutatus invenies*, Epp. vii 25. But this is rather far-fetched; and the meaning probably is, simply, “I will put on my travelling boots, and set off to pay you a visit.” Umb. represents Juv. as able to *send* to Cumae after him. About this time Pliny asks his wife to write him two letters a day from Campania to Rome. But Pliny was a rich man.



INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE IV.

THE subject of this Satire, to which is prefixed a kind of introduction (1-36), which has not much to do with it, and which deals with the vices of the upstart court-favourite, Crispinus, is as follows:—

A turbot of unusual size has been caught in the nets of a fisherman at Ancona. The man determines to make a present of it to the Emperor, being quite sure that if he does not do so it will be seized upon for the imperial table. So off he starts for Alba, where Domitian holds his court. The Emperor is pleased with the fish and with the speech which the fisherman makes on presenting it; and finding that he has no dish large enough to contain it, summons his courtiers to a council. In they come, Pegasus, Crispus, Acilius, &c., and this gives the poet the opportunity of passing them in review and having a fling at each of them. At last, on the proposition of Montanus, it is decided that a special dish shall be forthwith made to contain the turbot. The council is dismissed and the scene closes.

And would, says Juvenal, that Domitian had never been guilty of anything worse than such absurd tomfooleries as these. The tyrant, after putting to death a number of the nobility, fell, as soon as he began to practise on the vulgar.

This Satire was probably published not long after the death of Domitian, when its subject would still retain some degree of freshness and interest. Line 103 would seem to show that it was written before Hadrian re-introduced the practice of wearing a beard.

Crispinus is represented as still wealthy, and we may believe, says Macleane, that his wealth did not stay with him long during the next reigns. But this by no means necessarily follows.

NOTES TO SATIRE IV.

1-36: There is a difficulty about this introductory part of the Satire, and some critics, such as Ribbeck, pronounce it spurious. This difficulty cannot be stated better than in the words of Mr Long. "The first thirty-six lines have no connection with the real subject of the Satire. The beginning of the prologue announces that Crispinus is again brought on the stage, and the writer declares his intention to summon him often to play his part. We expect that we are going to read a terrible invective against the fellow; but after a few general remarks about his villany, we are told that the present Satire will only treat of his smaller offences; and then comes the particular charge against him of buying a fish at an enormous price, and eating it himself. The mention of the fish is supposed to be a clever way of connecting the introduction with the real Satire, the subject of which is the great fish that was presented to Domitian. But what becomes of Crispinus after this flourish? He plays a most insignificant part in the scene before the Emperor, and says not a word about the big fish, though something would have been very much to the purpose from a man who was a buyer of fish, and in his early days cried them through the streets of Rome."

All this is true, and the first fifty-five lines of the eleventh Satire offer similar difficulties. Yet I am inclined to think that both these passages are Juvenal's work. They may have been written by him at a different time from the rest of the two satires, and subsequently fitted in by him to the places which they now respectively occupy, in accordance with a practice of his, of which I think several traces may be perceived, and which is distinctly referred to by the voice of the very old tradition which speaks in the supposed Life of Suetonius. Moreover Juvenal is exceedingly discursive. The mention of the mullet at 15 may have suggested to him Do-

mitian's turbot, and he may have thrown aside Crispinus, and gone on to his new subject. The former hypothesis I think the more probable. This is perhaps a draft introduction to an intended satire never completed. Plenty of similar examples of "dove-tailing" may be found in the moderns. The vice of the commentators is that they never apply the same laws to the ancients as to the moderns; *ex gr.*, bad grammar is to be found in Addison, but is never admitted in a classical author, and pages of useless disquisitions are often written.

1, 2: *iterum* properly means "a second time." *vocandus ad partes*. A metaphor from the stage. It does not necessarily mean, "whom I shall often have to summon to play his part." The meaning may be, "who ought often to be summoned by me," &c., as *conducendus magister*, who ought to be engaged as a professor, ii 114, and perhaps *ponenda* at iii 56. 3, 4: Another reading is *aeger solaque libidine fortis, Delicias viduae . . .* but ours is the reading of P. *deliciae* is here "a minion;" cf. Mart. viii 48, *Non quicunque capit saturatas murice vestes Nec nisi deliciis convenit iste color*, where the term "deliciae" is, by implication, bestowed on this very Crispinus, though in what precise sense is not clear. It does not seem impossible that Juvenal may have had this epigram in his mind, when using the epithet. Cf. Quint., Inst. i 2, *verba ne Alexandrinis quidem permittenda deliciis. deliciae*, when applied to a man, has almost always, in later writers, an indecent sense (Petron. 68, &c.), Stat. Silv. v 5, 67, and is so defined by Plutarch, Anton. 59, 'Οδὲ Σάρωντος ἦν τὸν Καίσαρος παργίων παιδάριον, ἀ δηλώνεια 'Ρωμαῖον καλεῖσθαι. So also *delicatus* and *delicata*. With the other reading, Heinrich renders *delicias* by "amours" and quotes Cic. pro Cael. 19, *Amores et hae deliciae quae vocantur*. This may also be the meaning in Catull. 6, *Flavi, delicias tuas Catullo, Ni sint illepidae atque inelegantes, Velles dicere nec tacere posses*, though I think the sense there is "your sweet-heart," and *dicere* is "to name." An intrigue with a widow or virgin would be properly *stuprum*, not *adulterium*; and the defenceless position of a single woman would, in the eyes of Crispinus, deprive such an amour of all charms. *Non ita me Di ament, auderet haec facere viduae mulieri Quas in me fecit*, Ter. Heaut. Tim. v 1 80.

He would not dare to act thus even towards an unprotected woman. And cf. Petron. 95. 4, 5: *jumenta*, which has survived in the French "jument," applied exclusively to mares, was more widely applied in Latin. At iii 316 317, it means mules, as at vii 180 181, where, as here, they are driven up and down in porticoes, which were covered walks or colonnades attached to the houses of the great. 6: *recletur*, sc., in his lectica or sella. 7: *aedes (vicinas foro)*—What does it matter, how large are his investments in town property!—which would, of course, be the most expensive of all property to buy. 8, 9: *corruptor . . . incestus*. A man who adds incest to seduction. It would be incest to lie with a vestal virgin. Vestal virgins who violated their vows of chastity were buried alive. The male was scourged to death. But, according to Suetonius, the peccadilloes of vestals were not very closely looked after in the reigns of Vespasian and Titus. Domitian re-introduced the old severity on the subject, and put a few of these women to death. We must suppose what is here related of Crispinus to be true; still, it is rather remarkable that so singular a fact as a favourite of the Emperor seducing a vestal, who was buried alive, while he himself got off scot-free, should not be mentioned elsewhere. Heinrich's idea that *subitura* here means "at the risk of," &c., cannot be entertained. From what the poet says, it seems to have been notorious that Crispin had "lately"—under Domitian it is to be presumed—lain with a vestal. If so, she would have been put to death, and it is safer to keep to the ordinary sense of the fut. participle. 12: *judex morum*. Domitian is alluded to, who assumed the censorship for life. For *caderent*, cf. vii 70, note. 13: *Titius* and *Seius* were the John Doe and Richard Roe of Roman legal proceedings. So *Caius* and *Caia* (in wedding ceremonies particularly), and we find *Caius Seius*, "John Jones." The sentiment here may have been copied by Macaulay in one of his essays (who immediately before quotes some lines from this Satire). "The vices of honest men are the virtues of Barère." And something not unlike it is to be found in Cicero, in Verrem, 5 44. 14: *dira et foedior*, I take to be the same as *dirior et foedior*, see ii 122

note. *quid agas . . . persona est?* is parenthetical, but it is not very happily introduced. 15, 16 : He bought the mullet (or sea-barbel) for six thousand sesterces, or six sestertia (a sestertium being a thousand sesterces) about £46 17. 6. The pounds in the mullet equalled the *sestertia* paid, that is to say it weighed six pounds. The Roman pound was eleven ounces avoirdupois. Pliny, H. N. ix 17 18, speaks of a mullet which was bought for eight thousand sesterces, and of another caught in the Red Sea, eighty pounds in weight, which is clearly fabulous. He says that a fish had come to cost what a cook used to cost, which is very like Juvenal's remark at 25-26. 18 : *artificis*. Ribbeck objects to this word, "that he should be called merely an *artifex*, without the immediate mention of the sphere in which his art is exercised, is, as far as I know, without precedent." Yet, I think it will stand very well, and that all this is hypercriticism. Macrobius uses *opifex* alone, precisely in this sense, i.e., of a man who wanted to get something out of Augustus, Saturn. ii 4, "the artist,"—as we should say. 21 : *clauso antro*, "in her closed chair." These seem to have been used only by wives of senators, at any rate in the time of Dion. Cass. Cf. 57. 15. *latis specularibus*. The *lapis specularis* was apparently what we call talc, Plin. H. N. xxi 14, xix 5, &c. Seneca says it only came into use in his day, Epp. 90. Cf. Id. de Prov. 4. The Romans were, however, acquainted with glass. 23 : *Apicius*, the well-known "bon-vivant," in the time of Tiberius. He is called *miser et frugi* ironically, in comparison with Crispinus. 24 : *succinctus*, girt about the loins. It means also sometimes thinly, poorly clad, almost naked, as in Mart. ii 46. for *succ.* nom. with *Crisp.* voc. cf. Zumpt, § 492. *papyro*. He was a native of Egypt, i 26 and note. 29 : *piscis*, namely "the barbel, or mullet," 16. *Provincia*, the French "la province." 27 : *sed*, "Yea, and moreover." Why land should be so much cheaper in Apulia, we do not know, In. ix 54 55, *praedia Appula* are spoken of as valuable. He must refer to some of the less fertile land there, which was very dry and arid, *siticulosa Appula*, Hor. *deserta Apuliae*, Sen. Epp. 87, and unhealthy, Varro R.R. i 6. It is possible, moreover, that at the time when this was

written a considerable number of estates in Apulia may have been in the market. Compare Plin. Epp. vi 19. 28 : sqq. This forms the transition (not a very violent one) to what follows. 29, 30 : Compare Mart. v 70 5. *O quanta est gula centies comesse.* One poet represents the glutton as devouring so much money, the other as belching it forth. In ix 49 8, Martial has the latter not very choice image, as well as Juvenal, *Ructat adhuc aprum callida Roma meum.* 31 : On the form of the gen. *Palati*, cf. Conington. Virg. Georg. iv 564. 32 : There was no such official as a *princeps equitum* (*Princeps eques-tris ordinis* occurs elsewhere, *ex. gr.*, Plin. Epp. i 14, for a distinguished knight). Here the meaning is that Crispinus has got to be one of the chiefs, or most important men, among the knights. The term is probably used sarcastically, a "knight of the first water." Compare xiii 138 139. *gemmaque princeps Sardonychum.* 33 : *municipes*, literally, "from the same municipium." So *municipes Jovis lagenas*, xiv 271. *fricta.* One of the numerous readings, or rather suggestions, here is *pacta.* In Mart. iii 66, *pactis* is found in some MSS. for *Pharii*, Egyptian, which is the right reading there. *Pharia* might be the word used by Juvenal. But I prefer *fracta*, as far more forcible than the other readings. *fricta* is the next best. 34 : *Calliope* is here addressed, on behalf of all the Muses, as in Virg. Aen. ix 525, *vos, O Calliope ! precor aspirete canenti*, and often elsewhere. *licet et considere*, "and you may sit down too." A person, who sings, usually stands up; but this is not a case for singing. So he tells the Muse she may sit down, and relate the story. It must be borne in mind that the whole of this Satire is pitched to a comic key. 36 : *puellas*, with a dash of satire; as Orpheus, Linus, and others were represented in mythology as sons of one or other of the Muses.

37 : *Semianimum.* On the scansion, cf. Zumpt, § 3. 38 : Domitian was bald, Suet. Domit. 18. "The bald Nero," from his resemblance in point of tyranny to that monster. Juvenal hated them both, as he often shows, and here couples them together. Domitian was also the last of the Flavian family, which was "founded" in our modern sense by Vespasian. Mr. Pretor and one of his reviewers (*Sat. Rev.* July

3, 1869) see in the lines of Persius, *nugaris, cum tibi calve*
Pinguis aqualiculus protenso sesquipedale exstet, "a hit at Nero's personal appearance." But if Nero himself was bald, Juvenal would never have called Domitian, "a bald edition of Nero," and we have no authority whatever for supposing that Nero was anything of the kind. On the contrary, Suetonius, who notes all these little points of personal appearance, says that his hair was inclining to yellow. *laceraret*, like a wild beast; cf. vi 625. *provinciae avaritia tyrannorum laceratae*. Capit. Max. et Balb. 17. 39: *sp. adm. rhombi*. This is like *jucunda senectus Crispi*, 81; *Montani venter*, 107; *Nestoris hornia*, vi 326; *sententia dia Catonis*, Hor. Sat. i 2 32; *odora canum vis*, Virg.; Βῆ Πράμοι, Hom.; *ingemuit corvi deceptus stupor*, Phaedr.; *amor Herculis*, Propert. i 13; *robur Herculeum*, Valer. Flacc. &c., &c. 40: *Ancon*, founded by refugees from Syracuse, escaping the tyranny of Dionysius (this is why Juvenal calls it *Dorica*); a town on the Adriatic, the modern Ancona. There was probably a temple of Venus there. *sustinet*, "holds up," may mean, as Macleane says, that this temple was on the lofty hill that surrounds the headland. 46: All the Emperors, from the time of Augustus, bore the title of *Pontifex Maximus*. See note to 72. There is perhaps an allusion to the "Pontifical dinners," Hor. Od. ii 14 28, Mart. xii 48. 49: *nudo*, probably, means here "helpless," as at v 163, vi 232. From the fact that *nudus* does sometimes mean "with only a tunic on" (ii 71, note), extraordinary efforts are made by commentators to give that sense to it in passages where such a sense is wholly inadmissible: as if to show that they were aware that it had another meaning besides the ordinary one of "naked." So, Mr. Escott says that the informers "would pounce down upon the fisherman just as he was, *with only his tunic on*." Just as if the toga was the usual attire of Roman fishermen when they had done their day's work. It is, moreover, possible that *nudus* may mean simply "naked," for we learn from a passage of Aurelius Victor de Caesar. 16, that the fishermen of Campania *plerumque nudi agunt*, where the context shows that "naked" is meant. 51, 52: Compare Mart. iv 30. *Baiano procul a lacu monemus Piscator fuge ne nocens recedas*, *Sacris piscibus hae natantur undae Qui norunt dominum man-*

umque lambunt Illam qua nihil est in urbe majus. 53 : A *Palfurius* is mentioned by Suet. Domit. 13. *Armillatus* is unknown. These men are generally taken to be informers. But the context would seem to show that they were rather jurists and writers on law, exaggerators of the imperial prerogative, or perhaps senators or others, usually retained to conduct suits relating to the privy purse. *Si quid credimus*, in our idiom, "If we are to believe Palfurius," &c. 56 : *ne pereat*, "lest it should be wasted, thrown away," vii 174 and 222, i 18 note. He would rather present it to the Emperor (by which he might gain something) than put it back into the sea.

56, 57 : *letif. Autum.* Cf. vi 517. *Plumbeus Anster, Autumnusque gravis Libitinae quaestus Acerbae*, Hor. Sat. ii 6 19, and see Epp. i 16 16, Od. iii 23 8. *imbrisero pallens Autumnus hiatu*, Stat. Silv. ii 1 217. 57 : *quartanam sperantibus*, "hoping that their fever will turn into a quartan," i.e., will begin to mend. *Sed cum in quartanam conversa vis est morbi, spero te, diligentia adhibita, etiam firmorem fore*, Cic. ad Tir. 11, quoted by Maclean. *Quartana neminem jugulat, sed si ex ea facta quotidiana est, in malis aeger est*, Celsus. Mart. x 77 3. 58, 59 : *stridebat, servabat, properat*. These changes of tense are exceedingly common in our author; he goes from past to present and back again, all through this Satire. The moderns do the same thing. 59 : *velut urgeat Auster*, "as if the south wind drove him on;" "as if the south wind were blowing," which it did in autumn, 56 57, note. It would necessarily be unfavourable to the fish being kept fresh, *Præsentes Austri coquite horum opsonia*, Hor. Sat. ii 2 41, and *leni fuit Austro captus* (of a boar). Whereas, says the poet, it was winter, and there was no necessity for hurrying. It may be remarked, that whether it was winter or summer, there would be a very strong necessity for a fisherman to hurry, who wished to take a fish all the way from Ancona to Alba; but the tone of the whole Satire is that of burlesque, and such a difficulty need not trouble us. 59, 60 : *Servabat* occurs in one line, and *servat* in the next, after a kind of trick of the poet's.

60 : *lacus*, Lago Albano. 61 : *Alba*, the favourite residence of Domitian, Mart. v i, Stat. Silv. v 2 168. The

scholiast says that when the Romans, under Tullus Hostilius, destroyed Alba, they would have removed the sacred things to Rome, but they were prevented by a great hail-storm. *Vestam minorem*, i.e., compared with the temple at Rome. 65: *Atriden* is the Emperor: Agamemnon was "the king of men." *Picens*, the fisherman, because Ancona was in Picenum. 66: *privatis majora focis*; cf. iii 203, note. *priv.* means here "for any but that of a sovereign." 67: *stomachum laxare saginis*, the same meaning as *ventrem saginare*. Jahn reads here *saginae* with the sense "relieve your stomach (by emetics), to make way for the fish." If there were MS. authority for this, it would be preferable. Ovell. compares the construction with Hor. Sat. ii 6 83. *ut tamen artum solveret hospitiis animum*. 69: *Ipse capi voluit*. I have often thought that this might be a parody on Martial, ix. 32 5. The epigram in question is on the subject of a goose which Velius Crispus had offered as a sacrifice to Mars on behalf of this same Emperor Domitian. *Dum comes Arctois haereret Caesaris armis Velius hanc Marti pro duce vovit avem*; and the poet adds quite seriously, *Ipse suas anser properavit laetus ad aras* (see note to Juv. xii 5), an expression to the full as ludicrous as the *ipse capi voluit* of the text. Martial has another expression recalling this one, on a bee enclosed in amber, *Credibile est ipsam sic voluisse mori*, iv 32. *ipse* for "of his own accord" is very common. Virg. Ecl. iv 21, &c. 72: *laudatur dis aequa potestas*, is addressed, in fulsome terms, as equal to the gods. So *dominum regemque, salutat*, viii 161. Here again, Juvenal may not impossibly have had in view the fulsome epigrams of Martial on the tyrant. *potestas* may here be used personally, "a potentate," as *tum sic jocata est tanti majestas ducis*, Phaedr. ii 5. "His majesty, the great Emperor." *pot.* was common in this sense at a later period, *ex. gr.*, Vopisc. Saturn. 9. Cf. Suet. Domit. 13, where this same tyrant styles himself *Dominus et Deus noster*. Statius calls the Emperor's palace *divina domus*, and the Emperor *deus*. *sed deerat . . . mensura*. It must have been like a turbot mentioned by Martial, *Quamvis lata gerat patella rhombum Rhombus latior est tamen patella*, xiii 81. 72: sqq. The Senators are called in to pronounce their opinion on the

turbot. Such an event may have taken place. Pliny the younger speaks of the time of Domitian as one *cum senatus aut ad otium summum, aut ad summum nefas vocaretur, et modo ludibrio, modo dolori retentus, numquam seria, tristia saepe censeret*, Epp. viii 14. *Pontificis maximi jure, seu potius immanilate tyranni reliquos Pontifices, non in regiam, sed in Albanam villam convocavit (Domitianus)*, Plin. Epp. iv 11. This was with regard to the Vestal Cornelia, above 10. 74: *miserae magnaque amicitiae*, v 14. Pliny has *amicitiae tam superiores quam minores*, friendships with those above, and those below you, Epp. vii 3. *insignes amicitiae*, the friendships of the great, Tac. Hist. i 10. *magna inimicitiae*, Id. ii. 53. *minores amici*. Plin. Epp. ii 6. We should, rather, reverse the terms; "a distinguished, and a very miserable, friendship." According to Trajan, though Domitian was a scoundrel, he had virtuous friends about him. Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 65. 75: *Liburno*, iii 240, note. 76: *Currite, jam sedit*. They might well be in a hurry, cf. 146, note. 77: *Pegasus* was an eminent jurist. He had lately been appointed *Praefectus Urbi*, which, says the poet, meant nothing more at this time than the Emperor's bailiff. Possibly there is a reminiscence of Cic. pro Planc. 25, where *villicus* is similarly used. *attonitae* expresses the condition of the city and the whole Roman world at that dreadful period, *semianimus*, 37. 80, 81: *Temporibus . . . Justitia*. He was not firm enough. He thought that justice, unarmed (divested of her terrors), was sufficient to cope with the abuses round him. 82: *Crispi jucunda senectus*, 39, note. Vibius Crispus, an orator often mentioned by Quintilian, who speaks of him as *vir ingenii jucundi et elegantis*, v 13 48. Tacitus speaks less favourably, Hist. ii 10. A well-known bon-mot of his is related by Suetonius, Domit. 3. 84: *clade et peste* refer to Domitian. Others render, wrongly, "in those fatal and accursed times." Plautus calls a parasite, jocularly, *clades calamitasque*, Capt. iv 4 3; and Nero is styled *pestis* in Sen. Oct. 240. Cicero applies the term to Verres. Verr. ii 1 38. *malum, fulmen, pernicies, labes, tempestas, lues, coenum*, are similarly used of persons. So *μίσος, ξανθός, &c.*, in Gr. 86: *violentius*, "more ticklish," Gifford; and this is very near the meaning. The Emperor's courtiers and friends felt

that their lives were in his hands, when talking to him on the most indifferent subjects, "the weather and the crops," as we should say; *a fortiori* if they had presumed to offer advice. So Crispus did not attempt it. I do not think there is any particular emphasis on *amici*; cf. 74 75. *pendebat*, "hung suspended in the balance." Pliny, in his panegyric on Trajan, describes the miserable fears of those who were brought into contact with Domitian, in terms which, *mutatis mutandis*, would apply to any tyrant (c. 48), and which throw a light on this Satire. *Observabantur foribus horror et minae, et par metus admissis et exclusis. Ad haec ipse occursu quoque visuque terribilis: superbia in fronte, ira in oculis, femineus pallor in corpore, in ore impudentia, multo rubore suffusa. Non adire quisquam, non alloqui audiebat, tenebras semper secretumque captantem; nec umquam ex solitudine sua prodeuntem, nisi ut solitudinem faceret*, a passage which exhibits the vigour of Tacitus and Juvenal. 87: *aut nimboso*. For the prosody, cf. Zumpt, § 841, note.

89: sqq. He was not the man to swim against the stream, or to make a martyr of himself by speaking his mind; so he reached a good old age, 93. *armis* is evidently armour for defence, and must not be rendered "weapons." 91: *libera proferre*. *ἰλιοῦ Βάρη*, Aeschyl. Pers. 92: *vitam impendere vero*. So *patriae impendere vitam*, Lucan ii 382. *vitam impendere famae*, Stat. Silv. v 1 63, where *rependere* is another reading. 94: *Acilius*. This is in all probability the father of M. Acilius Glabrio, the *juvenis* of the next line. The latter was consul with Trajan, A.D. 91, and afterwards put to death by Domitian, as related by Dio. lxvii 14; who also says he fought in the arena, though he represents him as having done so by order of the Emperor, not voluntarily. 96: *festinatis annis raptus*, Mart. vii 40, i.e., "prematurely." 96, 97: *olim . . . est*. This, Heinrich says, is a striking conjunction of a past adverb with the present tense. There is another instance in Juvenal, vi 346. *Audio quid veteres olim moneatis amici*. *Olim nescio quid sit otium quid quies*, Plin. Epp. viii 9. It is indeed extremely common, and that not merely in later writers, as it is found in Ovid, Met. xi 508 509, and often in Virgil (Aen. v 125, &c.), though mostly post-Aug. It seems to be used with the pres. as *jampridem*, i.e., as indicat-

ing something that has been in past time and still continues to be. *Quondam* with the pres. is similarly used. We might say, “long since, an old nobleman is a prodigy.” *rarissimares in aula senectus*. Sen. de Ir. ii 33. 97: *prodigo . . . senectus*. This is, of course, a poetical exaggeration, after the manner of all satirists. Compare vi 594, xiv 220. 97: *fraterculus gigantis*. The Giants were fabled to be the sons of the earth, *γῆνετος*. Obscure men, who had no ancestry to speak of, were also called sons of the earth, *progenies terrae*, Pers. vi 57; *terrae filius*, Ib. 59. Cic. ad Div. vii 9. We speak of “mushroom nobility,” in the same sense. The poet says, “I would rather be a diminutive member of the giant family, and like them have no pedigree, than be a nobleman in a time so dangerous to men of mark.” 100: *Figebat*, i 23. *Numidas*. This is a substantive used adjectively as *Numidas leones*, Ov. A. Am. ii 183. *cineri Sychaeo*, Virg. Aen. iv 552, &c. “Pliny, 8 83, denies that there are bears in Africa: but they are mentioned by Herodotus and Solinus: Virg., too, is followed by Martial and Juvenal, the latter, perhaps, an independent authority. They do not appear to have been found there by modern travellers.” Coningt. Virg. Aen. v 38. Juvenal, however, is anything but an authority on natural history. See note on xiv 77. Dion Cass., 67 14, speaks of Domitian forcing nobles to fight with wild beasts. 101: *intelligat, miratur*. For the subjunctive in one clause, and the indicative in another, Heinrich refers to iii 296, *Ede ubi consistas, in qua te quaero prosecuta*; but the construction there is not quite the same, cf. 130 note. Juvenal says, it is all very well for the patricians to try to curry favour by fighting in the arena, &c.; but every one is up to their tricks nowadays. We are no longer in the period when Brutus could impose on Tarquinius Superbus, *barbato regi*, a king of the old school. Roman beards had been usually shaved since B.C. 300. Not long after the date of this Satire, the fashion of wearing the beard was reintroduced by Hadrian. 103: for *imponere* in this sense, Mart. iii 57, iv 10 10. 104: *quamvis ignobilis*, “though he was not a nobleman,” and consequently was not exposed to so great a risk, 97. 105: *Rubrius*. This may be Rubrius Gallus, who deserted Nero

in his contest with Otho. There was also another Rubrius Gallus, consul suffectus in A.D. 101. But nothing certain is known either of the man or of his offence. The explanations of the scholiasts look like their usual concoctions from the text. 106 : *satiram scribente cinaedo* is by some referred to Nero, who, besides epic poems, viii 221, seems to have written satires, Suet. Domit. i, and cf. Ner. 52. 107 : *Montanus*. This may be Curtius Montanus, exiled on the charge of libelling Nero. He is often mentioned by Tacitus, and two letters of the younger Pliny are written to him. 108 : *amomum* was an Assyrian shrub, described by Pliny, H. N. xii 13. Perfumes were generally supposed by the poets to come from Assyria. *Canos odorati capillos Dum licet, Assyriaque nardo Potamus uncti*, Hor. Od. ii 11 15. *Assyrios odores*, Tibull. i 3 7. *matutino* means simply that he perfumed himself in the morning, instead of waiting till dinner time. 109 : Corpses were smeared with unguent. Persius speaks of one *crassis lutatus anomis*, iii 104. Compare the above-quoted passage from Tibullus, *Nec soror, Assyrios cineri quae dedat odores*. Aromatics of various kinds were placed on the funeral pile. For passages illustrating this custom, cf. Becker's Gallus, Excursus 12, "Interment of the Dead." 110 : *Pompeius*. Nothing is known of the man. He is said "to cut people's throats with a whisper," because he was the cause of their being put to death, iii 37 and 116, vi 414 415. Prof. Jebb renders neatly, "to slit windpipes with the fine edge of slander." Ad Soph. Aj. 148.

112 : Mart. has an ep. on Fuscus, vi 76. He commanded an expedition against the Dacians, in which he perished. Hence he is represented as "preserving his entrails for the vultures of Dacia." Two different senses have been assigned to the words *marmorea meditatus proelia villa*: (1) that he studied the art of war in his marble villa; (2) "that the degrading life of a Roman senator of his day did not suit him. He longed for active service," Macleane. I think the first is the meaning; it is far more forcible and agrees better with the satirical tone of the preceding words, *qui vulturibus servabat viscera Dacis*. Nor need we be very much embarrassed by the fact that this same Fuscus had really been a

distinguished man in the field, many years before this, when he was *vigens aetate*, Tac. Hist. ii 86. Our author is not always remarkable for historical accuracy. This man, in later life, had become a courtier of Domitian, and so the poet sneers at him; it is only a sneer, no worse. The same remark may be applied to Montanus 107, of whom all that we know otherwise than from this Satire (and xi 34, if he be again mentioned there) is very favourable. *meditatur proelia* occurs at vii 128, of a statue with a lance in its hand.

113: *Veiento* (iii 185 note) and *Catullus* are coupled together by Pliny, Epp. iv 22, where the latter is spoken of as *luminibus orbatus*. He was blind. It has, however, been held by some commentators that he could not have been entirely deprived of sight, otherwise his praise of the turbot, 119 sqq., could not have pleased the tyrant. But those who indulge in this sort of criticism, seem to me not to apprehend the manner of Juvenal, especially the whole tone of this Satire. He often introduces his most powerful effects, regardless of minutiae, and in so doing, assumes no more than the usual poetical license. Supposing the whole of this scene to have had a foundation in fact, the details are, of course, invented by Juvenal, who was not there to witness them, and who, knowing Catullus to have been blind, put him in to heighten the effect. 114: This may either mean that he was in the habit of burning with love for girls he could not see, or it may refer to a particular case. 116: *dirusque a ponte satelles*. The commentators all take this to mean, "formerly a common beggar at the bridges, now a dreaded satellite of the tyrant." The bridges seem to have been favourite stations for mendicants, v 8 and xiv. 134, where *aliquis de ponte* is used for "a beggar." *In sublicium pontem me transfer, et inter egentes abjice,* "suppose me reduced to beggary." Sen. de Vit. Beat. 25. Mart. x 5 3, xii. 32 25. But if Catullus Messallinus, who had filled high offices in the reigns of Vespasian and Titus, really had been a beggar originally, the two following lines, 117 118, which represent him as worthy of being one, would lose a great deal of their force. I think *satelles a ponte* means "a satellite, such as one might pick up at one of the bridges," "a beggarly flatterer." (Mr. Escott has "a beggar, fresh

from the bridges," apparently ignorant of the fact that Catullus had been a Roman governor, and most probably a consul, many years before this.) 117 : The Arician hill swarmed with beggars, Mart. ii 19 3, xii 32 10. 118 : *blanda*, "sweet," satirically. This is better than to translate "fulsome." *jactare basia* here, and in Phaedr. v 7, and Mart. i 4 (according to one reading) is the same as *jacere oscula*, Tacit. Hist. i 36. *a facie jactare manus*, Juv. iii, "to blow kisses." *non qualia in lupanari solent basiola jactari*, App. Met. x 225. 121 : *Cilicis*. Cilician gladiators were common. *ictus*; cf. vi 261, *monstratos perferat ictus*. It means here the cuts and thrusts of the gladiator, i.e., his swordmanship. *pegma*, a stage-machine of great height, which was raised and lowered at pleasure, Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Pegma." They were used to give effect to scenes where considerable elevation was required, *ex gr.*, where Daedalus was shown attempting to fly, or Hercules was carried up to heaven on the back of a bull, Mart. Sp. 8 and 16. *pegmata per se surgentia*, Sen. Epp. 88, seeming to rise spontaneously.

123 : sqq. Veiento now cuts in, and is not to be beaten, even when he has heard a blind man praising the appearance of a turbot. He bursts into divination. Some mighty triumph is at hand for the Roman arms. Arviragus (some chief is meant) will tumble out of his chariot. The fish is so extraordinary, it must be a foreign one! He sees stakes in the place of fins! Comp. Ov. Met. viii. 285 286. In short, he is inspired (*fanaticus*, &c.), and gives vent to all sorts of absurdities. All this is broad farce, and so is what follows, and the whole is pitched to the key of *ipse capi voluit*. Of this Veiento, Pliny, Epp. iv 22, says, *Dixi omnia cum hominem nominavi*. What Juv. means by *sudes*, here (or perhaps rather, what he supposes Veiento to mean), can only be conjectured; for the word which means "stakes" is not, as far as I know, applied anywhere else to a part of a fish. Some take it as "fins." I have rendered "bristles." In fact, it is impossible to say what it means, or whether it is intended to have a definite meaning—the whole tone being that of burlesque. 126 : Perhaps imitated from Virg. Aen. xii 470. 128 : *Hoc defuit unum*. Satirical, as *Id vero deerat ut cum Pallante aucto-*

ritate publica ageretur. Plin. Epp. viii 6. 129 : *Fabricio.* This is Veiento, whose name was Fabricius Veiento. Horace makes his epicure say, *Piscibus atque avibus quae natura et foret aetas Ante meum nulli patuit quaesita palatum*, Sat. ii 4 45. Here the meaning is, If Fabricius Veiento could only have indicated the age and the country of the fish, his information about it, and about what it portended, would have been quite complete. Petronius has a turn of expression very similar to this, *Intestinas meas norerat, tantumque non dixerat quid pridie coenaveram*, 76. 130 : *censes, conciditur*, the present, as in *In qua te quaero prosequa?* iii 296. *Quem sequimur?* Virg. Aen. iii 88. *quae prima pericula vito?* Id. 367, Catull. i 1, &c. 131 : *testa alta pareatur.* *deerat pisci patinae mensura*, 72, and this is why they are summoned. 132 : *orbem*, "the circumference of the fish." 133 : *Prometheus*, i.e., "a potter." 135 : *castra*, Heinrich takes as equivalent to "palace." I think it is designedly put into the speaker's mouth to signify "camp." It implies a compliment to Domitian, in his capacity of general, of which we know that he was very vain. He is called *dux magnus* below, 145.

136 : sqq. These orgies of Nero, protracted into midnight, are related by Sueton, Ner. 27. *al. fam.* is the second appetite caused by emetics, or it may be by wine. *pulmo* must be taken as "the inside" generally. 140 : *Circeii* in Campania was famed for its oysters. *Murice Baiano melior Lucrina peloris Ostrea Circaeis, Miseno oriuntur echini*, Hor. Sat. ii 4 32, and Pliny says, *neque dulciora, neque teneriora esse illa compertum est*, H. V. xxii 6. 141 : *non me Lucrina juverint conchylia Magisve rhombus aut scari*, Hor. Epod. 2 49. *Concha Lucrini delicatior stagni*, Mart. v 37, and often elsewhere. From these passages it would appear that Lucrine and Circcean oysters were in about equal favour. The fondness of the Romans for oysters is well known, cf. vi 302. The authorities on the subject are summed up in an article of the *Edinburgh Review* for 1867. *Rutupiae* is Richborough in Kent, where Roman remains are still to be seen. 145 : *Consilio* or *concilio*. These words are constantly interchanged. Either may stand here. *Conc.* will mean simply "the council, assembly." *Cons.* perhaps with an implied reference to the

Senate, “*Le grand conseil.*” **146**: *attonitos et festinare coactos*. This very closely resembles an expression in Pliny’s Panegyr. c. 48, who tells us that those who were summoned to Domitian’s councils, went there *attoniti, ut periculum capitum adituri tarditate.* **147**: *Catti* and *Sicambri*, German tribes, cf. Dict. G. and R. Geog. Domitian led an army against the former. **148**: *diversis*, I have translated “opposite,” which I think is the meaning here. Compare vii 156, *quae veniant diversa parte sagittae*, and note. **149**: *anxia* applied to a letter, cf. vi 657 note. When a general transmitted news of a victory to the Senate, a bay-leaf was stuck in the letter. *missa est a Caesare laurus*, Pers. vi 43. *Literae a Posthumio laureatae sequuntur*, Liv. v 28. Plin. H. N. xv 30. *Ipse lauream gestae prospere rei ad fratrem misit*, Tac. Hist. iii 77; Ov. Am. i 11 25; Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 58 and note of Salmas. The scholiast adds that when news of a defeat was conveyed, a feather was inserted; but there is no authority that I know of for this, unless it has been inferred from Stat. Silv. v 192 93. Probably the expression means merely “on hurried wing.”

150: sqq. A similar change from a jocular tone to one of deep earnestness occurs at vi 335. *Atque utinam ritus veteres et publica saltem His intacta malis agerentur sacra.* There is an emphasis on *tota*. Would, says the poet, that he had devoted the *whole* of his time to such tom-foolery only. The names of some of these distinguished men whom this contemptible tyrant put to death, on frivolous pretexts, are given by Suetonius, Domit. 10. **153**: *cerdonibus*, low journeymen, riff-raff (according to Forc. a name given to slaves, cf. Pers. iv 51, Coningt.), used as a synonym for the vulgar, as *sutor*, iii 294. Martial joins the two, *sutor cerdo*, iii 59 and iii 16, *Das gladiatores sutorum regule cerdo*. The meaning is, that though Domitian might murder the nobles with impunity, he fell as soon as he began to be an object of apprehension to the vulgar. Some of these obscure people whom he put to death are mentioned by Suetonius; an actor, a gladiator, scribes, &c. This line has often been applied to Robespierre, and correctly, if we accept him as the representative of the system of government known as the Reign of Terror.

154: *Lamiarum.* Horace has two odes addressed to his friend Aelius Lamia, of this family, i 26 and iii 17. He is also mentioned in Od. i 36 7, and Epp. i 14 6. The name is again mentioned by Juvenal, vi 385. *Quaedam de numero Lamiarum, ac nominis alti,* as synonymous for "highly born." *Lamiae genus decorum,* Tac. Ann. vi 27. Here *Lamiarum* is evidently opposed to *cerdonibus.* In point of fact, however, the family did not rise into importance till the end of the Republic, its first distinguished member having been L. Aelius Lamia, the contemporary of Cicero. Domitian took away from the Aelius Lamia of his day his wife, married her, and afterwards put Lamia to death, Suet. Dom. 1 and 10. Only one Lamia is meant, viii 11 note.

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE V.

THE poet addressing a parasite whom he calls Trebius, tells him that it would be far more respectable to go a-begging than to continue to toady his patron for the sake of an occasional dinner. And what sort of a dinner? This furnishes the author with the opportunity of giving a fancy picture of one of these repasts, which lasts to the end of the Satire. The poor hanger-on gets execrable wine, while the host revels in the choicest vintages: Virro (the host) drinks out of jewelled and embossed cups, Trebius from glass of the commonest kind, very often cracked into the bargain: the former has a costly young slave, from Asia, for his cup-bearer, the latter is served by an ugly blackamoor. So, one eats bread of the choicest wheat-flour, the other has stuff given him which he can't get his teeth through. For Virro, a noble lobster, and the finest olive-oil, and a mullet, and a lamprey, and choice poultry, and truffles: for Trebius, a common crab, oil that stinks of the lamp, an eel like a snake, a frost-bitten pike, and the like. And all the while, he does not venture to open his mouth, or address the great man, who, of course, never asks him to drink, or takes the slightest notice of him.

How different—asks the poet in a parenthesis—all this would be, if Trebius suddenly came into a large fortune. Then, what attention on the part of the host! “Help Trebius! serve Trebius! do, my dear friend, take some stuffing.” And suppose Trebius were childless into the bargain, why he would become master of the house!

Resuming his account of the meal, Juvenal says the rich man and his rich friends eat mushrooms and the finest fruit: the humble dependants get doubtful-looking funguses and apples such as are given to monkeys. And quite right too,

concludes the poet ; Virro does all this on purpose to annoy you. Where is there a more amusing farce to be seen than disappointed gluttony ? " If you consent to stand this treatment, you deserve it; if you go on in this way, toadying Virro for the sake of dinners, at which you are purposely insulted, we shall see you before long on the stage, in the character of pantaloon, to be kicked and thumped and knocked about for the delight of the audience ! "

There is nothing in this Satire to enable us to determine the date. If line 36 be an allusion to the fate of Senecio, condemned to death by Domitian for writing a panegyric on Helvidius Priscus (which is more than doubtful), the date would be after A.D. 95.

NOTES TO SATIRE V.

1 : sqq. Juvenal, as we often have occasion to remark, was, even more than most satirists, given to exaggeration, but it is possible that the following account of a supper may not be so very highly coloured as we should at first sight be inclined to suppose. It would be difficult to conceive an example of worse breeding on the part of guests than that laughingly given by Horace in the eighth Satire of his second book. And the terms in which he invites his friend to bring some of his *umbrae* or "hangers-on" with him, Epp. i 5 28 29, show clearly the sort of attention they would be likely to receive at his hands. And see Plin. Epp. ii 6, which should be read in conjunction with this Satire; as also Lucian, "De Mercede Conductis," in which many passages of description quite as strong as anything of Juvenal's are to be found. Cf. also Luc. Chronosol. 17. Epp. Saturn. 22 38. *propositi* is here "course of life," as in ix 20, *flexisse videris propositum*, and Hor. Sat. ii 7 6. *Pars hominum vitiis gaudet constanter et urget Propositum. Vita sine proposito* (without a settled purpose) *vaga est*, Sen. Epp. 95. The aim, *σκοτεινός*, of your life. *ut* may depend on the whole of the first line, or on *eadem est mens*. 2 : *quadra*. The meaning is disputed; some take it for "table;" and Forc., under this sense, quotes Varro de Ling Lat. iv 25, *Mensam escarium cibillam appellabant, ea erat quadrata, ut etiam nunc in castris est*. But this only means that the tables had four sides, as is usually the case with ours. *Quadra* is generally used by Juvenal's contemporary Martial as a bit or portion of a cake (*placenta*), which, like cross-buns with us, appears to have been divided into four equal parts. (*impressis aequo discrimine quadris. Moret. 47.*) *Nec te liba jurant, nec sectae quadra placontae, iii 77 3; sed plurima quadra de placenta, ix 91 18.* In another place he has

quadra casei, xii 32 18. Seneca has the word in the same sense as I have given to it here, *Quis beneficium dixit quadram panis aut stipem aeris abjecti?* De Ben. iv 29. “A crumb of bread.” The meaning in this place is “fragments from another man’s table.” 3: *Sarmentus*, a parasite in Augustus’s time, and a favourite of that Emperor, according to Plutarch; see note to last Satire 3 4. There is a parasite *Sarmentus* mentioned by Horace in Sat. i 5, but who seems to have been a different man. This one is, in all probability, the one mentioned by Quintilian, vi 3 58, who relates one of his jokes, a very poor one. 3, 4: *iniquas mensas*, because of the unequal treatment the guests received. 4: *Galba* was another buffoon in the time of Augustus and Maecenas. Martial, i 42, speaks of his wit. Quintilian, in vi 3, has given some specimens. 6: *frugalius*, “more easily satisfied;” compare Sen. Epp. 60. *quantulum est enim quod naturae datur? parvo illa dimittitur. Non fames nobis ventris nostri magno constat, sed ambitio;* a sentiment which he constantly repeats, *Parvo fames constat . . . natura minimum petit . . . Panem et aquam natura desiderat, &c.* Ulysses, in Homer, looks on the matter from a different point of view, Οὐ γάρ τι στρυγεῖν ἵπται γαστρί πολλοὶ ἀλλοὶ Επλέονται. 7: *puta* is used exactly as at ii 153, where see note. 8: *crepido* is either a raised footpath, or, as Heinrich takes it, the steps of a house or public building. *pons* occurred at iv 116, where see note. 9, 10: *tantine . . . fames* is, according to Heinrich, “a pitiable gloss.” If the passages pronounced by Heinrich, Ribbeck, and other critics, to be spurious were omitted from the text, the task of the translator and commentator would be greatly facilitated, as there would be scarcely anything left to translate or comment upon. “Is the *insolence* of a dinner worth so much?” MacL. Is it worth while to accept a dinner only to be insulted!—the “insult” (where one would expect “compliment”) of such a dinner. Is such an outrageous meal worth the price you are called upon to pay for it? *si sumptibus parcas, quibus aliquanto rectius tua continentia quam aliena contumelia consulas*, Plin. Epp. ii 6, where *contumelia* has the same sense, and refers to the same practice, as *injuria*, here. *Invidia excelsos, inopes injuria vexat*, Mart. Supposit. 10. The genitive after *injuria* (as in

the case of other words signifying action or passion), generally refers to the cause of the injury, &c., and is not what is called the objective genitive. Thus *Helvetiorum injuria*, Caes., means "the misdoings of the Helvetii." *aliorum injuria*, "the injuries done by others." But this is not always so, *ex. gr.*, in Plin. Epp. iii 4, *injuria* *hos**pitum* means, "the wrongs done to friends." In Ov. Met. iii 267, *thalami injuria nostri* is "the affront offered to my chamber." It is indeed only from the context that the sense can sometimes be gathered. The hackneyed *spretæ injuria formæ* of Virg. might be taken either way: but it is better to take it "the affront put on me by the slight offered to my beauty." 10: *cum possit*. There are a variety of readings here, *possis cum*, *cum Pol sit*, &c. The reading in the text appears to be the correct one. *Fames* is the subject to *possit*, and Famine may very well be said to shiver, &c., just as *pietas* is said *algere* at i 74. *silia mendicat*, iii 16. *acta cupiunt*, ii 136. *pelvis contentae sunt*, iii 277, &c., cf. vi 657 note. *lectica petit*, i 121. *sportula laudat*, xiii 32. *scrutante macello*, v 89. *potestas credit*, iv 71.

12: *Primo loco*, no "secondly" following, cf. Plin. Epp. i 23. *fige*. ix 94, "Don't forget this. Be careful to remember at starting." Is there an emphasis on *jussus*? 13: *solidam*, "in a lump." *officiorum*, ii 132 note. 14: *imputat*, "puts down to your credit." Fr. "met en ligne de compte;" compare, Mart. xii 48, *Non Albana mihi sit commissatio tanti Nec Capitolinae pontificumque dapes Imputet ipse Deus nectar mihi fiet acetum*, where the sentiment somewhat resembles that of this passage. *imputare* does not appear to have been used in this sense in the Augustan age, but Juvenal and his contemporaries, Pliny, Tacitus, Seneca, Martial, &c., constantly use it so. *rex*. i 136, note. 16: *adhibere*. *Nec multos adhibet*. ii 135. 17: *Tertia . . . lecto*, "to fill up a spare place," as we say. The host gives him the third or lowest cushion on a couch which he has not yet filled up, *vacuo*, i 136. On the general disposition of places at a Roman *coena*, cf. Hor. Sat. 8 23, sqq. 19: *Trebius* is the parasite. 20: *ligulas dimittere*. There is some uncertainty as to the meaning of this. I now think that the sense is "to leave the lappets of the shoe unfastened," cf. Rich. Dict. Ant. ad voc. The lap-

pet was shaped like a tongue. 22, 23 : *sideribus dubiis* expressed the early dawn. The other period mentioned would be still earlier. Bootes, the herdsman, ἀρκτοφύλαξ, "the bear-ward," is the constellation near the Great Bear, called Charles' Wain, or the Waggon. *Arctophylax vulgo qui dicitur esse Bootes, Quod quasi temone adjunctam prae se quatit Arctum*, in Cic. N. D. ii 42. *placidi numquid te pigra Bootae plaustra vehunt?* Mart. viii 21 3. Catullus calls him *tardus*, 66 67; and Propertius *serus*, iii 35.

24 : *recens lana tonsa sucida appellata est*, Varro, R. R. ii 11 6, and he adds that the derivation is from *sudor*. This wool, steeped in oil, wine, or vinegar, was used in medical applications, Plin. H. N. xxix 2. The poet says this wine was so bad that even wool would have rejected it. 25 : The bad wine will quickly get into the people's heads, and instead of peaceful guests, you will see them as frantic as the priests of Cybele. 26 : We must suppose this fight to go on at the further end of the dining-room, and not in the immediate vicinity of the host and his more distinguished guests, the *reliqui Virrones*, 149, cf. 17, note. For *jurgia pro-ludunt*, compare xv 51 52. *jurgia prima sonare Incipiunt. non ultra jurgium processum est*, Tac. Ann. ii. 79.

30, 31 : *Ipse capillato*, etc. The host himself drinks wine bottled under some consul with long hair. This is, of course, a metaphorical expression, signifying very old, choice wine, for some centuries had elapsed since the consuls wore beards and long hair; cf. iv. 103. *barbato regi. sub rege Numa condita vina bibis*. Mart. iii 62 2, and xiii 111; and in the same way, he addresses an old woman, *Consule te Bruto quid juras Lesbia natam?* *Mentiris, nata es Lesbia rege Numa*, x 39. *Orbus es et locuples et Bruto consule natus*, xi 44. *difundere* is the word for transferring the wines from the *dolium*, or large vessel, into the *amphora*, or *lagena*, in which the choicer ones were kept for use. These were of earthenware, and, in later times, of glass, so that the process would answer nearly to our "bottling." *Vina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa*, Hor. Epp. i 54. *defundere*, on the other hand, is the word for drawing off for the table, and corresponds to our "uncorking." The date of the vintage was marked on the outside of the am-

phora by the names of the consuls then in office. See Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Vinum." Horace speaks of *cadum Martis memorem duelli*, Od. iii 14 18, wine of the Social War period, which would then have been seventy, and, at the date of this Satire, something like a hundred and eighty years old. The practice of a host setting down inferior wine to his guest, while reserving a choicer vintage for himself, would not, of course, be tolerated in our day, but seems to have been common in that of Juvenal. Pliny the younger describes a dinner where the host *vinum etiam parrulis lagunculis in tria genera descripserat, non ut potestas eligendi, sed ne jus esset recusandi. Et aliud sibi et nobis, aliud minoribus amicis (nam gradatim amicos habet) aliud suis nostrisque libertis*, Epp. ii 6; and the elder Pliny praises Cato as *dissimilis istis qui etiam convivis alia quam sibimet ipsis ministrant, aut, procedente coena subjiciunt*. H. N. xiv 13. Cf. Martial, *Nos bibimus vitro, tu myrrha Pontice, quare?* *Prodat perspicuus ne dua vina calix*, iv 86, and x 49, and Lucian de Merced. Cond. 26. *τῶν ἀλλων ἡδιστον τε καὶ παλαιότατον οἶνον τινάτων, μόνος σὺ τονηρόν τινα καὶ παχὺ πίνεις.* According to Stocker, a somewhat analogous custom prevailed till lately among the clergy. "No longer back than the latter part of the last century, the claret, at an episcopal visitation, did not go down to the curates' end of the table, but was pushed across from the lowest rector on the one side to the opposite incumbent." 32: *Cardiacus morbus* was an affection of the stomach, for which, Pliny says, the only remedy was wine. *Bibere et sudare vita cardiaci est*, Sen. Epp. 15. "He would not even send a small glass of it to a friend, to save his life;" cf. Hor. Sat. ii 3 161. 34: The Setine, a Campanian wine, which, in the days of Juvenal, had come to be the favourite vintage, the fashion having probably been set by Augustus, Plin. H. N. xiv 6. Elsewhere he praises it highly, as promoting digestion. Martial repeatedly praises Setine, vi 86, x 13, and 36, &c. Compare Juv. x 27. Sezza, the modern place, makes wine which is, I believe, deemed very inferior. *titulum*, alluded to in note 30–31, is the French "étiquette." Petronius, 34, describes one of these *tituli* as being written on parchment, and hung round the neck of the bottle; and this is probably correct. He gives the "titulus,"

Falernum Optimianum annorum centum, but this is burlesque. **35**: *fuligine* is smoke, not "mould," as Madan, Evans, and others, translate. In order to produce an artificial mellowness, "it was customary to erect *apothecae* (wine-bins) in such a manner as to be exposed to the hot air and smoke of the bath-furnaces, Colum. i 6; and hence the name *fumaria* applied to such apartments, and the phrases *fumosum, fumum bibere, fuligine testae*, in reference to the wine, Tibull. ii 1 27, Hor. Od. iii 8 11, Juv. v 35," Dict. G. and R. Ant. See particularly Plin. H. N. xxiii 1, and cf. Martial, *Cocta fumis musta Massilianis*, iii 82 23; *Improba Massiliae quid fumaria cogunt*, x 36; *fumosae lagenae*, xii 83; *fumea vina*, xiii 123. *cadum sordentem fumo*, Stat. Silv. iv 8 39, &c. **36**: P. Thrasea Paetus, put to death by Nero, and his son-in-law, Helvidius Priscus, by Vespasian. Thrasea is coupled with Cato by Martial, i 9. **38**: *Heliadum*, formed from the tears of the Heliades for their brother Phaeton, which were fabled to have been turned into amber. Martial frequently alludes to this, iv 32 and 59, vi 15, ix 14. *inequales berylo as stellatus iaspide*, Virg. Aen. iv 261. "rough with the beryl." *ung. acut.* Mart. viii 33. **42**: These words are either spoken ironically by the poet, "Excuse the precaution: there is a splendid jasper in the cup, you see," or they are the words of the impertinent slave who guards the cup. **44-46**: This surely cannot mean, as Maclean understands, that "the stones are the identical jewels Aeneas had on." The words *ut multi* would alone disprove this. Moreover, though the Romans of this period were fond of relics (we had Otho's mirror in Sat. ii; we shall have a ring of Berenice's in Sat. vi, and vessels out of which Philip of Macedon had drunk in Sat. xii; at a later time Zenobia, according to Trebellius Pollio, used Cleopatra's cups, &c.), jewels that had belonged to Aeneas would be too ridiculous. To be sure we have relics of about the same age in Petron. 52 (if the MSS. are right); and so again Hor. Sat. ii 3 20, cf. Mart. viii 6, vii 19: but in all these cases the things are only named to be ridiculed, and the point of the Satire is quite different here. The sense is, "For Virro, like many others, transfers from his fingers to his drinking-cups jewels (*i.e.*, jaspers), which Aeneas used to wear in the hilt of his

sword" (comp. Mart. xiv 109). The contrast is between *pocula* and *vaginae fronte*. "The transfer of jewels from arms to cups is indicative of a similar transfer of affections." The reference is to Virgil, whom Juvenal often has in his eye. Aen. iv 261, quoted above. Aeneas was preferred by Dido to her other suitors, Iarbas included, Aen. iv 36. *zelotypus*, "jealous," was not used by the Augustan writers, but appears to have become naturalised by Juvenal's time, as it is frequently used by him, and by his contemporaries Quintilian, Petronius, and Martial. Many of these words were doubtless originally written in Greek letters, and were gradually Latinised. *juvenis* does not always mean "a youth" in our sense of the word, but I think it does here, the tone being comic, "young Aeneas." 46 : Vatinius of Beneventum, originally a cobbler, but afterwards a favourite of Nero, gave his name to a drinking-cup, for what reason it is now impossible to say, perhaps from the length of his nose, which made it look like a spout. It is mentioned by Martial xiv 96, *Vibia sutoris calicem monumenta Vatini Accipe sed nasus longior ille fuit*. From which, and the present passage, it would appear that it had one or more nozzles or spouts. For an account of this Vatinius, see Tac. Ann. xv 34. 48 : *poscentem sulfura vitro*, "that wanted sulphur to mend it," according to the scholiast. But the better meaning is that it was time for it to be exchanged, as broken-glass, for sulphur-matches. This is evident from Martial, *Transtiburinus ambulator Qui pallentia sulfurata fractis Permutat vitreis*, i 42. *Circulatrix quae sulfurato nolit empli ramento Vatiniorum procneata fractorum*, x 3, where this identical kind of common drinking-vessel is described as being so exchanged. *Permutant vitreis gregale sulfur*, Stat. Silv. i 6 74. Heinrich is of the opinion of the scholiast, and quotes Plin. Epp. viii 20, where sulphur is spoken of as *vis qua fracta solidantur*. He argues that *rupta* is the word used here, not *fracta*, i.e., "cracked glass that would be mended, not broken glass that would be sold." But a comparison of the passages which he himself cites from Pliny and from Martial will show that there is nothing in this point. The former speaks of things *fracta* being mended : the latter of their being sold. No doubt, as with us, valuable glass objects would be mended (if the Romans

knew of any process to effect this), and cheap glass, like that which Juvenal mentions here, would be disposed of. It should be remarked that Pliny, in the passage quoted, does not speak of glass as being one among the objects which sulphur was used to mend. And the elder Pliny in a long article on sulphur, in which he expressly mentions sulphur-matches, and describes a great many purposes to which the article in question is put, never alludes to this one, H. N. xxxv 15.

50 : Nero is said to have invented (or rather introduced among the Romans) the practice of cooling water by means of snow. This was done by putting the water into a glass receptacle and surrounding it with the snow, much after the fashion in which ice is used by us, for a similar purpose, Plin. H. N. xxxi 3. The water was first boiled down (*decocta* or *cocita*), that a greater degree of coldness might subsequently be attained, though whether this result would be accomplished has been disputed by modern experimentalists. *item calefactam magis refrigerari*, Plin. l. c. The water, thus cooled, was used for mixing with wine; *vino nivem diluit*, Senec. Epp. 78, and de Ira, ii 25, in winter as well as summer, *non aestate tantum, sed et media hieme nivem bibunt*, Sen. Nat. Quaest. iv 13, from which it appears also that they had regular "ice-houses," as we term them. Snow is still used for cooling wine, &c., in Southern Italy, from the fact of its being more easily obtainable than ice. But the Romans were sometimes not contented with snow, but wanted ice; *nec nive contenti sunt, sed glaciem, velut certior illi ex solido rigor sit exquirunt*, Seneca, in the chapter last cited. Martial has constant allusions to this practice of cooling wines, ii 85, v 64, vi 86, &c.—The use of snow, &c., had been, of course, known long before Nero's time, Xen. Mem. ii 1 30. Athen. Deipn. iii 97, mentions ice-houses made by Alexander, resembling ours—deep trenches, with cut branches at the top to keep off the sun. 51 : The wine was not circulated round the table, as with us: this appears from Mart. iv 86, and other passages. 52, 53 : *Gaetulus cursor*, "a black running-footman;" but these fellows waited at table too, it seems. *Cursorem sexta tibi Rufe remisimus hora Carmina quem madidum nostra tulisse reor*, Mart. iii 100, where he would seem to be equivalent to a kind of *commissionnaire*,

Libys eques, Mart. x 13. 54: It was deemed unlucky to meet anything black at night. *ut illum videt canem nigrum villosum sane, quem non velis tibi in tenebris occurrere*, Senec. Lud. de morte Cl. Caes. 55: The Latin Way, as a place of burial, has been mentioned at i 171. 56: The cup-bearers of the wealthy Romans were chosen for their good looks, as Ganymede by Jupiter, *Puer quis ex aula capillis Ad cyathum statuetur undis?* Hor. Od. i 29 7 8, and so noble lads among the Greeks, Hom. Odyss. i 149, &c. *flos*, “the flower” as we say. *flos* and *flosculus* are very common in this sense. *O qui flosculus es Juventiorum*, Catull. 24 1; and alone, as in Ter. Eun. ii 3. *Anni? Anni? Sedecim. Flos ipse.* 58: *Frivola*, “goods and chattels,” as at iii 198. There is probably an emphasis on *frivola*. “All the possessions—mere ‘chattels’ as they were—of the Roman kings:” where some word signifying “fortunes” might have been expected. This would be more emphasised in recitation. 60: *nescire* must often be translated by “to be unable.” *mentiri nescio*, iii 41. *nesciat irasci*, x 360, xiii 240, xiv 231. 62: *ille* must be the black Ganymede, to whom alone the humble guest can look for drink. *nescit . . . supercilio* is thrown in parenthetically. 63: *calidae gelidaeque minister*. Both hot and cold water were set down at the banquets of the Romans. *Frigida non desit non deerit calda petenti*, Mart. xiv 105. *Jam defecisset portantes calda ministros Si non potares Sextiliane merum*, i 12. 66: This line and 51 are pronounced against by Heinrich and Ribbeck, for no other reason than that they do not like them. Seneca speaks of *ostiarii difficultatem, nomenclatoris superbiam, cubicularii supercilium*. As to the extraordinary number of slaves kept by wealthy men under the Empire, cf. Becker’s “Gallus,” Exc. iii sc. 1. Still greater numbers than those mentioned there are, however, alluded to by some writers. Thus Athenaeus speaks of many Romans owning ten thousand, twenty thousand, and even more, slaves a-piece, and that not for profit, but for show—a statement hardly credible, Deipn. vi 104. *major domus* is used by Pers. as *maxima domus* here, for “a great house,” iii 92.

67: sqq. We now come to the food, and, as in the case of the wine, that served to the poorer guests is of an inferior

quality. *Sibi* (to himself, the host) *optima quaedam, ceteris vilia et minuta ponebat*, Plin. Epp. ii 6. According to Suetonius, Julius Caesar threw a baker into prison who had served him with better bread than his guests. 68 : *vix fractum*, "a piece of bread which could scarcely be broken off the loaf"—so hard it was. 69 : Horace, Epp. ii 1 123, speaks of *pane secundo*, bread of an inferior quality, which the scholiast interprets as *non silagineo*, i.e., not made of the finer sort of grain; cf. Mart. ix 3. The wealthy Romans had their bread baked at home. 71 : *dextram cohibere momento*, "Hands off!" 72 : *salva tibi sit constantiae fama*. Plin. Epp. ix 1. 73 : *ponere* for *deponere*, as often; "to lay down," i.e., the piece of bread you have taken. Not "to lay *it* (i.e., the bread-basket) down," as commonly translated. 74 : *vis tu?* "will you?" exactly in our sense; "will you keep quiet?" &c., a common form of expression. *Visne tu te, Servi, cohibere et meminisse hominem te esse natum?* Cic. Epist. iv 5. Other readings are *vix tu*, with no sense, and *vin' tu*, with no authority and no necessity. *consuetis canistris*, the man was in the habit of dining there every two months or so, 15 16, and knew the basket he was expected to take his bread from. 75 : *impleri*, "fill your belly," ironically.

76 : sqq. Mart. frequently complains of having to visit his patron at an unseasonable hour. *Si quid nostra tuis adicit vexatio rebus, Mane, vel e media nocte, togatus ero, Stridentesque feram flatus Aquilonis iniqui Et patiar nimbos, excipiamque nives*, x 82, and again *At mihi quem cogis medios abrumpere somnos Et malutinum ferre patique lutum, Quid petitur rupta cum pes vagus exit aluta Et subitus crassae decidit imber aquae?* xii 26, compare i 109. *Exitus hic operis vani togulaeque madentis Vix tanti Paulum mane videre fuit*, v 22. 78 : *Esquilias*. Martial, in another passage, similar to those quoted above, complains that he had to go all the way to the Esquiline Hill to salute his patron, v 22. The Esquiline under the Empire had come to be a fashionable place of residence, Juv. iii 71, Macaenas having been the first to improve it, Hor. Sat. i 8 14. Propertius calls it *aquosas Esquilias*, iv 8 1, from its exposed situation. 79 : *paenula*, "a thick cloak used by the Romans in travelling, as a protection against the cold and rain, instead

of the toga," Dict. G. and R. Ant. It was probably worn over the toga in such a case as this, and taken off before presenting one's self to a patron, like our cloaks and great-coats. 80: So Horace speaks of *angustoque vagos pisces urgere catino*, Sat. ii 4 77. *distendere lancem* is, of course, poetical. It seems to stretch the dish, from its great size, Juv. vi 426. 81: *squilla* is probably here a lobster, or large crayfish: more commonly, it signifies a prawn or shrimp as in Hor. Sat. ii 8 42. Pliny speaks of *squillae*, as not being considered delicacies, *Mare non sane preciosis piscibus abundat; soleas tamen et squillas optimas suggerit*, Epp. ii 17. 81, 82: *quibus asparagis*. The elder Pliny says that asparagus were brought to such a state of cultivation, that their heads weighed three pounds each, H. N. xix 4. 84: *dimidio constrictus cammarus ovo*, a "common crab, hemmed in (i.e., garnished) with half an egg (sliced up)." The Romans used to garnish some of their dishes in this way, as we do salads, *Divisis cybium latebit ovis*, Mart. v 78. *Secta coronabunt rutilatos ora lacertos*, x 48, xi 52. Some give to *constrictus* the sense of "shrunk up," i.e., from having been so long out of the sea; but the above is better. *cammarus* was some sort of crab, or crayfish, of small value, and is especially mentioned as a poor man's dish by Martial, *Immodici tibi flava tegunt chrysandeta mulli Concolor in nostra cammare lance rubes*, ii 43. 85: *feralis coena* must allude to the *novemdialia*, or *feriae novemdiales*, a sacrifice and funeral repast, on the ninth day after the burial. It consisted of simple things, such as eggs, bread, salt, &c., and was placed on the grave; see for a fuller account, Becker's "Gallus," Ex cursus to scene xii, who distinguishes it from the *silernium*, or meal taken near the grave, and the *coena funeris*, which took place in the house of the deceased. 86: The Romans used oil, as we use melted butter; and such is still, I believe, the practice in Italy. That of Venafrum in Campania was celebrated, Plin. H. N. xv 2. The oil of Italy is now esteemed inferior to that of France. 88: sqq. "You get an inferior kind of oil from Africa." Plin., H. N. xv 2, expressly mentions Africa as not favourable to the production of the olive. Probably it was too hot. *Micipsarum*. Only one person of this name is known (cf. viii 11 note). King of Numidia, and

eldest son of Masinissa, though Diodorus says he had a son of the same name. *Bocchar* is mentioned by Livy as a King of the Mauri, xxix 30. The meaning is that this Numidian or African oil which the poor guest gets, smells so bad that a Roman would not like to go into the same bath with a native who anointed himself with it; and that even serpents would fly from it. Line 91 is omitted in some MSS.

93: *Tauromenitanae rupes*, the rocks of Taormina, on the eastern coast of Sicily. 94: *defecit nostrum mare, dum gula saevit, &c.* There is something very like this in Petron. 119. *Ingeniosa gula est . . . jam Phasidos unda orbata est aribus.* There are no more pheasants left. *vos quorum profunda et insatiabilis gula, hinc maria scrutatur, hinc terras*, says Seneca, Epp. 89. 95: *macello*. Martial has *conturbator macellus*, x 96, the market-place which brings people to bankruptcy. Statius calls fishermen *scrutatores profundi*. Silv. iii 1 84. 96: The *Tyrrhenum mare* is the part of the Mediterranean adjoining the west coast of Italy. 97: *provincia*, cf. iv 26. 98: *Laenas* is any fortune-hunter. Compare vi 40. *Aurelia* is a rich lady who will sell the fish again, from so many dainties of the kind being sent to her that she has no other way of disposing of them, or from avarice, iii 187. *plena domus libis venalibus*, note. There is an *Aurelia* mentioned by Pliny, Epp. ii 20. 100: *si quando continet imber*. Virg. Georg. i 259. 101: *in carcere*, “in the cave of the winds.” 104: *Tiberinus*; probably the *Tiberinus lupus* or pike is meant, Hor. Sat. ii 2 31. Lucil. fragm. iv 5, *pontes Tiberinu' duo intercaptu' et ipse*. The force of this does not seem to have been understood. I take the meaning to be “you will be served with a coarse river-pike, spotted with frost-bites, or even with a specimen drawn from the mud, and fattened in the sewers (the very born-slave of the banks, &c.)” The fish, when in good condition, seems to have been esteemed a delicacy. Macrob. Sat. iii 16 17. *aut* is not required for *et*, with this sense. Mr. Simcox, who is always trying to extract a far-fetched meaning from his author, gives to *et ipse* the sense of “a home-born slave *like you!*” It is needless to say there is nothing in this. 105: Juvenal here represents the Cloaca Maxima as penetrating under the Suburra, one of the most

populous parts of the town, iii 5; and this fact was verified by excavations made in 1743, Dict. G. and R. Geog. "Roma."

109: *Seneca*, the celebrated philosopher, the preceptor of Nero. Juvenal seems to have had a great regard for him, viii 212. *Piso* was put to death with him for conspiring against Nero. Martial couples the two, *Pisones Senecasque Memmiosque Et Crispes mihi redde*, xii 36. *Cotta* may be *Aurelius Cotta*, who lived in Nero's time, and who is praised again at vii 95. Perhaps Juvenal, in his youth, may have experienced the kindness of some of these men, cf. Sen. de Vit. Beat. 24. 110: *olim*, these patrons, though of recent date, followed the good old tradition. 112: *civiliter*, literally, "as becomes a citizen." Hence "with courtesy, in a genial way." *juveni civile ingenium, mira comitas*, Tac. Ann. i 33 (of Germanicus). He was genial. *liberaliter* is used in much the same sense. 112, 113: *esto . . . esto*, compare, for the repetition, ii 135 136, vi 166 167 279 280.

114: *Anseris jecur*. A great delicacy with the Romans, as "*foie gras*" with us. *Aspice quam tumeat magno jecur anserem majus*, Mart. xiii 58. *satur anseris extis*, Pers. vi 71, Hor. Sat. ii 8 88. In Mart. iii 82, the mention of it is followed, as here, by that of a boar. Compare Ov. Fast. i 453, where it is mentioned as being offered up to Io. *ipsum*, 30 107, is throughout "the host." So in Horace, *Nomentanus erat super ipsum, Porcius infra*, Sat. ii 8 23. 115: *altilis*, from *alo*, "anything fattened." It is often used of fowls, and probably means here a fat capon. It is spoken of by Horace as a delicacy, *Nec somnum plebis laudo, satur altilium*, Epp. i 7 35. *fumat* goes with *jecur* and *altilis*, as well as *aper*. We have two examples of the common use of the singular, in this way, close at hand, 109 and 124. The story of Meleager and the Calydonian boar-hunt is told by Homer, Il. ix, and Ovid, Metam. viii. Meleager seems to have been a very common subject of representation by artists, and every one would understand the poet's allusion. So also Hercules, holding Antaeus from the ground, iii 88, and below v 125. 116: *tubera*, "truffles," though highly prized by the Romans, seem to have been reckoned inferior to mushrooms, *Tubera boletis poma secunda sumus*, Mart. xiii 50. Pliny, H. N. xix 3, says that frequent

thunder-storms produce truffles, and that they are best in spring-time; which explains this passage. *facient coenas majores*, “increase the bills of fare”—give the epicures more to eat. 118, 119: *Allidius* (any epicure) says that Libya, the great granary of Rome, may keep her corn to herself, and unyoke her oxen, provided she sends truffles. The African truffles were the most esteemed, Plin. H. N. xix 3.

120: *structor*, properly, the person who arranged the dishes on the table (from *struo*), here a carver, as in xi 136, and Mart. x 48 15. *Et quae non egeant ferro structoris ofellae.* The carvers at great houses were accustomed, it seems, to use gesticulations, and the practice is ridiculed by Petronius, 36, Sen. Epp. 47. *magistri* is his teacher, or professor, for there was a regular school of the art, xi 137, where, very likely, rich men sent their slaves to be instructed, as now-a-days cooks are sent to take lessons of great French *chefs*. 123, 124: *nec minimo . . . secetur.* This may mean (1) it makes a great difference with what sort of gesticulation hares and fowls are cut up, or (2) there is a great difference between the sort of gesticulation proper to cutting up hares and fowls respectively. The great *art* required in a carver is often alluded to by Seneca, Epp. 47. de Brev. Vit. 12, de Vit. Beat. 17. 125: The story of Cacus, who stole Hercules' cows, and was killed by him, is told by Virgil, Aen. viii 192, sqq. 127: *tamquam*, etc., “As if you were a Roman citizen, and entitled to three names!” Ironical. *propinare* is, properly, to taste of the cup one's self, and then hand it round to the others. *Quod nulli calicem tuum propinas Humane facis Herme, non superbe*, Mart. ii 15, and cf. xii 74; iii 82 25, and 31, &c. 129: *usque adeo*; cf. iii 84, vi 182, “so utterly.” 131: The *laena*, or woollen cloak, was an upper garment, which seems to have been worn sometimes at the dinner-table, Pers. i 32 (but this was one of a finer sort), but most commonly, no doubt, was worn over the *toga* in going and coming, in cold weather or at night, Juv. iii 283. Martial, viii 59 10, speaks of a thievish guest going off with two, which looks as if they were laid aside or hung up, in-doors, like our great-coats. *pertusa laena* might be a descriptive ablative, “men with a torn cloak:” but the order is against this.

132: sqq. Compare Mart. i 104, *Si dederint Superi decies mihi millia centum . . . Qualiter O vivam quam large, quamque beate. quadringenta*, a knight's fee, i 106. 133: Heinrich, following some of the older commentators, takes *homuncio* as a nominative, "some god-like little man," as opposed to *Deus*, and sees an allusion to Ter. Eun. iii 5 42. *At quem Deum? . . . ego homuncio hoc non fecerim?* Others, as Ruperti, take it as a vocative. If that be so, there is, perhaps, an allusion to Eur. Cy. 316. ἐλεύθερος, ἀνθεσίσκει, τοῖς οὐρανοῖς θίει. *homuncio*, "my little man," used playfully, is not at all uncommon, ex. gr., *Quin tu quicunque es, homuncio lucernam, ait, actulum mihi expedit?* Appul. Met. ix 181. This, like many other passages in Juvenal, is not a case for dogmatising, as Maclean does. "It is the nominative," he says. However, an editor is expected to arrive at a conclusion, and cannot abandon a passage with the old formula, "*Judicet lector.*" I have given the former rendering, as being the one which certainly gives more life to the passage. The Gods and the Fates are coupled together in this way, *medicus Divis fatusque potentior*, Auson Epigr. 73. *Deus et melior natura.* Ov. Met. i 21. 135: *vis . . . ilibus.* Do let me give you a bit of the stuffing, as we should say; and this is pretty nearly the meaning which Celsus gives to the word. *Pulpamenta quae inter coxam et ventrem posita sunt*, Achaintre ad loc. 137: *vos estis fratres.* So Martial says of a man fond of jewels, *Hos amplectitur, hos deosculatur, Hos vocat fratres*, viii 81 6. "Coins and bank-notes, you are really his brothers, not the man who owns them," as we should say. *Dominus* may be either the "Lord of your Lord," or "a Lord yourself." I prefer the former. 138, 139: Another allusion to Virgil, *Si quis mihi partulus aula Luderet Aeneas*, Aen. iv 328. 140: Horace makes Tiresias say to Ulysses, *fama civem causaque priorem Sperne, domi si natus erit secundare conjux*, Sat. ii. 5 31; and Pliny, speaking of his friend Asinius Rufus, says, *Functus est optimi civis officio, quod secunditate uxoris large frui voluit, eo seculo quo plerisque etiam singulos filios orbitatis praemia graves faciunt*, Epp. iv 15. It is needless to say that, as this line involves a maxim, it has been held to be a monkish gloss. It is supposed to have slipped in from the margin: a kind

of note, in verse, by the transcriber. Perhaps this is a convenient place for observing that there is no writer of antiquity with regard to whom commentators should be more careful not to exclude these *sententiae* as glosses. They are entirely in the poet's manner: and the proof of this is that they constantly occur, either as parts of a line, or covering more than one line, so that they cannot be torn from the context. Compare *rara in tenui facundia panno*, vii 145. *spoliatis arma supersunt*, viii 124, viii 73 74, ix 18 19, xiii 75 76, x 96 97, x. 7 8, &c. The meaning is that if the rich man's wife is barren, she will make his friends very pleasant to him, for they will hope to get a legacy by their attentions, or, that the sterility of a wife will make him a pleasant friend. The epithet *carus* is in favour of the latter rendering, *Carus erit Verri*, &c., iii 53. *Migale*. There are various readings of the name, but whichever of them we adopt, I think the man's wife is meant. She is introduced as *Procula* in iii 203. The meaning I take to be, "But under present circumstances, your wife may have as many children as she likes. Virro won't be distressed at the fact, as he knows he has nothing to expect from you, and will be rather amused with them than otherwise." This Macleane says is "certainly wrong." He takes the meaning to be:—"Now that you are rich—as we have supposed—even if you have children, he will fondle the babies and see what he can do that way. The man being rich is still worth looking after." In that case we should read *tunc* in preference to *nunc*, and the words *parasitus infans* seem to me to be fatal to this rendering. If this be merely a pursuing of the idea that the man has become worth a knight's fee, 132, and is himself a great man, he and his children would surely cease to be "parasites," and would come to table on terms of equality with the host. Mr. Prior makes *ipse* refer to *patris*. "The father will be delighted whenever his own *parasite* child comes to his own table, and will order him to receive a little bib-money," &c. Mr. Prior says "it is strange that this should have been overlooked!" 143: *viridem thoraca*. According to Lipsius *Viridis erat color testium puerilis et femininus*, Elect. Lib. i c. 13. Compare Statius, Silv. ii i 133, of

the boy Glaucias, *nunc herbas imitante sinu*. **144**: *minimas nuces*, probably filberts. They and other kinds of nuts served as playthings, as well as edibles, for children, with the Romans, as with us. (*Augustus*,) *animi laxandi causa . . . nucibus ludebat cum pueris minutis, quos facie et garrulitate undique amabiles conquirebat*, Sueton. Aug. 83. *Neu nuces pueris neget*. Catull. 61 128, Pers. i 10, Phaeadr. iii 14, &c. **145**: *parasitus infans* has the same comic turn as *rusticus infans*, iii 176. *parasitaster parrulus*, Ter. Ad. v 2 4. **146** : sqq. Martial's epigram iii 60 offers so strong a resemblance to parts of this Satire, that I quote it entire, *Cum vocor ad coenam, non jam venalis ut ante, Cur mihi non eadem quae tibi coena datur? Ostrea tu sumis stagno saturata Lucrino, Sugitur inciso mytilus ore mihi. Sunt tibi boleti, fungos ego sumo suillos, Res tibi cum rhombo est, at mihi cum sparulo. Cereus immodicis turtur te clunibus implet Ponitur in cavea mortua pica mihi. Cur sine te coeno, cum tecum Pontice coenem? Sportula quod non est, proposit; edamus idem*, and cf. Mart. iii 82 18, sqq. **147**: *sed qualem*, "aye, and such a one as," a not uncommon use of *sed*. *vindictam tuae parenti, sed plenam tribue*, App. Met. iv 85. *Omnium eundem exitum esse, sed et idem domicilium*, Petron. 111.

147, 148 : This seems to be an allusion to Mart. i 21, *Boletum, qualem Claudius edit, edas*. *Boletus*, which we translate for convenience "mushroom," was, as is well known, a great favourite with the Romans, Mart. iii 45, xiii 50, &c. (see note to 116 of this Satire). Here the meaning is that the mushrooms served to Virro were very fine ones, such as Claudius ate, before that last one which was fatal to him. He was very fond of such things, as Suetonius tells us, *avidissimus talium*, and his wife Agrippina poisoned him by means of one, see vi 620. **149** : *reliquis Virronibus*, the other grandees. **150** : *quorum . . . odore*, "so fine, that their odour alone is a feast;"—and the only share of them that Trebius was likely to get. Compare with this line (and 162 below) Mart. i 93 9. *Paseris et nigrae solo nidore culinae*. **151** : The gardens of Alcinous, King of Phaeacia, were described by Homer as filled with perpetual fruits. **152** : *Sororibus Afris*, the Hesperides. Martial has *Aut Corcyraci sunt haec de frondibus horti Aut haec Massyli poma draconis erant*, alluding to the dragon

of the Hesperides, xiii 37. 153: This must mean a monkey, and so one of the old scholiasts takes it. The *agger* is probably the rampart of Servius Tullius, cf. viii 43, xvi 26; but it may mean any public way, cf. Quint. xii 10. A monkey dressed up in regimentals and sitting on a goat, munching an apple in the intervals of throwing a dart, &c., for the amusement of the soldiers and idlers, is a spectacle quite familiar to us, as it was to the Romans. The other interpretation, that not a monkey but a recruit is meant, and that he learns his exercise from a drill-sergeant, called *capella* contemptuously, is not worth much, to my mind. As for the objection of Mr. Mayor and Mr. Simcox (who adopt the latter version) that “*ab equo jaculari* is not found in Latin,” and that it should be *ex capella*, and not *a capella*, to support the sense I have given, compare Propert. iii 11 13; *Ausa ferox ab equo quondam oppugnare sagittis Maeotis Danarum Penthesilea rates.* and Ovid, *Telaque ab averso quae jacit hostis equo*, A. A. i 210. So *ἀπ' ἵππῳ* in Greek.

157: *Hoc agit ut doleas*, compare Mart. iv 68. *Ut coenem invitor, Sexte, an ut invideam?* 163: sqq. The meaning is “Could such a fellow be stood a second time by any one who is at least free-born?” The *Bulla*, of Etruscan origin, a circular boss or ornament worn round their necks, only by free-born children, *ingenui*, cf. xiv 4 5. *heres bullatus*. The rich would have this made of gold, *Mox ubi bulla rudi demissa est aurea collo, Matris et ante Deos libera sumpta toga*, Propert. iv 1 131 132; the poorer classes, as appears from this passage (and a schol. of the so-called Asconius on Cic. Verr. Act ii 1 c. 58), of leather, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. “Bulla,” where an engraving of one is given. 168: *minor altilis* some take to mean “lessened, by Virro and the other grandes having helped themselves.” 169: *stricto*, drawn like a sword. 170: *qui te sic utitur*, “who makes this use of you.” You are as good as a play to him. 171: sqq. “You will some day, if you go on as you do now, be playing pantaloon in a pantomime, and be thumped by the clown,” as we should say. Parasites, with their heads shaved, appear to have been introduced into farces for the purpose of being knocked about. Hence they are called *duri capitones*, Plaut. Pers. i 2 7; and compare Capt. i 1 20, 21, *Et hic quidem, hercle, nisi qui colaphos perpeti Potis parasitus, frangique aulas* (i.q. *ollas*) *in caput*.

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE VI.

THIS is a satire upon women, and must, one would think, be a work of the poet's mature age. He addresses a person whom he calls Ursidius Postumus, and whom he supposes to be on the point of marriage. He endeavours to dissuade him from the project by showing him what the Roman women really are. Chastity has long since left the earth. Postumus had better take a rope and hang himself than plunge into matrimony. No woman is content with a single lover nowadays. They intrigue with actors, yes, and worse than that. Look at Hippia, the Senator's wife, running away with a gladiator! Look at Messalina, an Empress, frequenting a public brothel by night! True, some women get on well with their husbands; but that is because they have brought them a large dowry, or because of their beauty. As soon as that has begun to fade, good-bye to their lord's affection; and while it lasts, the wife profits by it to play the tyrant in all sorts of ways. Even granting there were such a thing as a perfect woman, she would bore the man, to whom she is united, to death—so puffed up would she be with her own great qualities. Then how sickening it is to see some of these women affect the Greek style in everything. The better husband you are likely to prove, the worse for you. You will simply become her slave. When she is tired of ordering you about, she will get a divorce, and marry some one else. Then your mother-in-law! No domestic happiness for you as long as she is above ground. She will put her daughter up to all sorts of tricks, and instigate her to plunder and deceive you.

Women mix themselves up in law-suits nowadays. Some practise the gladiatorial art in private. Of course, you will

be subject to curtain lectures. Your wife will cry out that you are deceiving her, while she herself has lovers without your knowing it. Even if you were undeceived, and caught her in the act, she would brazen it out. She would swear she had a right to do as she liked.

All these evils come from the growth of luxury, and our intercourse with foreign nations. The Roman matrons of old were a very different sort of people; but now look at the nocturnal orgies indulged in by ladies of high rank!

After a graphic picture of one of these orgies, the poet goes on to say that it is useless to attempt to set a guard over the women, for they always manage to elude or bribe their guardians. Then follow a series of highly finished sketches: of the lady who lives above her means, and hires a retinue, &c., to cut a dash in public; the lady who delights in eunuchs; the lady who dotes on musicians and actors; the brazen-faced gossip and busybody, who flies all over the city collecting, retailing, and inventing news; the imperious she-tyrant who bullies her poor neighbours, frequents the baths with a great retinue of attendants, and keeps her guests waiting supper; the literary lady; the fashionable woman who makes up her face with cosmetics before going out to meet her lover. It would be worth while, he continues, to inquire how some of these ladies spend their time. Their ill-will is vented upon their unfortunate slaves, whose lives are a torment to them. A council of retainers is called in to advise on the subject of my lady's head-dress, as if it were an affair of life and death. Of course, all this time they never bestow a thought upon their husbands, except to plunder and annoy them.

Next, we are introduced to the superstitions of women. They fall into the clutches of the priests of Isis and Cybele, by whom they are fleeced, and who impose on them various degrading ordeals. They consult Jewish fortune-tellers and Chaldean astrologers. Some go further, and become professors in the art themselves. The poorer class consult the vulgar fortune-tellers in the circus. Yet these poorer women, whatever their follies, bear and rear children. Rich ladies practise abortion, and impose supposititious babes upon their husbands; they deal in potions and philtres which produce

madness ; they poison their step-sons, and their own sons, too, sometimes. They are worse than the heroines of tragic story, Medea, Clytaemnestra, and the like, because they commit their deeds of guilt in cold blood, and not in a frenzy of passion, with subtle poison in place of the rude axe.

As to the date of this Satire, we have a few indications which may help to guide us. (1.) The head-dress mentioned at 502 sqq. (see note) is one which certainly seems, from an inspection of coins, to have been in fashion during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, and not generally before, nor after these reigns. (2.) Lines 407-411 *may* refer to Trajan's Armenian and Parthian expeditions, and to the earthquake at Antioch in A.D. 115. (3.) In 205 coins are spoken of, bearing the inscription "*Dacicus et Germanicus.*" No such coins of Domitian's reign have been found ; while there exist some of Trajan's. (4.) The castration of males is spoken of in 366 sqq. This practice was forbidden by Domitian and Nerva, and may have revived. (5.) Archigenes is spoken of as a distinguished physician, 236, and Archigenes is generally believed to have flourished in the reign of Trajan. (6.) At 555 we are told that *Delphis oracula cessant*. The oracle was restored by Hadrian.

These indications, though not perhaps of very great weight when taken singly, yet considered collectively, and in conjunction with what we gather from the other Satires, will leave small doubt that this one was published in the reign of Trajan or the earlier part of that of Hadrian.

NOTES TO SATIRE VI.

1-14: Modesty may once upon a time have been a dweller upon the earth, but it must have been in the very earliest ages, when Saturn was king. 1: *Pudicitia* was personified by the ancients and had two sanctuaries or temples in Rome, as we learn from Livy x 23. Similarly *Fides*, *Concordia*, *Victoria*, *Honor*, *Virtus*, *Felicitas*, *Fortuna*, *Pietas*, *Salus*, &c., were personified and had temples, cf. Juv. i 116 117. Conjugal fidelity, rather than any other kind of chastity, is usually implied in the term, but it is not always confined to that meaning. *non nimis potest Pudicitiam quisquam suae servare filiae*, Plaut. Epid. iii 3 22 23, and Juv. x 297 298. The altar of *Pudicitia* is mentioned again at 308 of this Satire. Tertullian *may* have had this passage of Juvenal in his memory when he wrote that, under certain circumstances, *Pudicitia . . . aliquatenus in seculo morabitur*, De Pudicitia i. The point has some interest; for Tertullian shows a considerable acquaintance with the Roman standard authors; and it would throw some light upon the estimation in which our author was held in the succeeding generations, if we could establish direct references to him in the second century: see note to vii 3. *Saturno rege*. The fabled reign of Saturn in Latium, during what is called the Golden Age, is well known. *Primus ab aethero venit Saturnus Olympo . . . Aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuerunt Secula*, Virg. Aen. viii 319 sqq. 2: sqq. Compare the description of early man in Lucretius, v 925 sqq. *genus humanum multo fuit illud in arvis Durius . . . Glandiferas inter curabant corpora quercus plerumque . . . Nec dum res igni scibant tractare, neque uti Pellibus, et spoliis corpus vestire ferarum, Sed nemora atque cavos montes silvasque colebant, &c.*, passages which may have been in the eye of our author, *Homines*

veteri more ut ferae in silvis et speluncis et nemoribus nascebanur ciboque agresti vescendo vitam exigebant, Vitruv. ii 1. Cic. de Inv. i 2, &c. 7: *Cynthia*, the mistress of Propertius, to whom many of his elegies are addressed. The other woman alluded to in *nec tibi*, &c., is the mistress of Catullus, on the death of whose pet sparrow, he wrote the well-known lines, beginning *Passer mortuus est meae pueriae Quem plus illa oculis suis amabat*, Catull. 3. That this poem was popular with the Romans is evident from Martial i 8 and 110, vii 14, xi 6, iv 14, xiv 77. Juvenal says the rough women of the earliest ages were very different from such “petites maîtresses” as the sweethearts of Catullus and Propertius. Cyn. and Lesb. were assumed names. Apul. Apol. 10 gives the name of the former as Hostia, and of the latter as Clodia, whom it has been sought to identify with the sister of the famous P. Clodius Pulcer. See Ellis, Proleg. Catull. p. 55. 8: *extinctus passer*, i 163 note. The young Roman ladies delighted in small birds, Ov. Met. x 261. 10: as *tetrico tristior ipsa viro*, Mart. i 6 32. 11: *orbe novo coeloque recenti*. This is imitated from Lucretius v 907, *tellure nova coeloque recenti*. 12: One of the early legends represented men as coming out of the trunks of trees. *Gens virilim truncis et duro robore nata*, Virg. Aen. viii 315: compare Ov. Met. x 503, sqq. 13: *compositi luto*, i.e., by Prometheus, cf. xiv 35.

14-24: Some traces of modesty may have remained even in the time of Jupiter, but it must have been before he had grown up and got a beard, and before there were Greeks ready to swear by anything; she soon flew back to heaven again. Juvenal's contempt for the Greeks has been shown in Sat. iii; and will appear again, abundantly, in the course of this Satire. 16: To swear by the head was very common, Matth. v 36. ὅτι δὲ οὐρανοῖς τὴν κεφαλὴν, δηλοεῑν τοῦ καὶ κατ' αὐτῆς δημάντει, Athen. Deipn. ii 72. 17, 18: Supply *quisque* before *haberet*. This construction is not uncommon in Latin, cf. Hor. Sat. i 1-3 (quoted by Maclean), and 108 109 of the same satire. *Nemo extulit eum verbis . . . sed contempsit*, Cic. de Orat. iii 14. Another instance is to be found in Tacitus, Hist. ii 52, *Ita trepidi et utrimque anxi coeunt, nemo privatim expedito consilio, inter multos societate culpae tutior,*

subaud. *quisque*. A similar construction is *susit ne se moveret et exspectaret*, Cor. Nep. xviii 6. Compare with these lines Tibull. i 3 43 44. 19: *Astraea*, daughter of Zeus and Themis. According to Ovid, she did not leave the earth till the iron age, Met. i 149. Compare Catull. 64 398, sqq. Ov. Fast. i 249 250. 20: *hac comite*, sc. *Pudicitia*. Compare Virg. Georg. ii 474. 22: *concutere*, "to shake," ix 78. *fulcri*, properly, "a bed-post :" here, a bed, as in xi 95.

25-37: And yet you are preparing to marry in our day. Better take a rope and hang yourself. 25: *conventum, pacatum, sponsalia* will all be found explained at length in the Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Obligationes" and "Matrimonium." The general meaning is, "you are preparing to take a wife." 27: *pectoris*. Fr. "vous vous faites coiffer." We have no single word for it but the literal "combed," which does not express the full meaning. *tonstor magister* is a professor in the art; and here again "artiste capillaire" (to be seen over certain barbers' shops in Paris) will be a pretty exact rendering, cf. ii 14, v 122. In England we have "professed cooks" and "professed trousers-makers." *structor capillaturae*, Tert. of a lady's coiffeur. The Roman bride was presented with a ring, as ours are, and it appears, in the elder Pliny's time, at any rate, to have been usually of iron. *Etiam nunc sponsae annulus ferreus mittitur, isque sine gemma*, H. N. xxxiii 1. He gives the reason a little above, that none but iron rings were formerly worn in daily use, and that this custom had been retained in the case of wedding-rings. *pignus*. The ring was presented on the occasion of the betrothal, and hence constituted a pledge. It was usual, with the Romans, to deposit a ring, as a pledge, for their keeping engagements of any kind. *dati annuli, locus, tempus constitutum est*, Ter. Eun. iii 4, where a pic-nic is spoken of. 29: *Tisiphone*, one of the furies. They were represented with snakes in their hair. *Tam saevae facies, tot pullulat atra colubris*, Virg. Aen. vii 329. 30: *dominam*, "mistress," in the sense of female tyrant. *salvis tot restibus*. *Cum tibi tot mortes . . . brevissima effugia*, Valer. Flacc. vii 331. Why choose martyrdom, when there are so many other ways of making away with yourself?—precisely the observation addressed to the Christians by one

of the Emperors. 31 : *caligantes fenestrae*, literally "dizzying windows," i.e., windows which make people dizzy who look out of them. In iii 269 sqq. we have already had the great height of the houses alluded to. There are plenty of very high windows to jump from, says the poet. 32 : *Aemilius pons*. The exact position of this bridge has been a subject of great dispute. The whole subject is ably discussed in Dict. G. and R. Geog. art. "Roma," pp. 848 849, and Burn's "Rome and the Campagna," p. 263. It will be sufficient to say here that it was of stone, and that its foundations were laid by M. Aemilius Lepidus about B.C. 179, Livy, xl 51. The most approved opinion seems to be that its site was identical with that of the Ponte Rotto. 34, 37 : One is sorry to meet with these lines in Juvenal. But they do not involve any approval of what is referred to. The imaginary person addressed is not represented as a friend. - A little lower down he is spoken of as *moechorum notissimus*, and then very soon drops out of sight, throughout the remainder of the Satire. *illud* is that present practice of yours. Comp. Cic. pro Cael. 15. *tecum semper pusio cum majore sorore cubitavit*. It seems to have been a regular thing for a bridegroom to give up his *pusio* on being married. Catull. 61 120 sqq. Mart. xi 78 1 2. 37 : *lateri* means "your powers," "your vigour," in an erotic sense frequent in Ovid. *Et lateri dabit in vires alimenta voluptas*, Am. ii 10 25. *Lassus amator, Invalidum referens emeritumque latus*, Id. iii 11 14. *Sed lateri nec parce tuo, pax omnis in uno Concubitu*, Id. A. A. ii 413. *latus et vires operamque afferte pueris*, Id. ii 673. 38 : *Ursidio*. Ursidius Postumus. He is satisfied with the Julian law, and content to forego the presents of fortune-hunters. A strange thing that so noted a rake should himself take a wife. *Lex Julia et Papia Poppaea*, in favour of marriage, cf. Dic. G. and R. Ant. *tollere*, the proper word, from the father taking up in his arms the child he wished to preserve, *quicquid peperisset, decreverunt tollere*, Ter. And. 3 14. 39, 40 : *capitatore macello*. The market is here, as it were, personified, compare v 95, and see note to 657 of this Satire.

44 : *turpi clausus in arca Quo te demisit peccati conscientia herilis Contractum genibus tangis caput, estque marito Matronae*

peccantis in ambo justa potestas, Hor. Sat. ii 7 59, sqq. We can easily imagine that some such scene would be of frequent occurrence in farces, and that Latinus, as a favourite actor, would often have to jump into a chest, or other place of concealment, to avoid the fury of the outraged husband. *perituri* I take to mean “in danger of his life,” i.e., in the farce, and not “destined to perish,” in allusion to Latinus being put to death by Nero, or his namesake by Domitian. The former meaning is much more in unison with the context, and certainly in better taste. This participle often has the sense which Heinrich would give to *terram subitura*, iv 10, “at the risk of,” &c., and perhaps to *cariturus*, above 39. For a good example comp. Virg. Aen. xi 741, where *moriturus* is applied to one who is not destined to die. The meaning here evidently is “a man who has had such experience of Latinus’s chest” (just as we might say, “of Falstaff’s clothes-basket”), Met., for “a man who has had so many intrigues with married women.” 45: *Quid, quod*, “why add that,” “nay, more,” iii 147. 46: *medianam venam*. I should be inclined to translate “lance him through the middle of his vein.” But Holiday has a note (referred to by Maclean) in which he cites the authority of Paulus Aegineta, a medical writer of the seventh century, to the effect that a vein in the forehead was called *media*. “Bleed him well,” is the meaning. 47: *Delicias hominis*; cf. xiii 140. *Te nunc delicias extra communia censes Ponendum?* The accusative is very commonly used in these exclamations. *Homines ridiculos qui*, &c. *Lepidum amicum Sallustium*, Cicero. *Hominem te patientem, vel potius durum*, Plin. Epp. ii 10. *O te feminam simplicem*, Petron. 106. *Tarpeium linum*, the temple of Juno on the Tarpeian. 48: *auratam juvencam*, a heifer, with her horns gilt, as they often were, for sacrifice, Plin. H. N. xxxiii 3; *inaurato taurus cadit hostia cornu*, Tib. iv i 15. The practice is alluded to by a host of writers, Homer, Plato, Livy, Virgil, Ovid, Martial, &c. 49, 50: *contigerit* in one line, followed by *contingere* in the next. 50–54 may be an after-insertion. 50: The Cerealia, or festival of Ceres, was celebrated by matrons clad in white, Liv. xxii 56, and, no doubt, women of good character were selected. There are few nowadays, says the

poet, worthy of taking part in these ceremonies. 51: *quarum . . . oscula*. The reason is only too well explained by Martial in a number of passages. *Cujus ne spiritus purus est*, Petron. 9. Compare Seneca de Ira, ii 8, ad fin. 51, 52: *necte coronam . . . corymbos*, see note to 79. 55, 56: *magna . . . viventis*. This might also mean, "there is a great talk of a certain lady living, &c., and of her chastity." For this sense of *fama*, cf. 408. Of course, the personage is imaginary. But there is said to be *one* chaste woman somewhere, living in a remote country-house. Well, let her live in a little bit of a country-town, and preserve her chastity even there, and I will grant all that you please to say about her. I will give in to all that you tell us about her conduct in the paternal country-house. *casta est quam nemo rogavit*, as Ovid puts it. For the same sentiment, Cic. Verr. Act i 16. 56: *Gabiis*, iii 192, note. *Fidenae*, a small town five miles from Rome (Castel Giubileo). The two are coupled together, again, in x 100. In both these passages, they stand for any small towns, and they had, perhaps, become proverbial from Horace, who uses their names in the same way, *Gabiis desertior atque Fidenis vicus*, Epp. i 11 8, and Propert. iv 1 34 36. Here, and x 100, Juv. makes the first syllable of *Fidenae* long. Hor. Epp. i 11 8, quoted above, and Virg. Aen. vi 773, make it short. *et agello cedo paterno*, "and I give up, abandon the paternal farm; I yield that question, and admit that her conduct may have been blameless there." Comp. ii 132. *cedat Iulus agris*, Virg. Aen. xii 185. 58: *affimat*, in our idiom, "who can affirm," as below, 60, *monstratur*, "can be shown;" 64, *non imperat*, "cannot command." Who can tell us that, with all her innocence, she may not have fallen in with Jupiter or Mars? Are these gods past work? The allusion to the amours of the gods needs no comment. 60: *Porticibus*. These were public walks, covered in, as a protection from rain and heat, supported by columns, at least on one side, cf. Dict. Gr. and R. Ant. "Porticus." They answered the same purpose, no doubt, as the "Arcades" in Paris. Rich men had such walks of their own, on a smaller scale, iv 6. Ovid frequently speaks of the porticoes as the resort of women, but certainly not of such women as a Roman gentleman would be likely to

select a wife from ; and the poet's inquiry does not seem to have much force here, cf. A. A. i 491, sqq., &c. 63 : *Chironomon Ledam*, the pantomimic Leda, i.e., the part of Leda in a ballet of action. *Bathyllus*, the favourite and freedman of Maecenas, is here used for any pantomimic dancer, as *Chrysogonus* for a singer at 74, cf. Tac. Ann. i 54, Phaedr. v 6. *saltare Ledam* is to dance the part of Leda. *mimo saltante puellam*, dancing the part of a girl, Ov. 64 : *gannit*, “gasps, whines, whimpers,” in an indecent sense, as in Appul. Met. vi 113. *Currum Deae prosequentes gannitu constrepenti lasciviant passeres*, and v 107. It would seem that originally it expressed a sound made by a dog, Lucret. v 10 69, perhaps “yaps, yelps.” 66 : *Thymele*, i 36 note, and viii 197, must, I think, be here an actress, and not “a country girl,” as MacL renders. Even Thymele, a rustic in comparison, has something in the way of her art to learn, by watching the exhibitions of passion on the part of these great ladies. Heinrich objects that Thymele, as a *mima*, would have nothing to do in these pantomimes. But she might have been a spectatress, as in iii the *juvenes lanistae* look on at the gladiatorial shows. 69 : The Ludi Plebeii, instituted probably to celebrate the reconciliation of the Patricians and Plebeians, after the first secession of the latter to the Mons Sacer, were held in November, and the Megalesia or Megalensia, in honour of Ceres, $\tau\bar{\eta}\varsigma \mu\bar{\nu}\gamma\bar{\alpha}\lambda\bar{\eta}\varsigma$ $\mu\bar{\nu}\pi\bar{\rho}\varsigma$, in April. During the intervening months, it seems that no plays were acted, but on the recurrence of the Megalesia, as on the re-opening of our theatres for a fresh “season,” new productions would naturally be called for, and old stock pieces revived. We accordingly find that four of Terence's comedies, the Andria, Eunuchus, Heauton Timorumenos, and Hecyra, bear the inscription “acta ludis Megalensibus.” *aque . . . Megalesia*. The meaning is, while there is still a long interval of time before the Megalesian games replace the Plebeian. 70 : The ladies, during the recess, amuse themselves with private theatricals. The *subligar* or *subligaculum* was a pair of drawers worn by men, on various occasions, ex. gr., by actors, Cic. de Off. i 35, and hence, Martial, in an epigram directed against the masculine tastes of one Philaenis, says that, among other things, *Harpasto quoque subligata ludit*,

"she plays at ball with a *subligar* on," vii 67, cf. Mart. iii 87. *Accius* must be some actor. 71, 72: *Urbicus* is another actor. For the affection of Roman ladies for theatrical artists, Mart. vi 6. *exodio*, iii 175. They were interludes of a merry kind, performed between the Atellane and other plays. These Atellan plays were so called from Atella in Campania, cf. Livy, vii 2. For full information, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Comœdia" and "Exodia." *Autonoe*, the daughter of Cadmus, in company with her sister Agave, tore Pentheus to pieces in her Bacchic fury. The subject, no doubt, had been burlesqued, as the story of "Medea," &c., with us. 73: *solvitur . . . fibula*. The object of the *fibula* was to prevent singers from having sexual intercourse, and so injuring their voices, and this will explain the words following: *Sunt quae Chrysogonium cantare vetent*, i.e., they spoil his voice. Martial, xiv 215, says, *Dic mihi simpliciter comoedis et citharoedis Fibula quid praestat? carius ut futuant*. See below 379, sqq.; Mart. vii 82, xi 75. 74: *Hispulla*. This name occurs again at xii 11, where the woman who bears it, is described as being very fat. Pliny the younger married the niece of one Hispulla, to whom he addressed one of his epistles iv 19, and of whom he speaks in terms of great respect, as indeed he does of almost everybody. 75: *an exspectas . . . ametur?* "Do you suppose such a man as Quintilian will be the object of any of these ladies' affections? No! actors, artists, and gladiators are their choice." Juvenal had a great respect for Quintilian, 280 of this Satire, vii 186; and so had Martial, ii 90. There was a tradition that the poet was his pupil. 76, 77: *Echion* and *Ambrosius* are unknown. *Glaphyrus* is mentioned by Mart. iv 5. *Choraules* is a choral flute-player, but, in Petron. 53, he is represented as singing; *choraulem meum jussi Latine cantare*. 78, 79: Some put these lines between inverted commas, and make a break after *lauro*; the poet, as it were, taking up the rest of the sentence, as in iii 153-155, *et sedeant hic*, &c. It was usual on the occasion of a marriage to adorn the doors and door-posts with flowers and garlands. Davus, in the Andria of Terence, gives it as a reason for supposing that the marriage of Pamphilus is not really contemplated by his father, *Video exire neminem, matronam nullam in aedibus, nil*

ornati, nil tumulti, ii 2 27 28. See above 51 sqq. of this Satire. In Catull. 64, at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, laurels, &c., are similarly disposed; *Vestibulum ut molli velatum fronde vireret.* So *Fronde virent postes, et fervent compita flammis,* Stat. Silv. i 2 231. *Domus tota lauris obsita, taedis lucida, constrepebat Hymenaeum,* App. Met. iv 81. This practice of decorating the house-front, innocent enough one would imagine, was violently censured by the early Christians. Lines 79–81 are to my mind among the finest of their kind for rhythm. 80: *testudineo.* Furniture and particularly beds and tables, were often inlaid with tortoise-shell. *Gemmantes prima fulgent testudine lecti,* Mart. xii 66 5, ix 60 9, xiv 87, and cf. Juv. xi 93 95. *testudo . . . Clarum Trojogenis factura et nobile fulcrum.* *testudineo* is here, accordingly, a synonym for "magnificent," as we should say "in your state bed." *conopeo*, a "mosquito-curtain," is here put for the whole bed, which would be, of course, entirely surrounded by these curtains. In Horace, the word appears under a slightly different form, *Interque signa turpe militaria Sol aspicit conopium,* Epop. 9 15, and again in Propert. iii 11 45. *Lentulus* is here used purposely for one belonging to the highest nobility, so as to render more striking the fact of his wife being delivered of a gladiator's son; cf. vii 95, viii 187. Cicero coins the word *Lentulitas*, to signify pride of birth. *Etiamne tu . . . ullam Appietatem aut Lentulitatem valere apud me plus quam ornamenta virtutis existimas?* Epist. iii. 7. The commentators suppose the poet to refer to a story by Cicero, the elder Pliny, and Valerius Maximus, of the great likeness between one of the Lentuli and an actor; but I do not think that has any bearing here. According to Quintilian vi 3, the Lentuli were small, so that it was said, by way of joke, that "by propagation they would in time come to nothing;" and this is confirmed by a bon-mot of Cicero's, related by Macrobius, Saturn. ii 2. There might be a reference here to their stature—to the birth of a brawny infant in such a family. 81: Martial says to a man, of one of his sons, *At ille, sima nare, turgidis labris, Ipsa est imago Pannici palaestrae,* vi 39 9. *exprimere* is a metaphor from modelling. Seneca uses the word in the same sense. *Zenonem*

Cleanthes non expressisset si eum tantummodo audisset, Epp. 6.
Plin. Epp. i 20. Cic. pro Rab. Post. 2.

82-113: A lively picture of one of these great ladies, wife of a senator, eloping with a common gladiator, and making off, in his company, to Egypt. The name given to this lady is *Hippia*, which occurs again at x 220, and the gladiator is called *Sergius*. These are feigned names, according to Heinrich, and are taken from Cicero, Philipp. ii 25. *tum existimavit se suo jure cum Hippia vivere, et equos rectigales Sergio mimo tradere*. But then, *Veiento*, a real and well-known, and possibly living, character, iii 185, iv 113, is mentioned at 113 of this Satire as the lady's husband. This, says Heinrich, is after Juvenal's manner, "her Veiento, her husband, the senator." This does not appear to me an altogether satisfactory explanation of "Veiento." The coincidence of the other two names with those in Cicero, is, however, curious. It had been noticed by others before Heinrich. In Plutarch's "Antony," 9, *Hippias* appears as a *mimus*, at whose marriage Antony attends; *Sergius* as another *mimus*. It is not certain that *Hippia* in Cicero (and again below *tantum vini in Hippiae nuptiis exhauseras, etc.*) is a female form, as Heinr. will have it. Both may come from *Hippias*, as well as *Hippia*. At any rate, whatever may be the character of the names employed, some real occurrence appears to be referred to. 83: *famosa moenia Lagi* = *moenia famosi Lagi*, as *famosa Palilia foeno*. Pers. i 72. So *Canopus*, 84, is called *famosus*, xv 46. The pair shocked even the dissolute cities of Egypt, Alexandria (the capital of the Ptolemies, of whom the first "Soter" was the son of Lagus), and *Canopus* i 26. The latter was proverbial for its effeminacy and corruption, xv 46. 87: *Paris*, the celebrated actor, a favourite of Domitian, vii 87. Whether Paris was alive at the time of this woman's flight, or whether the name is used generally for the great actors of Rome, we do not know. The meaning is, she not only deserted her children, but—would you believe it!—the games and the stage. 88: *plumaque paterna*, the luxurious downy couches of her father's house; *pluma Sardanapali*, x 362. *Circumfusa rosis et nigra recumbit amomo Dormit et in pluma purpureoque toro*, Mart. xii 17, where *pluma* is used in the

sense of luxurious repose; Juv. i 159, Mart. x 13, Lucil. fragm. vi 14, *Pluma atque amphitapae et si aliud deliciarum*; cf. Propert. iii 7 50. 89: *segmentatis*, ii 124. Here the word means either decorated with ribbons, fringes, &c., or inlaid. 90: *contempsit*, “despised,” did not care for the sea, which the Romans generally cared for a good deal. Compare the touch in Virgil, *miseri nautae* (*Georg.* iii 313) with the *periculum navigandi* of Cicero (*Flacc.* 36), and scores of other passages showing this. Heinrich quotes this line on v 102, where he gives the sense of *non timet*, “is not afraid of;” but this will not exactly do for *famam*, unless we give it the sense of *infamiam*, as some at i 72; and this sense the next line 91 shows to be impossible. *fama* is here “reputation.” *olim*, long since. 91: *jactura*, iii 125. *cathedrae* were softly cushioned seats in which women sat, and in which they were sometimes carried about. They are called *femineae* by Martial, as here *molles*. *Hunc qui femineis noctesque diesque cathedris Incedit, tota notus in urbe nimis*, Mart. xii 38, and again iii 63, *Inter femineas tota qui luce cathedras Desidet*, and so Calpurn. vii 27. Cf. Mart. x 13, Hor. Sat. i 10 91, Juv. ix 52. Men were also sometimes carried about in them, but this was looked upon as effeminate, Juv. i 65. (The word in vii 203 has a different sense, that of professorial chairs from which lectures were delivered, Mart. i 77.) They were naturally used only by women of the upper classes, and hence *apud molles cathedras* means “among dames of high degree.” In Virg. Aen. viii 665 666, the word *mollis* is also applied to a vehicle *Pilentis matres in mollibus*, where some render “softly-cushioned,” but the meaning there seems to be, “easy of motion.” The meaning might also be “snug,” or “cosy,” as in Georg. iii 295. 97: They are bold enough, when they are engaged in anything which they ought to be ashamed of. 99: *sentina* is used both of the hold, and the bilge-water. *Summ. vert. aer* is like *assidua rapitur vertigine coelum*. Ov. Met. ii 70. Virg. Georg. ii 123. 100–102: She goes so far as to handle the ropes (*duro teneras laedere fune manus*, Propert. iii 7 48), a graphic touch. But the whole passage is in the author’s best style, and a few lines further down the gladiator is put before us by a few strokes of the pen. 103:

qua capta juventa. This is much better than the reading *juventa est*. The *est* has evidently been supplied, and its omission is quite after the manner of the poet. *Si tibi simplicitas uxoria*, below 206. *ac pariter toto repetitus clamor ab antro*, 328. 104: *ludia*, the female of *ludius*, "the gladiator's woman;" "Mrs. Gladiator," as we should say. The word occurs in Mart. v 24 10, but in the sense of a female dancer, an actress. See this Satire 266. 105: *radere guttur*. This is satirical: "Little Sergius had begun to shave, I can tell you. He was no longer a beardless youth," xiv 217. But, coupled with what follows, this seems to allude to a commencement of shaving in middle life. (Aut. Gell. iii 4.) Perhaps before this, he had only cut his beard close, as the poorer classes often did. Dandies trimmed it carefully, *Sit coma sit docta barba resecta manu*, Ov. A. A. i 518. Unless we give to *et* the sense of "and even." 108: It is better to take *attritus galea* together, as Heinrich does, as a place galled by the helmet. Substantives derived from verbs sometimes take after them the same case that would follow the verb from which they are derived. *signator falso*, i 67, *justitia est obtemperatio scriptis legibus*, Cic. Other instances are given by Heinrich, to which add Plaut. (with whom it is very common), Amph. i 1 12, Most. i 1 33, &c., Cic. Verr. ii 7 5, Long. In Greek this is also common. *ἰταράσας τοῖς δυνατοῖς*. Thucyd. viii 21. *ἰτιδρομήν τῷ τειχίσματι*. Id. iv 23. A wen on his nose would hardly be galled by the helmet. 109: *acre malum*, &c. Martial alludes to the deformity of a weeping eye, *Oculo Philaenis semper altero plorat*, iv 65. 110: Their trade makes them as beautiful as Hyacinthus. He was beloved by Apollo and changed into a flower bearing his name, Ov. Met. x 162, sqq. 111: The introduction of such a particularity as *sorori* seems to show that this is a real case. 113: *accepta rude*. The man is represented as having left Italy before getting his discharge, which would have rendered him liable to be sent back if captured. Gladiators, when entitled to their discharge, were presented with a *rudis* or wooden sword, and became *rudiarii*. *Tutaque deposito poscitur ense rudis*, Ov. Am. ii 9 22. *Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito accepisti?* Cic. Phill. ii 29. See Juv. vii 171 note. The meaning is, if

he had once ceased to be a gladiator, she would have thought him no better than her husband Veiento.

114–132: A picture of a still darker kind, an Empress (Messalina) leaving the Imperial couch and prostituting herself in a public brothel. Messalina has become proverbial; and from what we learn of her from other sources, it is probable that Juvenal has not on the whole exaggerated in the following description, though he has doubtless added a few touches of his own. 114: *privata* as distinguished from imperial households, iv 66, xii 107, and Plin. Epp. v 3, where after quoting a long list of illustrious names, including Brutus, Sulla, &c., he goes on to say, *Si non sufficiunt exempla privata . . . Divum Julium, D. Augustum, D. Nervam, Titum Caesarem . . .* (all four Emperors). Originally *vir privatus* was a man who was not in any public office. And in that sense, *privatus* is often found, subsequently to Juvenal's time, *ex. gr.*, Aul. Gell. ii 2, where *filius magistratus* is contrasted with *pater privatus*. (Later, it meant a civilian, “pekin,” as opposed to a soldier; Lampr. Alex. Sev. 58, a sense omitted in the Dicts.) 115: *Respicere*, simply “observe,” ii 44, iii 268, &c. *rivales Divorum*, the rivals of our “Divi,” or Emperors. Look at the sort of rivals our god-like Emperors have been favoured with! *rivalis* almost always signifies “a rival in love;” and the usual meaning of the word cannot be better given than in a line of Plautus, Stich. iii 1 30, *Eadem est amica ambobus: rivales sumus*. Still in Juvenal's time, it had certainly come to be used occasionally in the sense of *aemulus*, xii 126; and *rivales Divorum* may mean that the Emperors were rivals of the gods. *Claudius*, the husband of Messalina. 117: *teges* was a coarse mattress, such as appears to have been found in the lowest class of brothels, and in the apartments of slaves, &c. *Pater ex Marulla, Cinna factus es septem Non liberorum: namque nec tuus quisquam Nec est amici, filiusve vicini, Sed in grabatis tegetibusque concepti Materna produnt capitibus suis furtæ*, Mart. vi 39 4, Juv. v 8. 118: *cucullos*, “a hood,” or cowl, attached to the coarsest sort of garments, and used as a protection against the weather, or as here and at 330 viii 145, for purposes of concealment. 120: *galero* is here “a wig.” *Galericulum* is more commonly used in this sense,

Suet. Otho, 12. Tertullian de Cultu Feminarum, uses the same word as Juvenal, *affigitis praeterea nescio quas enormitates sutilium et textilium capillamentorum nunc in galeri modum, &c.* Messalina puts on a flaxen wig, because that was the fashionable colour for the hair of girls and women at Rome, and would hence naturally be affected by prostitutes. Below 354, Hor. Od. i 5 4, ii 4 14, Mart. v. 68, &c., &c. 121: This is generally rendered "She entered the brothel warm with the old patchwork quilt." Heinrich takes *centone* to be "a cloth hung up before the doors, keeping the air out of the cells and the reeking moisture in." Compare Mart. xi 45 3, *Contentus non es foribus, veloque seraque*, and again i 35 5, *At meretrix abigit testem veloque seraque*, where the commentators explain *velo* by "velo ex centonibus januae apposito, ne per forium rimas intropisci possit." In Petron. 7, *Ut in locum secretiorem venimus, centonem anus urbana rejicit*, the word *cento* clearly has this meaning, which I have little doubt is the correct one here. 122: *cellam*. Some of the stews at Rome appear to have been constructed, as described by Gifford, in the form of a gallery, along which were ranged, on each side, a number of contiguous cells or little chambers (*cellae*). *Jam pro cella meretrix assem exegerat*, Petron. 8. "Over the doors of these," continues Gifford, "was written the name, and in some cases, the price of the tenants." This is what Martial alludes to in xi 45, *Intrasti quoties inscriptae limina cellae. nuda*. These women seem generally to have exhibited themselves to the purchaser in a state of nudity, *sub clara nuda lucerna*, Hor. Sat. ii 7 48, and the passage in Petron. 7, part of which has been quoted above, *Ut in locum secretiorem venimus, centonem anus urbana, rejicit et Hic, inquit, debes habitare. Cum ego negarem me cognoscere domum, video quosdam inter titulos nudasque meretrices furtim conspatiantes. Tarde, immo jam sero, intellexi me in fornicem esse deductum*; compare Tac. Ann. xv 37, *scorta visebantur nudis corporibus*, and Dio. 79 13 (of Elagabalus) γυναὶ τοις ιτι τῆς δύπας αὐρῷ ιστώς ἀστρης αἱ τοξευαὶ, and he shook a curtain (*ανδόνιο*), which appears to be the same as *cento* here, cf. Juv. xi 171-173. 123: *auratis* means that they were covered with gold-leaf, a custom said to be still prevalent in the East; Gifford's note. *titulum* is the inscription over the

door of each cell, containing the name and terms of the inmate. See notes to 122. Compare a passage in M. Seneca, Controv. i 2, which resembles this one closely, as all such descriptions must resemble each other, *Meretrix vocata es, in communi loco stetisti, superpositus est cellae tuae titulus, venientes recepisti. Celera, etiam si in communi loco essem, tamen potius tacerem.* Our author is not quite so delicate. *Lycisca* occurs in Mart. iv 17 1. It was probably a common name for prostitutes. 124: *generose*, "nobly-born," viii 57. *Britannicus* was the son of Claudius and Messalina, set aside in favour of Nero, and poisoned by him. *tuum ventrem*, "in quo tu conceptus es, et e quo natus prodiisti." In Hor. Epop. 17, the same words are used in an entirely different sense, *tuusque venter Pactumeius*. *Pactumeius* is your offspring, and so *uterus*, Tac. Ann. i 59, and *viscera*, Ov. Met. x 465. 126: *absorbuit*, cf. x 223. *ictus*. Horace uses *verbera* in the same obscene sense, Sat. ii 7 49, and Plautus, *verberari*, Asin. iii 3 38. 128: *abit*, contracted form of *abiit*, as *perit* 295, *obit* 559, *perit* 563 and x 118. *quod potuit*. *Quod potui, renui*, Ov. Her. 8 3, Fast. v 472. *Quod potuit, ne nil illic ageretur amavit*, Ov. Rem. Am. 167 (according to the best reading), i.e., *quod solum potuit*, "to the best of her power." 129: *tentigine*, Hor. Sat. i 2 118, Mart. xi 58 1. 131, 132: *Quod spurcae moriens lucerna Ledae . . . Mallem quam quod oles, oleo Bassa*, Mart. iv 4. *obscuris* is "black," *omnibus obscuras injicit illa manus* (of death), Ov. Am. iii 9 20. *pulvinar*, though sometimes signifying an ordinary cushion, as in Petron. 134, *super pulvinar caput inclinati*, is principally used for the couches on which the images of the gods were placed at the Lectisternia, i.e., when food was set before them on solemn occasions. So Horace says *Ornare pulvinar Deorum Tempus erat dapibus sodales*, Od. i 37 3. It is used here with an evident dash of irony, and is connected with *Divorum*, 115, "to the divine couch;" compare Sueton. Domit. 13. 133, 135: These verses are somewhat out of place here, and are omitted by Ribbeck. The subject is resumed at 610. *Hippomanes* is a lump of flesh on the forehead of a new-born foal which the dam was supposed to tear off with her teeth, 616, and Pliny, H. N. viii 42. It is also applied to a humour which runs

from mares, *virus amantis equae*, Ov., Plin. H. N. xxviii 11, Virg. Georg. iii 280, sqq., Propert. iv 5 18, Tibull. ii 4 57, and to a plant, Theocr. 2 48. In any case, it was supposed to stimulate the sexual passions, and also to drive people mad, which, I think, is referred to here, as at 616. *coctum* does not mean "mixed with the food in cooking," but prepared, i.e., by boiling down, or otherwise; "a decoction," as we say. So water boiled down to make it more easy to cool, with snow, was called *decocta*, v. 50. 134: *graviora* refers to the kind of crimes just mentioned, poisonings, &c. They are capable of worse crimes (than those of a Hippia or Messalina) when the fiercer passions of their sex are called into play, compared with which, the sins caused by mere lust are as nothing.

136-141: But Caesennia gets on very well with her husband. "Yes, because she has a large fortune settled on her, in consideration of which she does just exactly what she pleases. She has all the liberty of a single woman." 137: *Bis quingenta*. Ten hundred thousand sesterces, nearly £8000. It should be borne in mind that a Roman woman could manage to retain considerable power over the dowry she brought her husband; and she might threaten to divorce herself, and claim its restitution. *dedit*, as at ii 117. *tanti voc. ill. pud.* compare Plin. Epp. ii 14. *tanti constat ut sis discretissimus*. 138: *sola servet de lampade Christi*, Prudent. Psychom. 57, who may have had this line in his mind. 141: *rescribat*, to her lover, as at 234.

142-160: "Then, again, Sertorius is very fond of his Bibula." Yes, because of her beauty. Let *that* begin to fade, and he will soon send her to the right about. Meanwhile, she tyrannises over him, and obliges him to give her the most costly presents. 143: *excutias*. *excutere*, in this sense, is properly to shake any one to see if he has got anything concealed about him, to shake out his coat, &c. *Di me perdant si ego tui quicquam abstuli*. *Agedum excutedum pallium*, Plaut. Aul. iv 4 18. *excudit redeuntem natura, sicut intrantem*, Sen. Epp. 102. Hence "to sift out," "examine thoroughly," *Magnifica verba mors prope admota excudit*, Id. Troad. 575. *Caesar, excussis probationibus, centurionem exaudoravit*, i.e., cashiered him after an investigation, Plin. Epp. vi 31.

144: *se cutis arida laxet*, “let the skin grow dry and shrivelled,” i 83, note. *se laxare* is “to grow loose,” and so to run into folds or creases, *i.e.*, wrinkles. *laxantur corpora rugis*, Ov. A. A. iii 73. **146**: *sarcinulas*, iii 161. The sense here is “pack up your baggage.” *Collegi sarcinulas*, Petron. 81. So Cic. describes a divorce, *Illam suam suas res sibi habere jussit . . . exegit*, Phil. ii 28. *libertus*. “By the Lex Julia de Adulteriis, it was provided that there should be seven witnesses to a divorce, Roman citizens of full age, *puberes*, and a freedman of the party who made the divorce, Dig. 24, tit. 2, s. 9,” Dict. G. and R. Ant. “Divortium.” **147**: *gravis*, “offensive,” “disagreeable.” A good example of this meaning of the word may be given from Seneca; *Quocumque decidit fulmen, ibi odorem esse sulfuris certum est, qui quia gravis est*, etc., Nat. Quaest. ii 53. **147**: *nobis*, “to us,” to the household. The freedman is represented as speaking in his own name, as well as that of his master, and this greatly adds to the humour of the passage. *saepe emungeris*. Comp. *madidique infantia nasi*, x 199. *siccus venit altera naso*, in the next line, is inimitable. **150**: sqq. She makes her husband buy for her sheep from Canusium—which were famous for their wool, from which cloaks were made, Plin. H. N. viii 48, Mart. ix 23, xiv 127 and 129,—and the shepherds who tend them, and whole gangs of slaves. *ergastula* were bride-wells, or prisons, attached to Roman farms, where the slaves were set to work in chains, or from which they were taken to work, chained, in the fields. In xiv 24, it is called *carcer rusticus*. Refractory slaves were usually sent to these places as a punishment, viii 179 180. *accedes opera agro nona Sabino*, Hor. Sat. ii 7 118. **153**: sqq. But for a note of the scholiast, we should have some difficulty in understanding what follows. The *Saturnalia* in December were followed by the *Sigillaria*, a kind of fancy fair, so called from the little figures, or images, *sigilla*, which were sold there. At this fair, says the scholiast, white canvas booths were erected, as with us, and among other places against the portico of Agrippa, which was ornamented with a fresco representing Jason and the Argonauts. This explains *mercator Jason clausus et armatis obstat casa candida nautis*. This fresco seems to be alluded to

by Mart. iii. 20 10, *Hinc si recessit, porticum terit templi, An spatia carpit lensus Argonautarum?* and again in ii 14, *Si nihil Europe fecit tum septa petuntur Si quid Phillyrides praestet et Aesonides.* Comp. Mart. i 11 12. Dion. Cass., liii 27, expressly mentions it, and speaks of a painting such as Juvenal here alludes to, (*Αγρίππας;* τὴν στοάν τὴν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀναμασμένην καὶ ἐξωκοδόμησιν ἵπι ταῖς ταυχηρίαις, καὶ τῇ τῷ Αργοναυτῶν γραφῇ ἐπιλάμπουσαν). This building may have been burnt in the time of Titus, Dio. Cass. lxvi 24; but it seems probable that (together with the fresco) it was restored. From various passages we gather that these porticoes were frequently, perhaps generally, ornamented with frescoes of mythological subjects, Ov. Am. ii 2 4, A. A. i. 67, sqq., Mart. v 49, 12, vii 32 12, ii 14 3, &c. *mercator* is a jesting, but not an inappropriate term to apply to Jason, who made a long voyage and acquired a rich return for it. 155: *crystallina* seem to have been vessels of pure white glass. Alexandria was famous for them, *Quum tibi Niliacus portet crystalla cataplus,* Mart. xii 74: and again xiv 115, the “lemma,” or heading to which is *Calices vitrei*, begins *Aspicis ingenium Nili.* 156: *Murrina* are repeatedly mentioned by Martial as objects of great value, *Praedia solus habes, et solus Candide nummos Aurea solus habes, murrina solus habes,* iii 26; *Crystallinisque murriniisque propinat,* iii 82, and see x 80, xiii 110, &c., xiv 113, Juv. vii 133. *Nos bibimus vitro tu murrha Ponice, &c.,* Mart. iv 86, from which it would seem that the material was not transparent. What it was is uncertain. The better opinion is that it was the same as Chinese porcelain. *Murreaque in Parthis pocula cocta focus,* Propert. iv 5 26. On the other hand, from Pliny's description of it, H. N. xxxvii 2 8, it has been identified with what is known to us as fluor or Derbyshire spar, while others suppose it to be a kind of rock amethyst. See Becker's “Gallus,” Sc. ii, Exc. 3. 156, 157: A diamond whose value was enhanced by its having been worn by Berenice. This might very well be (see v 44–46 note). This Berenice was the sister of Agrippa mentioned below, before whom St. Paul was brought. She lived with her brother, after the death of her husband and uncle Herod, not without a suspicion of incestuous intercourse between them, to which allusion is here made. 159: Juve-

nal, like most of his countrymen, had doubtless a somewhat confused view of Jewish ceremonies, though he gives, for a satirist, a tolerably fair sketch of their creed in xiv 96-106. *mero pede, so calce mera, Prudent. Peristeph. 6 91.* 160: *indulget senibus porcis.* Heinrich renders *ut senes fiant*, and quotes x 307, *deformem castravit*, which is not at all to the point. The poet says, somewhat loosely, after his manner, that there, i.e., in Judaea, even old pigs are spared, as though they were considered sacred animals; compare xiv 98. Most likely he thought the Jews viewed them in that light. Petronius, in one of his Fragments, says so expressly, *Judaeus licet et porcinum numen adoret.*

161-183: Does no woman, then, seem worthy of your regard? No, for those who have any merit make such a fuss about it, that there is no bearing them. They are as puffed up with pride as Niobe, who brought on herself the vengeance of Diana. Their husbands get to hate these examples of female perfection. 162, 163: *vetustos . . . avos.* Statues of ancestors were usually put up in the *atrium*, the principal room in the house. Martial speaks of one who *atria immodiciis arctat imaginibus*, ii 90 6. *Atria Pisonum stabant cum stemmate toto*, iv 40. See Juv. viii 1, sqq. *dispositas generosa per atria ceras*, Ov. Fast. i 591. 163, 164: An allusion to the well-known story of the Sabine women throwing themselves between the combatants and putting an end to the war. The story is told by Livy, i 13, from whom Juvenal seems to have borrowed his language, *Sabinae mulieres . . . crinibus passis . . . ausae se inter tela volantia inferre . . . dirimere acies, dirimere iras. nostro dirimamus sanguine bellum*, Virg. Aen. xii 79. *intactior* refers to their chastity. The Sabines were generally instanced as a people of uncorrupted morals, iii 169, note. *Casta nec antiquis cedens Laevina Sabinis*, Mart. i 63. *Sunt chartae mihi quas Catonis uxor Et quas horribiles legant Sabinae*, xi 15, and cf. ix 41 5, x 33. Propertius has *intactas Sabinas*, ii 6 21. 165: *Rara avis.* This seems to have been a proverbial expression, Pers. i 46: compare Juv. vii 202. Black swans were not known in Juvenal's time. Cf. Lucret. ii 824. 166-171: *malo, Malo*, like *fient*, *Fient ista palam*, ii 135 136, the repetition of the word adding emphasis

to the sentiment. *Venusinam* put for any countrywoman, as *Sulmonensi* below 187. *Cornelia*, the daughter of P. Corn. Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal and Syphax, and the wife of T. Sempronius Gracchus, by whom she had twelve children. *triumphos*, your triumphs, i.e., the triumphs of your family. *tolle*. So Ovid, *Tolle tuos tecum pauper amator avos*, Am. i 8 66. *migra*, "make yourself scarce," "be off." *migrare* is the regular word for changing one's abode. Cic. ad Div. vii 23. So *emigrare*, Plautus, constantly. *Hinc abite lymphae*, says Catullus, "to water," *vini pernices, et ad severos migrate*, 27 5. 172: sqq. Niobe, proud of her fecundity, insulted Latona. Apollo slew her sons, and Diana her daughters. The story is told by Ovid, Met. vi. Amphion, her husband, is here represented as entreating the angry divinities to spare his innocent children, and to wreak their vengeance on the mother alone. *tu* is addressed to Diana. *extulit*, i 72, note. *greges natorum*, because she had so many of them. In Sen. Troad. 32, Hecuba speaks of *meorum liberum magni greges, ipsumque maritum*. According to Ovid, Amphion destroyed himself, Met. vi 271. *scrofa alba*. This is the famous white sow of the Aeneid, with thirty young, Virg. Aen. iii 390, sqq., viii 43, sqq. It is again alluded to by our poet in xii 73 74 *imputet*, v 14, note, literally, "that she should always be reckoning herself to your credit." *usque adeo*, so "utterly," as in iii 84, v 129, &c. 184: As this line will stand by itself and contains a sort of apophthegm, it is of course pronounced spurious. And *num* has been proposed in the next line for *nam* (by Heinrich) without any authority that I am aware of. The change would be the reverse of an improvement.

185-199: Juvenal, in this passage, must have had in his eye an epigram of Martial, which I quote entire: *Cum tibi non Ephesos nec sit Rhodos aut Mitylene, Sed domus in vico Laelia patricio Deque coloratis numquam lita mater Etruscis Durus Ari-cina de regione pater; Ζωὴ καὶ Ψυχὴ lascivum congeris usque Pro pudor! Hersiliae civis et Egeriae Lectulus has voces nec lectulus audiat omnis Sed quem lascivo stravit amica viro. Scire cupis quo casta modo matrona loquaris Numquid cum crissas blandior esse potes? Tu licet edicas totam referasque Corinthon Non tamen*

omnino Laelia Thais eris, x 68. 187: *Omnia Graece*. An old Roman's cry. And, in fact, after this, the most important works were, for a long time, written in Greek. The younger Pliny seems to have thought differently. *Hominemne Romanum tam Graece loqui!* he exclaims, in admiration, Epp. iv 3. In the next line, Juvenal may have had Cicero's expression in his mind, *Non enim tam praeclarum est scire Latine quam turpe nescire*, Brut. 37. For *Cecropis*, an Athenian, cf. ii 92. *pavent*, 238, note. 191: *concubere*, "rem Venereum habere." 194: sqq. See Martial's epigram quoted above. 194: One might take away the full stop after *vetula* and put what follows into the same sentence; and so, Mr. Evans appears to take it. "In an old woman this language becomes immodest, when interspersed with the wanton Ζωή καὶ Υγεία." But I believe that Juvenal was quite capable of writing that Greek was an indecent language in an old woman's mouth. 195: *sub lodice*, "under the counterpane," vii 66, Mart. xiv 148. They formed the outside covering of the bed. The best seem to have been made at Verona. *Lodices mittet docti tibi terra Catulli*, Mart. xiv 152. 197: *bland et neg.* for these two words similarly conjoined, cf. Mart. ii 1 2 4. *digitos habet* is infinitely more graphic than *digitos valet*, suggested by Heinrich. Compare Mart. xi 29. 198: *Haemus*, iii 99, and *Carpophorus*, apparently actors who excelled in female parts. 199: *facies tua computat annos. contra te facies imperiosa tua est*, Mart. vi 23.

200-221: If you are not likely to love your wife, you had better break off the match. If you are, so much the worse for you; she will tyrannise over you in every way. 200: *legitimis tabellis. non nisi legitime vult nubere*, x 338. 202: *coenam*, "the wedding-supper," *ingens coena sedei*, ii 119. *Hic nuptialem (coenam) cras dabit*, Plaut. Curc. v 2 61. *mustacea* were a kind of wedding-cakes, distributed to the guests. Cicero says proverbially *laureolam in mustaceo quaerere*, to look after fame in trifles. Cato, R. R. 121, gives the recipe for making them. *Mustaceus* (masculine) is the common form, loc. cit. and Stat. Silv. i 6 19. 203: *labente officio*, "at the conclusion of their complimentary attendance," ii 132. *crudis*, to people who have over-eaten themselves already. *ebrius et*

crudus, a man who has had too much to eat and too much to drink, Mart. xii 76. **204**: *beata*, "rich," because of the quantity of coins put in it. We have no other mention of this practice that I am aware of. **205**: *Dacicus et Germanicus*. Ruperti understands *nummus*; but I think nothing is to be "understood." *Retulit acceptos regale numisma Philippos*, Hor. Epp. ii 1 234. *Centum dominos novae monetae*, Mart. iv 28 5. It is as though we should say "with so many Louis d'or and Napoleons shining on the plate." The coins are, as it were, personified. Martial dedicates his eighth book "*Imp. Domitiano Caes. Aug. Germanico Dacico*," and often styles him *Germanicus*, v 3, viii 26, &c.; so does Statius Silv. i 1 5, iii 4 49. It is said that there are no coins of Domitian in existence referring to the Daci, though there are of Trajan. **206**: *simplicitas uxoria*. There does not seem the slightest difficulty about these words. *uxorius* means, (1) of or pertaining to a wife, (2) uxorious, precisely in our sense. *amnis*, Horace; *uxorius urbem extruis*, Virg.; *uxorius imber*, Stat., "tears shed for a wife." Yet Heinrich proposes *Si tibi simplicitas, si uxori, &c.*, thus, as in many other cases, substituting for the boldness of the original, something very tame and feeble of his own. Before *deditus* another *si* may be understood, although I greatly prefer to let this second clause stand by itself, "If you are distinguished by a feeble uxoriousness, your soul is given up to one person. Submit your head," &c. **209**: *amantis*, the loving husband. I am not fond of cuttings-out, on the strength of mere conjecture, or individual taste, but I very much suspect lines 209-211. At any rate, *amantis* at the end of one line following *amanti* at the end of the preceding, is not to be commended; and the lines seem to me badly put together. *spoliis*, cf. 233. The better a man is, the more reason for his not marrying, because he will be all the more surely hen-pecked. *A feminis utcumque spoliari viros, Ament, amentur, nempe exemplis discimus*, says Phaedrus ii 2. *Sola viro mulier spoliis exsultat ademptis*, Ov. Am. i 10 28. **214, 215**: *amicus jam senior*. So *amici jam senis*, viii 153, *barbam*, i.e., when he was young, and before he had begun to shave his beard. See 105 above, and iii 186. **216**: *lanistis*, iii 158. **217**: *contingere* is generally used of a

fortunate event, and almost always so by our author, v 164, viii 28, &c. arena for the combatants in the arena. 219: sqq. This must not be taken as an enormity of common occurrence, for though down to the time of Antoninus Pius, the Roman master had, by law, power of life and death over his slave, yet public opinion would, in most cases, prevent the power from being too glaringly abused. Horace says that a man who put his slave to death for a trifle, would be deemed insane. *Si quis eum servum patinam qui tollere jussus Semesos pisces tepidumque ligurierit jus In cruce suffigat, Labeone insanior inter Sanos dicatur*, Sat. i 3 80, sqq.; and Seneca tells us that cruel masters were condemned by public opinion, *domini crudelis tota civitate commonstrantur, invique et detestabiles sunt*. De Clement. i 18. Lucian intimates that in his day it was unheard of, that slaves should be put to death for trifling offences, Prometh. 10. Crucifixion was the punishment peculiar to slaves. *Quid meritus es? Crucem*, Ter. And. iii 5 15. Hor. Sat. ii 7 47, Epp. i 16 48, Plaut. Aulul. i 1 20. *sumptum de eo supplicium servilem in modum*, i.e., he was crucified, Tac. Hist. ii 72. So *crux* of a slave, Petron. 126. 219, 220: compare x 69 70. *quo cecidit sub criminis? quisnam Delator? quibus indiciis, quo teste probavit? supplicium* is generally applied to punishment of a severe kind, and the French apply “supplice,” its derivative, to capital punishment only. *audi*, “Listen!” (Evans); as though the husband were begging the wife to listen to the noble sentiment which he enunciates in the next verse, and which it is rather surprising that the commentators have not pronounced a monkish gloss; but it is better to take it “listen to what the slave has to say.” “Hear him.” *nulla . . . longa est*. So Seneca, to Nero, on a similar occasion, *nihil in propinquos temere constitui decet*, Oct. 440. 222: *ita*, “so then!” ironically. The lady differs from Seneca, *servi sunt? imo homines*, Epp. 47. Florus speaks of slaves as *quasi secundum hominum genus*, iii 20. 223: *Hoc volo, sic jubeo* seems more forcible than the other reading, *Sic volo*, and there is not unlikely a humorous reference to the *Velitis, jubeatis*, the formula of a *lex*.

224–230: Before long, she gets tired of lording it over her husband, and gets divorced and marries another. Then

she returns to her former home ; and so she goes on, changing her husbands. 225 : *flammea conterit* is figurative. 226 : *vestigia* is, literally, the print she had left on the bed, i.e., the place she had left empty by her flight. The word is used in this sense by Pliny in writing to his wife, *Scribis te absentia mea non mediocriter affici: unumque habere solatum, quod pro me libellos meos teneas, saepe etiam in vestigio meo colloces*, Epp. vi 7, where an old commentator renders *ea lecti parte qua alias ego cubare soleo praesens*. So Lucretia says, *Vestigia viri alieni Collatine in lecto sunt tuo*, Livy, i 58, the print of another man. And the deserted Ariadne in Ovid, *Et tua qua possum pro te vestigia tango, Stratague quae membris intepuere tuis*, Her. x. 53, 54. Indeed, the word is so exceedingly common in this sense that one wonders that any of the commentators should have missed the sense. *εριθος* is used similarly in Gr. This woman, in her fickleness, returns to her old home "before the mark of her form on the bed is effaced," "while her bed is still warm," as we say in the same figurative sense. Lines 227, 228 are very awkwardly placed ; they would be better after 224, and though, in that case, *relinquit* would be at the end of one line, and *linquit* at the end of the next, the same objection applies to 208, 209. Here, I do not think the repetition would be objectionable. As they stand, 227 seems to refer to her way of going on in general, not to any one particular marriage, "She always runs away directly after the ceremony." 229, 230 : *Sic fiunt . . . sepulcri*. A thing worthy of being commemorated in her epitaph. Virtuous matrons prided themselves on having had but one husband, and the fact seems to have been sometimes actually recorded on their tomb-stones, if we are to trust an inscription given by Casaub. ad Trebell. Poll. XXX Tyrann. Tit. *Renatus Volusiae Justae matri carissimae sanctiori, univirae*. (Perhaps the books of inscriptions give other examples.) At any rate, it furnished the poets with a theme for praise in their imaginary epitaphs. See Mart. x 63, *Epitaphium nobilis matronae*, and Propert. iv 11 36, *In lapide huic uni nupta fuisse legar*. One of Martial's heroines marries and gets divorced, at a much quicker rate than the one in the text. *Julia lex populis ex quo, Faustine, renata est . . . Aut*

*minus, aut certe non plus tricesima lux est Et nubit decimo jam Thelesina viro, vi 7, and Inscriptis tumulo septem celebrata virorum Se fecisse Chloe: quid potе simplicius? ix 16, where there is a double-entente in *se fecisse*—that she had put up the tomb, or done for her husbands. The expression is ironical. Seneca says that some noble ladies designated the years, not by the names of the consuls, but by those of their husbands for the time being, *de Benef.* iii 16.*

231–241 : The mother-in-law, that never-failing butt for satirists, is introduced. No hope for you, while she is alive ! She teaches her daughter to plunder and deceive you.

232 : *nudi*, “helpless,” iv. 49, or “stripped of his all.”

233 : *tabellis*, “the billets-doux.” *blandae densaeque tabellae*, ix 36. *Cur toties video mitti recipique tabellas?* Ovid, Am. iii 14, 31.

234 : *rescribere*, 141. **234, 235** : *decipit custodes, aut aere domat, below 347 348, quis custodiet ipsos Custodes?*

235, 236 : This means, either (1) that the mother calls in Archigenes, the famous doctor, to her daughter, though she is quite well, and heaps a quantity of bed-clothes on the supposed patient, or (2) that the daughter calls in the doctor, and tosses off the bed-clothes as too oppressive for her pretended fever. The first rendering is the more simple, as it involves no change of subject. But Heinrich, who adopts the latter, thinks that a change of subject is indicated in *onerosa pallia jactat*, which is an expression proper to a sick or restless person, and he quotes Ov. Her. xxi 169, *At mili, vae miserae ! torrentur febribus artus, Et gravius justo pallia pondus habent*, and Propert. iv 3 31. So also Ov. Am. i 2 2, *neque in lecto pallia nostra sedent*. He might have added that the words *corpore sano*, standing by themselves, point somewhat in the same direction. The abrupt transition is in accordance with the poet's manner, and I incline to Heinrich's view. A similar change of persons occurs at x 320. *Archigenes* here, and *Heliodorus*, the surgeons below 373, are Greek names. It was from Greece that the leading doctors and surgeons came, iii 77. Pliny tells us that the Romans did not take kindly to the healing art, H. N. xxix 1. *Diaulus, Hyginus, Eros, Hermes, &c.*, occur as names of doctors in Martial. See Friedländer, bk. iii. The mother first deceives

or bribes the servants, and then the daughter summons the physician. In any case, the meaning is that under pretence of the wife's illness, the husband is kept out of her room, and so the adulterer is let in. 237: I do not see any difficulty in *secretus* (for which Heinrich reads *securus* on the strength of one MS.) following *abditus*. In Plin. Epp. ii 17 we find *tam alti abditique secreti . . . ratio*. The meaning is that the lover is hidden away and left to himself, i 95; and this explains the next line. Of course, during the visit of the doctor, the lover had to be concealed. 238: *pavet*, "is all in a tremble of eagerness." In Hor. Sat. ii 7 69, *Quaeres quando iterum pareas, iterumque perire Possis, O toties servus; pavere*, might have this sense. So *pavor* and *pavidus* frequently in Virgil and Statius, &c. Silius has *laetus pavor*, xvi 432. *praeputia*, "foreskin." *praeputia ponunt*, "they are circumcised," xiv 99. What it is that the man is doing in his eagerness need not be more closely defined. 239, 240: St. Ambrose has the same sentiment, *Quid enim poterat (filia) de adultera matre discere, nisi damnum pudoris?* Opp. 2. 241: *producere* is here "to bring up," as in xiv 228, and in Plaut. Asin. iii 1 40, *audientem dicto mater produxisti filiam*, the meaning of which Mr. Long, who quotes the line on Cic. Verr. Act ii, Lib. 1, c. 12 (where, to be sure, *producere* has a different sense), has apparently mistaken. This sense of the word is common. It occurs in Cic. ad Quint. fr. ii 14. *cujus rei nonnullam consuetudinem nactus sum, in hoc horum dicrum otio, Cicerone nostro minore producendo*, where, strangely, Ernesti says he cannot understand the passage, and Schütz proposes *perdocendo*: the sense of *prod.* being, evidently, as here *instituendo*. 242: M. Boissier remarks that this is in absolute contradiction to ii 51. La Religion Romaine, vol. ii, p. 177. 242, 245: Women dabble in lawsuits. *Manilia* may be the woman mentioned by Aul. Gell. iv 14. For *libellus*, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. It answers here somewhat to our "Declaration." *dictare*, a word proper to masters, who dictated to their scholars. *dictata magistri*, v 122. *Celso*. There were two jurists, father and son, named Juventius Celsus. Either will do here. They must not be confounded with Celsus the physician. These women

are prepared to dictate chapter and verse to the greatest lawyers.

246–267: Some women take to athletic exercises, adopt the accoutrement of gladiators, and go through all the manœuvres of the fencing school, &c., in private. **246**: *Endromidas*, iii 103, were thick cloaks, or wrappers, worn in winter, or when hot from running, &c. (whence the name). They would, consequently, be used in the palaestra, at games of ball, &c. *gelido non aspernanda Decembri Dona, peregrinam mittimus endromida Seu lentum ceroma teris tepidumve trigona Sive harpasta manu pulverulenta rapis*, Mart. iv 19. They appear to have been made in Gaul. Here the women wear a finer sort, of purple material. *ceroma*, iii 68. *Ne lutet immundum nitidos ceroma capillos*, Mart. xiv 50; and epigram quoted above. **248**: *cavat. parvam gladio, galeamque cassari Cernit*, Ov. Met. xii 130 131, “to be pierced,” “trans-fixed;” or, perhaps, here “dints.” Some would read *rudibus* here; but *sudibus* is right. *Miscebat usta proelia nuda sude*, Propert. iv 1 28. *scutoque lacescit*, “provokes with her shield,” feigns to uncover herself to its blows, as if it were a flesh and blood adversary, challenges to the fight, *cursuque ictuque lacescant*, Virg. Aen. vii 165, in the same sense. **249**: *numeros*. Cf. Plin. Epp. ix 38. Doering. **250**: The Floralia was a festival celebrated at Rome in honour of Flora, and lasting five days, from April 28 to May 2. A good deal of license was allowed at these games; the actresses, in some cases, appearing before the public in a state of nudity. Martial, in the preface to his first book of Epigrams, says, *Epigrammata illis scribuntur qui solent spectare Florales*, from which we may infer that it was the habit of many decent people to stay away. *Nosses jocosae dulce cum sacrum Florae Festosque lusus et licentiam vulgi Cur in theatrum Cato severe venisti?* Mart. i 1. *Quis Floralia vestit?* i 36, Pers. v 178 179. *dignissima Florali tuba* may be either “worthy of blowing a trumpet at the Floralia,” or, “worthy to dance among the prostitutes at the Floralia, to the sound of the trumpet.” The *tuba*, i 169, was employed for signals of every description, not only in war, but at the games and public festivals, x 214. *Canteturque fera nil nisi pompa tuba*, Ov. Fast. i 716. **250, 251**:

Unless, indeed,—as may be the case,—she is preparing herself for real, and not simulated, combats. Women, as we have seen, i 22, did sometimes descend into the arena. 253: *vires amat*. So above, 112, *ferrum est quod amant*. *vires* is used for strong men in xv 104. Here it seems to mean masculine strength. 254: *quantula nostra voluptas*. How small is our pleasure (in comparison with theirs)! This does not need more particular explanation. 255: It is better to take *rerum* with *conjugis*, not with *decus*, as Heinrich prefers. *Quale decus rerum*, and *conjugis auctio* would be, to say the least, not usual expressions; whereas *quale decus* and *rerum conjugis auctio* offer no difficulties, and the sense is much improved. 257, 258: *vel . . . puella*. There is some difficulty in this passage, in consequence of our not possessing precise information as to the different kinds of armour worn by the Roman gladiators. Heinrich says, “*ocreas*, which the Samnites did not wear, but all the other kinds of gladiators did.” But this is certainly wrong, for the Samnites did wear *ocreae*. See the engravings in Dict. G. and R. Ant., article “Gladiatores.” Moreover, the Samnites were so called from their being armed in the same way as that people, and in Livy, ix 40, we read expressly of them, *sinistrum crus ocrea tectum*. On the other hand, the *retiarius*, from the very nature of his mode of fighting, certainly wore no greaves; no more, probably, did the *secutor* or the Thracian (see the above-mentioned engravings). I take the meaning, therefore, to be, “or, if your wife takes to another mode of fighting, and adopts the accoutrements of a light-armed gladiator, what a happiness to you to see her sell her greaves!” The whole passage is highly satirical. Maclean thinks there is no point in this, but I think there is. He supposes the meaning to be, “When she gives up her follies in the arena, and goes back to her wantonness.” 258: *puella*, “young wife,” ii 59 note. 260: *Femineum lucet sic per bombycina corpus*, Mart. viii 68 7. *tenuia bombycina*, xiv 24; “silk.” See Dict. G. and R. Ant. “Sericum.” *cyclas* was a circular robe with a gold border, perhaps made of muslin. 261: *monstratos perferat ictus*, compare v 122, *peragat dictata magistri*. 262, 263: *quanta poplilibus sedeat* is translated by Gifford,

"how firm she rests, poised on her hams," and *quam denso fascia libro*, "how close tucked up for fight, behind, before," and this is the common rendering. The one I have given, which Heinrich adopts from Manso, is I think preferable. *Fascia fasciola*, is a common name for the stockings women wore, and sometimes men, Hor. Sat. ii 3 255. Quint. Inst. Or. xi 3, Petron. 40. Here the woman who indulges in manly exercises, is represented as having hers made of bark. This will be better understood by referring to the engraving under "Libra" (a balance) in Dict. G. and R. Ant., where two figures are shown with them. **264**: *scaphium*, Mart. xi 11. There is an allusion here, I think, to the different position which women assume, when using this homely utensil, to that adopted by men. You may well laugh, he says, to see the female gladiator throw aside her arms and use her *scaphium* like a man (*or sit down upon it*, which would be equally ludicrous). Some suppose *scaphium* to have been peculiar to women, and *lasanum* to men, but there is no authority for this. The point as given above is much stronger and more natural. **265**: *Lepidi*. Probably M. Aemilius Lepidus, censor, twice consul and pontifex maximus, is meant. *Metelli*, iii 137 138 note. *Fabius Gurge*, so called from his dissipation in youth, became an eminent man and was twice consul. *Iudia*, a gladiator's wife or woman, 104. *quando ad palum gemat uxor Asyli* is an amplification of the words which precede. *gemere* is often merely to give forth a sound, *gemuit parvo mota fenestra sono*, Ov. Epp. Pont. iii 3 10; here to utter such a sound as would come from a person in the midst of great exertion, to "groan," "grunt." *Asylus*, some noted gladiator, of whom nothing is now known.

268-285: a graphic sketch of a curtain-lecture. The wife abuses her husband for his supposed faithlessness; and yet this very woman's desk is full of billets-doux! If she were caught in the act with one of her lovers she would brazen it out. She would swear she had a right to do as she liked, and that that was the understood arrangement between them. **271** : sqq. Compare Ter. Eun. i 1 22-25. *pueros*, "the boy-slaves," i. q., *pusiones*, 34 35 above. *pellice*, ii 57 note. *in uxorem gravissimum esse genus injuriae, pellicem*, Sen.

Epp. 95. **274**: *expectantibus illam*, “awaiting her signal.” There is no necessity for supposing *illam* to be put for *illa*. Compare Ov. Her. ii 51. *Credidimus lacrymis; an et haec simulare docentur?* *Hae quoque habent artes, quaque jubentur eunt?* and *lacrimae pressura palpebrarum coactae*, Appul. Met. v 99. **276**: what *curruca* means can only be conjectured. One scholium says, it is the name of a bird which hatches the cuckoo’s eggs instead of its own; which would be a term very applicable to a husband who was bringing up, as his own, children by another man. *per contra*, Varro speaks of the cuckoo invading other birds’ nests. Some MSS. read *Uruca*, “stupidi mimologi nomen,” according to the scholiast. Heinrich’s note should be consulted. *sibi placere* is to be satisfied with one’s self. *Ego numquam mihi minus quam hesterno die placui*, Cic. de Or. ii 4; “you are radiant,” so, *sibi displicere* to feel out of sorts, Cic. Phil. i 5. **277**: *tabellas*, “billets-doux,” “love letters,” 233; and Hor. Epod. 12 i 2. *Munera cur mihi, quidve tabellas Mittis?* *Furtimque tabellas Occulto portans, itque reditque sinu*, Tibull. ii 6 45. **278**: *zelotypae*, v 45, viii 197. *scrinia*, “book-box,” “a writing-case,” “desk.” Hence the French “écrin.” *prius orto Sole vigil, calamus et chartas et scrinia posco*, Hor. Epp. ii i 113. Martial says of his book to the reader, *Scrinia da magnis, me manus una capit*, i 3; from which it would seem that these cases would sometimes hold a great deal. **279, 280**: A man was allowed to kill his wife if he caught her in this situation—at any rate before the Lex Julia. Aul. Gell. x 23. *dic, dic*. ii 135 136. *colorem*, vii 155, note. Even Quintilian himself, the prince of rhetoricians, if he were called in, could invent no subtlety for her defence. **281**: *Haeremus*, “we are at a complete loss.” So *haereo* is used, by itself, in Ter. Eun. v 2 9. *Sed estne haec Thais quam video? ipsa’st. Haereo. Quid faciam?* (though some read *haereo quid faciam*.) For the plural, i 15 note. *indulgere mihi*, “follow my own inclinations.” **283**: *mare coelo confundas*, ii 25. **284**: *homo sum. Nemo, inquit, non nostrum peccat: homines sumus non Dei*, Petron. 75. **285**: *deprensis*, “caught in the act,” 640. *O juvenes, deprendere parcite vestras . . . Crescit amor prensis*, Ov. A. A. ii 557-9. So, *deprehensa adultera*, Quint. *iram . . . sumunt*

is like *Fortem animum praestant rebus quas turpiter audent*, 97. *animos* is here “impetus,” as in *i. alea quando Hoe animos?* *Parce tuis animis vita nocere tibi*, Propert. ii 5 18, “by your impetuosity.”

286–345: What has brought all these abominations upon us? Foreign luxury and the increase of wealth. Then follow sketches of some of the nocturnal orgies, indulged in by Roman ladies of high rank. **286**: *tamen* might be taken with *unde*. “Whence, ever?” “Whence, after all?” *Quippe, ubi nec causas, nec apertos cernimus ictus Unde tamen veniant tot mala cieca via est*, Propert. ii 4. **289 290**: *vellere manus*. “The distaff was to women what the plough was to men.” Mommsen Bk. i ch. 5, and cf. the epitaphs which he quotes. *Domum servavit Optima lanifica pia*, &c. The great ladies no longer spun in Juv.’s time. **294**: *ex quo (tempore)* “from the time that.” The words are always used by Juvenal in this sense, i 81, x 77, *ex quo suffragia nulli vendimus*. xiv 261. See note to first-named passage. **295**: *paupertas Romana perit*, i.e., since the general condition of the Romans had ceased to be one of poverty. **296**: *petulans madidumque ebrius ac petulans*, iii 278. *ebrietatis temeritas ac petulantia*, Sen. de Ira. iii 14. *Tarentum* is also called *unctum, molle, imbellie*, &c., by the poets. **297**: *pet.* ‘saucy,’ *hominem petulanter modestum reddo*, Cic. ad Att. ii 1. **301**: *Mediumque mavult basiare quam summum*, Mart. xi 61 5. This explains 51. *libido . . . ne capiti quidem parcit*, Lact. V. C. vi. **304, 305**: *vertigine tectum Ambulat. summus vertitur aer*, 99. *vertiginem capit is, tecta ipsa mobilia, velut aliquo turbine circumagente totam domum*, as Seneca describes the effects of drunkenness, Epp. 83; and he gives an equally bad account of women, *Non minus perrigilant, non minus potant, et oleo et mero viros provocant*, Epp. 95. **305**: *accessit fervor capiti numerusque lucernis*, Hor. Sat. ii 1 25. *jam lucernae mihi plures videbantur ardere*, Petron. 64. **306**: *I nunc*, a derivative expression, “go now,” “go then.” *I nunc, et versus tecum meditare canoros*, Hor. Epp. ii 2 76; *I nunc, tolle animos et tecum finge triumphos*, Propert. iii 18 17; and again, in our author, x 310, xii 57. So, *I* simply in x 166, *I, demens*. Seneca has *eat nunc* at the beginning of Consol. ad Polyl.

ἀλλή, Homer, Il. γ. 432. Mart. has *I nunc et dubita* as here, viii 63 3. 306–308: These women exchange impious sneers and jeers, when they pass the altar of Chastity. Cf. Propert. ii 6 25 26. 309: *micturiunt hic*, a dreadful profanation, i 131. 311: *Inque vices equitant*, an obscene meaning, Hor. Sat. ii 7 50. Mart. xi 104 14; Ov. A. Am. iii 778. *luna teste moventur*. Compare viii 149, *sed luna videt, sed sidera testes Intendunt oculos*. Catull. 7 7 8. 314: We have had *Bona Dea* spoken of in ii 86, sqq., note. *cum tibia lumbos Incitat. incitante tibiae cantu lymphaticum tripudium*, App. Met. viii 172. *Cum carmina lumbum Intrant*, Pers. 315: *cornu* is the pipe or flageolet (*tibia*); see ii 90, note. 315, 316: *feruntur attonitae*; so *feruntur prae-cipites*, 648 649. *Priapum*. Other readings are *Priapi* and *Priapo*. *Priapum* is better than the other two, and we shall do no injustice to Juvenal by adopting it. 318: *vox* alludes to the tone of the voice under the influence of passion, ii 111 112. 321: has an obscene sense, cf. Appul. Met. ii 32, *pendulae Veneris fructu me satiavit*, where some read *fluctu* wrongly: see next note. 322: *fluctum*. Compare Lucret. iv 1271; and Appul. Met. ii 25, *lumbis sensim vibrantibus . . . decenter undabat*; and Arnob. adv. gent. 2 73, *lumborum crispitudine fluctuare*. 323: satirical. There is no *majorum respectus* there, *virtus* alone is regarded. The woman who carries off the palm in these filthy games enjoys the most consideration. This line is, of course, rejected by some commentators. 325, 326: Compare Mart. xi 60. *Phlogis . . . Ulcus habet Priami quod tendere possit alutam Quodque senem Pylium non sinat esse senem*, and cf. Mart. vi 71 3, xiv 203, Ov. Am. iii 7 41. *Nestoris hernia* is like *virtus Scipiadae*, &c., in Horace; see iv 39, note. 328: *ac* is the reading of P. *it* and *et* are other readings. *it* has been put in by copyists, who did not see that the omission of the verb is quite in Juvenal's manner. *Pullati proceres, difert vadimonia praetor*, iii 212. *qua capta juventa*, vi 103. 329: *jam dormit*, if he is asleep by this time, because it is so late; not, "if he is not yet up." 330: *cucullo*. 118, note. 331: *si nihil est*, &c. *Horum si nihil est aviam resupinat amici*, ii 112. Horace uses *impetus fieri in (ancillam)*, Sat. i 2 117,

in the same sense as *incurritur* here. 332: *venit*, "is brought upon the scene." *aquarius*. In the last resort, they will hire a water-carrier. These persons were much looked down upon. They appear to have been generally slaves. The *servi* above are domestic slaves in the house where these orgies are supposed to take place. Failing these, they send out for the first person that can be got. 333, 334: *mora nulla . . . quo minus*. Compare xii 111 112. 335: *atque utinam*, compare iv 150. 337: *noverunt Mauri atque Indi*, "all the world knows." Cic. says of the same transaction, *quod omnes non modo homines verum etiam pecudes factum esse sciant*, ad Att. i 16. *psaltria* is Clodius, who introduced himself into the ceremonies of Bona Dea, to which only women were admitted, on an occasion when they were celebrated at the house of Julius Caesar, disguised as a female musician, Seuton. J. Caes. 6. It was a matter of notoriety, for Clodius was tried for it. 338: *Anticatones*. Cicero wrote a panegyric on Cato of Utica, which was answered by Julius Caesar, in two books of *Anticatones*. The form of a Roman book, which was usually that of a roll of paper or parchment, with us (see Dict. G. and R. Ant., engraving under "Liber"), will explain the allusion here. Clodius was the lover of Caesar's wife, Pompeia. Suetonius mentions this work of Caesar's, J. Caes. 56; and Cicero speaks of it as very abusive, ad Att. xii 41; but yet justice seems to have been done, perhaps involuntarily, to the character of Cato. Plin. Epp. iii 12, *quem tamen (Catonem) C. Caesar ita reprehendit, ut laudet, &c.* 340, 341: Juvenal seems here to imitate Seneca, who, in speaking of this very Clodius, says, *violatis religionibus ejus sacrificii, quod pro populo fieri dicitur, sic submotis extra conspectum omnibus viris ut picturae quoque masculorum animalium congregantur*, Epp. 97. *alterius sexus* is, of course, the male sex. 342: *tunc* must refer to the days of Clodius; and yet people had not reached such a pitch of impiety and profanity as they have now. 343: *simpurium*, a small cup of earthenware, out of which libations of wine were offered to the gods. A figure of one is given in Dict. G. and R. Ant., under "Simpulum, or Simprium," from which it would appear to have somewhat resembled in form our earthenware

punch-ladles. *Numae*, i.e., of the old primitive worship. Long after Juvenal's time, we have the object spoken of as typical of all that was sacred in paganism. *Quicquid Quiritum sueverat Orare simpuvium Numae, Christi frequentans atria, &c.* Prudent. Perist. ii 513. *nigrum catinum*, a coarse dish, made of dark, common clay. **344**: *Vaticano*. The second syllable is short in Hor. Od. i 20 7, and long, as here, in Mart. i 19 2. The neighbourhood of the Vatican supplied the clay of which these rude objects used in primitive worship, were formed. It is still used for a similar purpose. **345**: *sed . . . aras*. Seneca says, *Omne tempus Clodios, non omne Catones feret*, Epp. 97. Clodius had become proverbial; and his name has been used before, by our author, in this sense, ii 27. *ad quas non Clodius aras* resembles *quo non prostat femina templo* ix 24. **346**: I hear what you, my old friends, have long since been wanting to give me as your advice. For *olim*, with the present tense, see iv 96, note. **346, 347**: *Pone seram*. Either "Put up a lock on your front-door," or "Put a lock on her room-door." Most probably the former. Cf. Rich. ad voc. In any case, "Keep her under lock and key," as we say. *sed quis custodiet . . . custodes?* *Nullus in urbe fuit tota qui tangere vellet uxorem gratis Caeciliane tuam* Dum licuit, *sed nunc, positis custodibus, ingens Turba fututorum est; ingeniosus homo es*, Mart. i 74, and compare Tibull. ii 4 33, *Sed pretium si grande feras, custodia victa est, Nec prohibent claves, et canis ipse tacet*. No more amusing illustration of the query can be found than that related in Mart. vi 72. **350**: *silicem*, "the lava pavement," iii 272. **351**: compare iii 240, *ingenti curret super ora Liburno*. *longorum. longus* for "tall" is very rare, x 223, Catull. 67 47 and 86 1, in both of which places there is, as here, a dash of contempt, like our "long." Ovid calls Andromache *longissima* in a jocular tone, A. A. iii 777. At a later period *long.* is commonly used for "tall." Capit. Max. et Bal. 9, &c.

352-365: He now comes to the extravagant woman, who squanders the remains of her paternal property in order to make an appearance in public. Lucretius has some very graphic passages on the extravagance of women, iv 1122, sqq.

The last two hundred verses of that book (iv) have been compared with our author by Mr. Munro. "They display a satirical vein as powerful and much more subtle than that of Juvenal," *Lucret.* vol. ii p. 98. 352: *Ut spectet ludos.* On the fondness of the Romans for shows, cf. 87 above, iii 223, x 81, xi 52 53, &c. *Ogulnia.* There was an Ogulnia gens, plebeian, but mixed up in some historical events. 354: *flavam,* 120 note. The *nutrix* must be a sort of duenna, as in Seneca's comedies. 355: *tamen*, yet, though she has to hire everything in order to make a figure abroad, she is making away with the last relics of her patrimony. *argenti* "plate" i 76. 356: *Levibus athletis.* The meaning is very doubtful. It may have the same sense as *mollis*, and *athletae* may bear an indecent sense. But the woman is fond of the shows, and however we take *levibus*, it seems better to understand *athletis* literally; perhaps "spruce athletes," or "young athletes who were not yet bearded," like *sponsus levus adhuc.* iii 111. *novissima*, "the last of her vessels," *novissimus annulus*, xi 42; literally "newest," and hence "last." Varro says this was a new use of the word, and one to be avoided, *Quod extremum dicebatur, dici novissimum coeptum vulgo, quod mea memoria ut Aelius, sic senes alii, quod nimium novum verbum esset, vitabant*, quoted by Aul. Gell. x 21, who (as has often been pointed out) is wrong in saying that Cicero never used it. It is used also by Catullus, Caesar, Sallust, C. Nepos, Virgil, Ovid, &c. 357: *res angusta domi* has occurred before, iii 165. *angusta pauperies*, Hor. Od. iii 2. 357, 358: *pudorem paupertatis.* Horace has *paupertatis pudor et fuga*, Epp. i 18 24. There the words are applied to a man who has a dread of appearing as poor as he is, i.e., in a bad sense. Here the words are used in a good sense. 361: The old legend, Virg. i 186, &c. 364: *Utar et ex medico quantum res poscat acervo Tollam*, Hor. Epp. ii 2 190. These women think they have got a Fortunatus's purse. *exhausta arca* is an abl. abs. That her money should sprout from the chest, the usual construction would be *ab arca*, but the rendering in the translation is in accordance with the English idiom. 365: *reputant* (not *reputat*) is the best reading. There is no difficulty about the plural, iii 113, vi 464, and cf. xiii 106 107.

Several examples of this use of the plural after the singular occur in Virgil, and are referred to in the *Saturday Review*, April 8, 1871, in the course of a notice of the Public School Latin Grammar: *Undique visendi studio Trojana juventus Circumfusa ruit certantque illudere capto*, Aen. ii 63, we might say, “The Trojan youth surrounds him and they (these young people) jeer the captive;” and the Latin idiom seems to resemble ours. The reviewer adds—“Is it not quite evident that the use of the singular verb is to indicate the simultaneous movement of a large mass, and that of the plural to represent the multitude as severed into groups?” It may be so in that particular instance, as also in Aen. iv 86, sqq., but, in fact, this use of the plural after the singular is extremely common, where no such refinement can be intended. *ex. gr.*, Caes. de Bell. Gall. iii 22, and it is constantly found in Seneca, and indeed in most Roman authors. The meaning here is simply, “These women never consider,” &c.

366–378: We must hope that, in this passage, in which Juvenal speaks of the castration of adult male slaves by their mistresses, he has in view some isolated examples, which may have come to his knowledge, of so frightful a practice. I believe this was often the case with our poet, and that being in search of vices to lash, he took especial care to select the very worst specimens that were to be picked up. We must not, therefore, suppose such a practice to have been anything but extremely rare, even in that day; though the fact of its having been possible, gives a frightful idea of the times. *mollia semper oscula*, “kisses which can never be other than effeminate.” **366:** Mart. vi 67, x 91. Domitian prohibited the castration of males. Mart. vi 2, ix 7; Suet. Dom. 7; Stat. Silv. iii 4 73, sqq., iv 3 13, sqq., and so did Nerva, according to Dio. lxviii 2. *ινομοθίησας δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ πιστοῦ μὴ εἰνουχίζεσθαι τινα*. The early fathers, Jerome, Tertullian, &c., are outspoken in condemnation of the practice, and witnesses to its existence. The males spoken of there are, however, generally infants. **371:** *spectatos*, “tried,” “proved,” “examined,” not merely “looked at.” Forcellini gives examples, *fulvum spectatur in ignibus aurum*, Ov. Trist. i 5 25; *Non, hercle, cui nunc hoc (argentum) dem spectandum scio*, Plaut.

Pers. iii 3 36. Lucret. iii 55. So, *spectatus, spectatissimus, vir*, Cic. &c., a tried, proved man. 373: *tonsortis damno tantum*, "to the loss of the barber," as his beard would not grow. *Heliodorus* is any surgeon. 374: Cf. Mart. i 24, iii 3, xi 47, iii 51, vii 35, iii 72, xi 75, from the four last of which passages it will appear that there were baths at Rome for the two sexes in common; and this is expressly stated by Plin. H.N. xxxiii 12, but the reference here is to any baths. 375: *custodem vitis et horti*, sc. Priapum, Mart. i 36 15, iii 68 9. He was represented with large genitals, Hor. Sat. i 8 5; and what was left to eunuchs was supposed to grow very large. This gives the meaning of *provocat*. 376: *dormiat, domina*. Mart. vi 67. 378: *Tondendum*. The locks of these favourite boys were allowed to grow long, like those of girls, till they had attained the age of puberty, when the hair was cut short. It is to this that Horace alludes, Od. iv 10, *Insperata tuae cum veniet pluma superbiae Et quae nunc humeris involitant deciderint comae. Tondebit pueros jam nova nupta tuos*, Mart. xi 78, xii 18 24. So *acersecomes*, a favourite youth with unshorn locks, Juv. viii 128. *Bromium*. The poet calls the still unshorn youth by the name of Bacchus (*Bromius*), in consequence of that god being represented as a youth with long hair. *sic denique non sint Tam longae Bromio quam tibi Phoebe comae*, Mart. iv 45. So a handsome youth comes in at Trimalchio's banquet *modo Bromium, interdum Lyaeum, Eviumque confessus*, all three names of Bacchus, Petron. 41, Ov. Met. iv 11. *Bromia* is the name of a hand-maid in Plaut. *Amphitryon*. 378: *committere eunicho Bromium*, "Don't entrust Bromius to the eunuch, nam hunc (*Bromium*) certe diffindet et disruptet enormitate membrorum sui" (Heinrich). I think now that this must be the meaning, though I thought formerly that the sense was "Do not match Bromius against the eunuch." But in that case *cum* would be required. *commit*. *Brom. cum eunuch tondendum* refers to the cutting short the hair of these favourite slaves when they came to men's estate, as mentioned above. Orell. This a young bride would be likely to have done at once, reducing these *delicati* to the ranks, so to speak. Add to the passages there cited Catull. 61 138. There is great humour in

thus addressing *Postumus* directly, as though his own intended were likely to come into the category of the ladies here described.

379–398: Next comes the woman who dotes on music and musicians. No artist can withstand her advances. She is constantly to be seen with an instrument belonging to the loved one in her hands. Some great ladies have gone so far as to sacrifice to the gods on behalf of their favourites. **379:** *cantus* is not necessarily vocal music. It is applied to all kinds of music, *cantus tibiae, citharae, &c.*; but it may be rendered by “singing” here, since the lyre seems never to have been played, except as an accompaniment to song—something like our guitar. *fibula*, above 73. The process of infibulation is described by Celsus, and alluded to by Pliny, H. N. xxxiii 12. Rings of silver, &c., were passed through the prepuce. No *fibulae* are of any avail against the ladies who are given to musicians. **380:** *vocem vendentis praetoribus.* So viii 192, *sua funera vendere*, i.e., to become a gladiator (if that reading be adopted), as here, to be a musician. The praetors presided over public games and theatrical representations, as the aediles had done under the Republic; x 36, xi 195 **381:** *densi . . . sardonyches.* This must mean that her numerous rings sparkle as she plays. *testudo*, common, for the lyre. *pecten*, “a small staff,” apparently the same as the *plectrum*, with which the strings were sometimes struck; at other times they were played with the fingers. This instrument is shown in an engraving of the Dict. G. and R. Ant., article “Mensa.” It seems to have been made of ivory, Virg. Aen. vi 647. *numerantur.* Jahn has *pulsantur*; but almost without any MS. authority, and it is far feebler. The meaning is, “are run over,” lit. counted: not as some have it, that “numbers are brought from the chords by the striking of the *pecten*.” **383:** *Hedymele*, a fancy name from *ἱδύ* and *μέλος*. **385:** *Lamiarum*, iv 154, note. *quaedam de numero Lamiarum*, “one of the highest aristocracy.” **386:** *rogabat.* She was in the habit of doing it. *Janum Vestamque*, i.e., All the gods from Janus to Vesta. *Cumque in omnibus rebus vim haberent maximam prima et extrema, principem in sacrificando Janum esse voluerunt . . . in ea dea (Vesta) quae est rerum custos intimarum*

omnis et precatio et sacrificatio extrema est, Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii 27; Ov. Fast. i 171 2. **387**: *Capitolinam quercum*. The oak-crown, awarded to a victor at the Capitoline games, which were revived by Domitian in the shape of a quinquennial contest, at which various prizes were offered: among others one for music, Suet. Domit. 4; Mart. iv 54, ix 4. *Pollio*, a celebrated musician, is mentioned again, vii 176; Mart. iv 61 9.

390: sqq. She veiled her head, according to the general custom in sacrifices (*Romano ritu sacrificium cum faciunt capita velant*, says Varro. Cf. Vir. Aen. iii 405 599), and repeated the formula dictated by the priests. The Greeks prayed *aperto capite*, and so did the Romans in the case of some gods. Macrob. Sat. i 10. *cithara*, the harp for the harper. *accedes opera agro nona Sabino*, Hor., the ninth labourer. *varicosus*, he will get varicose veins in his legs, from having to stand so long. *perferre* is here to "repeat." *Mandata Clementi centurioni quae perferret*, Tac. Ann. i 26. *pertulit patris mandata*, ib. 57.

398-412: Still worse is the masculine woman, who delights in the society of men, and runs about the town, retailing all sorts of gossip, true and false. **400**: *paludatis*, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Paludamentum." Generals would be in this attire in the city, only when setting out after receiving the Imperium. This woman button-holes military leaders, even on important occasions—an exaggeration, probably. **401**: *strictis*, "drawn" like a sword, "unsheathed." A term which is suitable to this woman, who runs after generals. In *recta*, there is perhaps an allusion to the upright habit of body of a soldier, "well set up," as we say. **402**: Martial has an epigram to the same purport, on a man he calls Philomusus; *Scis quid in Arsacia Pacorus deliberet aula Rhenanam numeras Sarmaticamque manum Verba ducis Daci chartis mandata resignas Victricem laurum quam venit ante vides Scis quoties Phario madeat Jove fusca Syene Scis quota de Libyco littore puppis eat, &c.*, ix 36. **403**: *quid Seres . . . agant. quid agant venti*, i 9. **404**: *quis amet. Qui scit quam quis amet, qui per convivia currit*. Mart. iii 63. *diripiatur*. Achaintre and others read *decipiatur*, with a very inferior sense. *diri-*

pere, “to pull to pieces,” “to struggle for the possession of,” is very common. Thus, the author of the so-called “Suetonius’s Life of Persius,” *Editum librum continuo mirari homines et diripere coeperunt*. 406: *concubat*, 191. *modis quot*, Ov. Am. ii 8 28. 407: sqq. Trajan made war on the Armenians and Parthians, and about this time the great earthquake of Antioch took place, which may be alluded to in *nutare urbes*, etc. But it is probable that the reference is general. *terraene dehiscent Subsidentque urbes?* Lucan. i 645 646. This woman is full of all sorts of horrors: after the fashion of her kind, if need be, she invents them. *Niphates* is properly a mountain range in Armenia; and so Strabo mentions it. Here it is taken for a river (and similarly by Luc. iii 245, Sil. xiii. 765, Claudian de Tert. Cons. Hon. 72). In Virg. Georg. iii 30, and Hor. Od. ii 9 20, the reference is doubtful. Orellius has a long and learned note on the subject of the last-named passage of Horace.

413–433: Another horrible nuisance; the virago, who if her slumber be broken by the barking of a poor neighbour’s dog, has the man beaten. She makes such a fuss going to the bath at night with her attendants and bathing-utensils, that one would think it was a camp in motion. After using the dumb-bells, and being shampooed by a man, she returns to her guests, who have been waiting supper for her, and swallows a quantity of wine, and vomits it again, to get up an appetite. A sickening sight. 413: *vitium*, the thing for the person. At ii 34, we had the word in the same sense, *vitia ultima*, “the worst of men.” This plague is not worse than she who (*quaes*), &c. *Facinus, malum, scelus*, &c., are similarly used, see note on iv 84. 414: *rapere et concidere solet*, “she causes them to be beaten,” as below. *occidit*, iii 116; *occidunt*, iii 37; *jugulos aperire*, iv 110. *exorata*, though urgently entreated; a common use of the past participle, *numquamne reponam Vexatus toties*, i 12. *latratis*. This would be likely to happen at Rome, where, from a number of passages, we should gather that house-dogs were much more common than in London. Ovid, speaking of night settling on the town, says, *Jamque quiescebant voces hominumque canumque*, Trist. i 3 27. So Sen. and Petron. speak of the *catenarius*

canis, De Ira. iii 37, and Petron. 72, and M. Senec., of *canis ad ostium alligatus*, Controv. 30; Tibull. ii 4 32 34; and often elsewhere. The rich, indeed, seem generally to have kept a dog chained up in the *ostium*, or *janua*. Hence, the warning, "Cave canem," in Petron., and to be seen at Pompeii. Probably the humbler classes also kept them. This poor man perhaps rents one of the *tabernae*, or shops, attached to the great house, and besides barring his shutters (iii 304) keeps a dog for greater security. The poet has told us at iii 235 that *magnis opibus dormitur in urbe*, and here is an illustration of the truth of this. Caligula, according to Sueton., when disturbed by people taking their places in the circus at night, called for cudgels, like the lady here; *fustibus abegit*, Calig. 26. 415: *exorata*, might mean "is prevailed upon *only* to beat them." 419: *conchas*, 304. Jars for oils and perfumes. It seems to have been usual for rich people to go to the baths with a great retinue. So, in the next satire, one who wants to pass for rich *verrat lutulenta balnea turba*, vii 131; and we read in Lucian of *ιν τοῖς βαλανεῖσιν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ιταιών*, Nigrinus 34. 420: *nocte*. It would seem from this that, in Juvenal's day, some at least of the public baths were open at night. In later times the usage, on this head, appears to have varied. Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 24. Vopisc. Tac. 10. 421: *gravi massa*. These were probably *halteres*, leaden weights, corresponding very nearly to our "dumb-bells." *Graves . . . halteras facili rotat lacerto* (of a woman), Mart. vii 67 5, and xiv 49, Sen. Epp. 56. The first-named epigram bears a close resemblance, in parts, to this passage. 422, 423: *cristae* has the same sense as *pecten* in 370. *aliptes*, she takes her own anointer with her. She has been accompanied by a great retinue, 419 420. Hence *dominae* is "his mistress." With 423 compare Mart. vii 67. *Uncti verbere vapulat magistri*, and iii 82 13 14. *Percurrit agili corpus arte tractatrix Manumque doctam spargit omnibus membris*, and Seneca, Epp. 56, says of the *aliptes*; *audio crepitum illisae manus humeris, quae, prout plana pervenit aut concava, ita sonum mutat*, and again, *alium pro se clamare cogit*. 424: We must suppose that some people have been invited to supper; humble dependants, probably of the same kind as Trebius, in Sat. v.

425, 426 : Compare again Mart. vii 67 9 10, *Nec coenat prius aut recumbit ante Quam septem vomit meros deunes.* **426:** *Oenophorum*, vii 11. It is described in Dict. G. and R. Ant., as a “wine-basket,” something like our hamper. Here, as in Mart. vi 89, it is a vessel for holding wine, which is filled to the brim—“stretched,” as it were; compare v 80, *distendit pectore lancem*—by a whole *urna*. *urna* is here a measure, half an amphora, two to three gallons English. So *scyphos urnales*, Petron. 52, which hold an *urna*. **427** : *admot. ped. Misto lagaenam replet ad pedes vino.* Mart. vii 20 19. **428** : *ducitur*, “is tossed off.” *pocula duces sub umbra, ducere nectaris succos*, Horace. *multo duxisti pocula risu,* Propert. ii 9 21. **428, 429** : This habit of the Romans is well known. *vomitiones tunc supra modum frequentes damnavit (Asclepiades)*, says Pliny H. N. xxvi 3. So that the practice had long before his time been introduced. Seneca, in several places, alludes to and condemns it. Women he says, *aequae*, i.e., equally with men, *invitis ingesta visceribus per os reddunt, et vinum omne vomitu remetiuntur*, Epp. 95. *jejuni vomitores*, Epp. 88 ; and Mart. quoted above. The beastly Vitellius was an adept at this practice, Suet. Vitell. 13. The favourite time for it seems to have been just after the bath, as here. οἱ ἀπὸ Βαλανίου καθάρευτοι ἵεσα τοῦ στομάχου πίνοντες ἀμυστοῖς ἀποβλύζουσιν, Athen. Deipn. xv 2, those who, after the bath, clean out their stomachs by large draughts of wine, which they afterwards spurt out ;—though how drinking wine to such excess as to provoke vomiting, just before dinner, could have promoted appetite, I do not know. **430** : *marmoribus*, i 12, note *aurata*. Another reading is *aut lata*. There is not much choice between the two. **431** : *sic tamquam*, iii 308, note.

434-456 : Literary ladies are still more objectionable; they jabber about poetry, so that no one can get in a word; they reprehend their husbands for every slip in grammar. These terribly clever women ought to renounce their sex altogether and come out as men. **434** : *gravior*, “more dreadful,” a still more awful woman. **436** : *committit*, “pairs off;” compare i 163, *Et sua cum antiquae committit scripta Corrinnae*, Propert. ii 3 21. Virgil would naturally

be compared with his great model, Homer. Juvenal compares them on his own account at xi 180 181; and thinks the palm doubtful, Stat. Silv. v 3 62 63; Quintil x. i. He gives numerous indications in his satires of his familiarity with Virgil. *Elissae* is Dido. The lady pities and extends her forgiveness to poor Dido before her death. Mr. Evans renders "excuses the suicide of Dido," i.e., forgives her for making away with herself; and the Latin will bear this sense, though I prefer the former. 439: Not even a lawyer or a crier could make himself heard; no, nor even another woman. 442, 443: When the moon was eclipsed, it was supposed that magicians and witches were endeavouring to bring her down from heaven to aid them in their enchantments, and that she could be relieved from her sufferings by loud noises, beating of brass, sounding of trumpets, &c., to drown the voices of the enchanters, Manil. i 227. *aera auxiliaria Lunae*, Ovid. *Cantus et e curru lunam deducere tentat, Et faceret si non aera repulsa sonent*, Tibull. i 8 21 22; Tac. Ann. i 28; Sen. Nat. Quaest. vii 1, &c. St. Ambrose alludes to this superstition, *Quod cum requirerem quid sibi clamor hic velit, dixerunt mihi quod laboranti Lunae vestra vociferatio subveniret et defectum ejus suis clamoribus subveniret*. The people of Turin used to greet eclipses with loud cries, for which St. Maximus of Turin rebuked them. Similar practices are still adopted by savages in various parts of the world on the occurrence of an eclipse, also in China. cf. Sir John Lubbock's "Savage Life," pp. 156, sqq. *aera* are "cymbals;" and Macleane says something of the same kind still prevails in India. In 1837, according to the "Times," cannon were fired off at Constantinople with the same object.

444-456: The lines 453-456 precede 444-452 in nearly all the editions. Ribbeck has transposed them and I have ventured to do the same. At any rate, if the transposition be a mistake, no violence is done to Juvenal. 444: sqq. Martial expresses the same horror of a learned wife, *Sit non doctissima conjux*, ii 90. *Quaeris cur nolim te ducere Galla? diserta es*, xi 19. The lines here are almost a translation of Eur. Hippolyt. 640 641. 445: *sermone rotato*. In Quint. xi 3 we have *quoties enthymemata sua gestu velut corrotundant* (if that be the correct reading, which I think it is), "who round off."

Another reading is *curvum*. **446**: The enthymema (*ἰθύμημα*) is described, in several places, by Quintilian, who says that there is no Latin word corresponding to it, and that it is better to use the Greek word, as Juvenal does here. As an example of the enthymema, he gives the following:—"That is good of which no one can make a bad use. No one can make a bad use of virtue. Therefore virtue is good." We have here a perfect syllogism. Now, if we say "virtue is good, because no one can make a bad use of it," we have an enthymema. Here it appears as a syllogism, with one premiss suppressed, or understood. And this has always been a favourite weapon, in argument, with women. But it often has merely the sense of *quaestiuncula*. As to the sort of *ἰθύμημα* with which the Romans used to amuse themselves after dinner, cf. Aul. Gell. vi 13. *torqueat*. Pliny uses *contorquere* in the same sense, (*Graeci*) *tam longas, tamque rigidas periodos uno spiritu, quasi torrente contorquent*, Epp. v 20; and Catullus, *vibrare. truces vibrare iambo*s, 36 5, Lucretius, *verbum jaculari*, iv 1137, and Petron., *dicta in calvos stigmatosque jaculari*, 109. *jaculator* in the next satire. **448**: *repetit* seems to mean, "is referring back to in her mind" for authority as to her mode of expressing herself, &c. *Si omnium nearum epistolarum praecepta repeteas, intelliges*, &c., Cic. ad. Q. fr. *volvit*, "opens," "turns over," like a book (metaphorically) or revolves in her mind. *Palaeomonis*, vii 215, note. **450**: *tenet*, "quotes," Evans. But the meaning is, "is mistress of," "recollects." This sense of *tenere* is excessively common and survives in the French "tenir." *teneo melius ista quam meum nomen*, Mart. iv 37, and Pliny, of this same Martial, *remitterem te ad ipsum volumen, nisi quosdam (versiculos) tenerem*, and he proceeds to quote them, Epp. iii. 21. *Quantum antiquitatis tenet* Epp. i 22. *Obliviscenda magis quam tenenda*. Epp. viii 14. The full expression was no doubt *memoria tenere*, Cic. N. D. ii 41, or *memoriter tenere*, Plin. Epp. vi 33 (Cic. has *animis tenere* De Prov. Cons. 4), just as *memoria repelere* is the full expression for *repetere*. Horace speaks of some of these "antiquaries" of the male sex, who praise forgotten poems, *Jam Saliare Numae carmen qui laudat, et illud Quod mecum ignorat solus vult scire videri, Ingeniis non ille favet plaudique sepultis*

Nostra sed impugnat, nos nostraque lividus odit, Ep. ii 1 86
 87. 451: *Opicae*, iii 207. 452: *soloecismum*, cf. Mart.
 xi 19 quoted above, *Quaeris cur nolim te ducere Galla? diserta
 es; saepe soloecismum mentula nostra facit*. This certainly looks
 like a parody of Juvenal. The eleventh book of Martial must
 be referred to the reign of Trajan, and was most likely written
 in or about A.D. 100, and there is nothing in this date to render
 an imitation impossible. On the word *soloecismus*, cf. Aul.
 Gell v 20. 454-456: That is to say, she should dress like
 a man, sacrifice to Silvanus, the god of husbandmen, and go to
 the public baths, along with the males: which last act of inde-
 cency, it would seem, was sometimes witnessed, 374, note.

457-474: Rich women seem to think they may permit
 themselves anything. They soften their complexions with
 bread-poultices, for the sake of their lovers, not their hus-
 bands. They enamel their faces, and plaster themselves with
 all sorts of pigments and ointments. 458: *virides gemmas*
 would be, I suppose, emeralds or jaspers. Claudian says of a
 bride, *viridique angustat iaspide pectus. grandes viridi cum
 luce smaragdi*, Lucret. iv 1126, Tibull. ii 4 27. Emeralds
 occupied the same rank as they do with us, being next but
 one to the diamond, the pearl, however, being second, instead
 of the ruby. At least, so it appears from Pliny. 459 :
clenchi were, according to Pliny, long tapering pearls ending
 in a bulb—a form of earring common among us, H. N. ix 35.
 460: For the same sentiment, cf. Mart. viii 12. Plautus
 illustrates it very happily in the Aulul. iii 5 24-30. This
 line has, of course, been considered spurious. Jahn and Rib-
 beck propose to put 461-463 after 464-466. Macleane says,
 “*Interea* is not otherwise very intelligible.” It seems to me
 to offer no difficulty. There is nothing which a rich woman
 will not permit herself, says Juvenal, a woman who puts on
 costly necklaces and wears precious earrings. In the mean-
 while, she makes up her face with all sorts of cosmetics.
 Putting on the jewels is the last act of the completed toilette,
 and *interea* (the French “en attendant”) refers to the pre-
 parations made at home, the secrets of the dressing-table,
 which are next spoken of. 460 is thrown in parenthetically,
 quite after the manner of the poet. See below, 531. ad
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moechum . . . Indi is also a kind of parenthesis. *auribus extensis*, in the line above, is another instance of prolepsis. The ears were stretched out when the earrings had been put into them. **462**: See ii 107. *Poppaea* was the wife of Nero. She may have invented some cosmetic for the skin. The men seem to have been just as bad as the women; *mollibus lenibusque fomentis totum lacescitur eorum corpus*, Sen. de Vit. Beat. ii. **463**: *hinc*, viii 105, note. **464**: *veniunt*. This is the best MS. reading, and it has been altered to *veniet*, without necessity. Compare iii 113, vi 365, xiii 106 107 note. Lucilius has the same sentiment *Cum tecum est, quidvis satis est: Visuri alieni sunt homines? spiram, pallas, redimicula promit*, Fragm. xv 5. *non tibi, sed juveni cuidam vult bella ridenti*, Tibull. i 9 71. **465**: *foliata*, from the leaves of the spikenard, Plin. H. N. xiii 1. **468, 470**: She bathes in asses' milk, like Poppaea, of whom Pliny says, *quingentas secum per omnia trahens foetus (asinas) balnearium etiam solo totum corpus illo lacte macerabat, extendi quoque cutem credens*, Plin. H. N. xi 41. The same story is told by Dio. lxii 28, ὡραὶ ὑπερεργάφοσιν . . . ὥστε διους τεττακοσίας ἀρηπόκευς καθ' ἡμέραν αἰδελγίσθαι, ή' ἣν γάλαχτι αὐτῶν λούγηται. This woman, says the poet, would take she-asses out in her suite, to furnish her with milk if she were banished to the ends of the earth. *comites*, iii 47, note. *axem*, "clime," as at viii 116. Observe the repetition of *fovetur*, 468–471.

474–511: It would be worth while inquiring how these women spend their day. If anything has gone wrong at night, the servants suffer for it in the morning. If my lady has made an appointment with her lover, the unhappy maid has a bad time of it, when assisting at her toilette. What pains, for instance, are necessary to build up the towering head-dress now in fashion, and how ridiculous is often the result! These women cannot be called wives, in the proper sense of the word. Their only thought of their husbands seems to be to plague and ruin them. **474**: *pretium curae*. The common expression is *operae pretium*, Hor. Sat. ii 4 63, i 2 37. In Pliny, Epp. viii 6, we have *Postquam mihi visum est pretium curae ipsum S(enatus) C(onsultum) quaerere*. There, however, as here, some MSS. read *operae pretium*, cf. Ovid,

Epist. ex Pont. ii 4 16; Trist. ii 1 11. *Pretium* occurs alone, *Sit pretium longas quaesisse per undas Scyron*, Stat. Achill. ii 378. 475, 476: *aversus maritus*. *aversi petit oscula grata mariti*, Lucan, v 736. *libraria* may be the woman who weighed out the wool, &c., for the girls to spin. The meaning is not certain. 476, 477: *ponunt tunicas*, i.e., to be flogged. *cum posita stares ad verbera veste*, Ov. Am. i 6 19. *Liburnus*, iii 240. 478: *alieni somni*, "of her husband's sleep." 479: *frangit ferulas*, "has them broken on his back;" *frangebat vertice vitem*, viii 247. The *flagellum* was worse than the *scutica*. Hor. Sat. i 3 119. 480: *tortoribus*. *Tontrix Suburrae faucibus sedet primis Cruenta pendent qua flagella tortorum*, Mart. ii 17; and ix 93, to *Condylus* (a slave), *Tortorem metuis?* So *carnifex*, Juv. viii 175; and cf. xiv 21. In Petronius, 49, a delinquent cook is placed, for punishment, *inter duos tortores*. Juvenal says that some women pay a regular salary to persons who whip, &c., their slaves when required. If I remember rightly, in Mrs. Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin," something very like the *tortor* is represented as existing in New Orleans. In the "Digests" we learn that the Emperor Hadrian (perhaps about the date of this Satire) banished a lady of quality for five years, *quod ex levissimis causis ancillas atrocissime tractasset*, i 6 2, quoted by Friedländer. 481, 483, 484: *verberat, caedit, caedit*. This does not mean that she inflicts the blows herself, as is sufficiently shown by the context, *lassis caedentibus*. Compare 414 415 above, *Vicinos humiles rapere et considere loris Exorata solet*, and note; and Sen. Epp. 122, *Audio, inquit, circa horam tertium noctis, flagellorum sonos: quaero, quid sit? Dicitur rationes accipere*. 485: *cognitio* is properly a judicial proceeding. 486: The government of her house is as bad as that of the noted Sicilian tyrants, Dionysius, Phalaris, &c. We have had two instances in this Satire of a general sentiment or statement contained in a single line, followed by *nam* at the commencement of the next line, by way of illustrating and developing it, *Quaedam parva quidem sed non toleranda maritis Nam quid rancidius, &c.*, 184 185, *Imponit finem sapiens et rebus honestis Nam quae docta nimis, &c.*, 453 454. But for this connection,

the first lines would be rejected as monkish glosses. Indeed one has been (184, note), cf. xiv 226 227. **489**: *hortis*, "the public gardens." Besides those of Caesar, Cic. Phil. ii 42, there were many gardens in Rome which were frequented by the public, and doubtless served as places of rendezvous, cf. Cic. pro Cael. 15. *vicinum adolescentulum aspexisti . . . fuisti nonnunquam in iisdem hortis. Isiacae lenae*, i.e., Isis herself, the well-known Egyptian goddess and patroness of an impure worship. She seems to have had several temples in Rome, besides the one mentioned below, 529. **491**: *Peccas* occurs as one of Diana's nymphs in Ov. Met. iii 172. The scholiast on this passage gives the etymology. "Ornatrices igitur componentes rarum ac parvum aquae solent mittere, ac velut, *ψικαζειν*." And this Forcell. follows. It seems very doubtful. **492**: *Unus de toto peccaverat orbe comarum Annulus incerta non bene fixa manu Hoc facinus Lalage speculo quo viderat ulta est Ei cecidit sectis ita Plecusa comis*, Mart. ii 66; Propert. iv 7 45; Ov. Am. i 14 16. These *ornatrices* must have had a bad time of it in some cases, but they seem often to have got their liberty; cf. Sueton. Claud. 40. **497**: *concilio* seems to me the better word here (not *consilio*), and one of Rupert's MSS. has it. The men were just as bad, according to Seneca, *de singulis capillis in consilium itur*, "they enter into consultation about every single hair," de Brev. Vit. 12; and just above he has *athletas novissimos pascit*, reminding one of 356. *admotaque lanis*. Horace says to an old woman, who still wishes to appear young; *Te lanae . . . non citharae decent*, Od. iii 15 13. These women are called into council just like the courtiers in Satire iv, and *censere* and *sententia*, which are words taken from the Senate, are used, as at 130 and 136 of that Satire. *materna*, "an old family slave." This is better than *matrona*, the reading of some MSS., and which is probably due to transcribers, who did not understand the former term. A slave, who could not contract marriage, could not, strictly speaking, be a *matrona*. **502**: sqq. H. Valerius (whose notes are given at the end of Achaintre's edition) was the first to notice that coins of the reign of Trajan and, to some extent, of Hadrian, exhibit a style of head-dress similar to that described in the text. The coins of Plotina, the wife,

and Marciana, the sister of Trajan (particularly the latter), engraved in the Dict. G. and R. Biog., will show this. (However, it will not do to assign too much importance to the point. A bust of Julia, daughter of Titus, in the Capitol at Rome, exhibits the hair built up in tiers.) *celsae procul aspice frontis honores Suggestumque comae*, Stat. Silv. i 2 113. The mode does not seem to have gone entirely out of fashion in the time of Appuleius, cf. Met. ii 26. *frequenti sobole spissus (capillus) cumulat verticem*, and it is alluded to by subsequent writers, as Tertullian, who complains that women "add to their stature" in this way, in defiance of Scripture, de Cult. Fem. ii 7. Tertullian is never to be cited as an authority for Latin, but he was in the world not long after Juvenal, at a time when manners had not much varied, and he often illustrates our author. The whole treatise, *De Cultu Feminarum*, is worth reading in conjunction with this Satire. It has hence been inferred that this Satire was written not earlier than the reign of Trajan. *Andromachen*, because she was proverbial for tallness. *Omnibus Andromache visa est spatiösior aequo : Unus qui modicam diceret Hector erat*, Ov. A. A. ii 645. **504** : *cedo si breve parvi*, &c. Maclean says, "This is a sort of mock apology for the turreted hair-dressing." What is a woman to do, if she is shorter than a pigmy ! &c., and he adds, "there can be no doubt of the meaning, I think." I think it is open to considerable doubt, and that he has not here hit off the sense, which appears to me to have been correctly given by Achaintre, "Quod vitium jam in femina mediocris statura ridiculum, quanto ridendum magis, si sortita fuerit breve spatium lateris." The poet says—This turreted head-dressing makes a woman look a regular Andromache (as tall as a grenadier, as we should say) in front. But look at her behind ! she is much shorter. She is a different person. Pray, tell me, what if she be small as a pigmy ! i.e., pray what will the effect be ? cf. xiii 210. **508-510** : Three different words for "husband," in these three lines ! Surely, this is very clumsy, and would have been noticed by Ribbeck, if it had occurred in one of the Satires which he disputes. *gravis est rationibus*, some take to mean "she plagues him with her bills." So Von Siebold, "ihn drückt durch Rech-

nungen ;" but *rationes* are the husband's accounts to which the wife is *gravis*, cf. i 118.

511-541: From 511 to 591 we have the superstitions of women treated of. In this passage we are introduced to the priests of Bellona, Cybele, &c., who all, in their several ways, frighten the women, and get money and offerings out of them. Though the objects of superstition have changed since Juvenal's time, yet the devotion of women to rites and priests, and the *modus operandi* of the priests themselves, have not, as a rule, undergone any great change. Appuleius, in the eighth book of his Metamorphoses, gives a lively picture of the methods by which these impostors used to extort offerings of various kinds from their victims. **512**: *Bellona* was worshipped with various savage rites, her priests wounding their arms and legs, and sometimes shamming, as we learn from a curious passage in Lamprid. Comm. 9. *Bellonae servientes vere execrare brachium praecepit, &c.* It is to this that Lucan alludes, i 565, sqq., *tum quos sectis Bellona lacertis Saeva movet, cecinere deos; crinemque rotantes Sanguinei populis ulularunt tristia Galli*, where he couples with the Bellonarii, or priests of Bellona, the Galli, or priests of Cybele, as here (cf. Juv. iv 124). These men were eunuchs, *semiviri*. *Semiviro Cybeles cum grege junxit iter*, Mart. iii 91, *semimares*, Ov. Fast. iv 183. Τοὺς ἵρι γυναιξὶν ἀνδραῖς, ἵρι αἰδητάσι γυναιξαῖς, as Gregory Nazianzenus calls them. *intrat*, "comes upon the scene." *obsceno*, "his obscene inferior," Evans; "the lesser eunuchs," Macleane. The latter is, I think, correct. *obsceno* is used substantively, *minori* as the adjective, as at ii 9, *tristibus obscenia*. All these fellows are *obsceni*. **514**: *mollia* i 83, note. They become *molles*, 366 367, after the act of barbarism has been performed. Compare Catull. 61; Mart. ii 45. *rapta*. Another reading is *rupta*, but the former is far better. He has snatched it up in his wild enthusiasm. *rupta* has been substituted, from the idea that unless the *testa* were broken, it would not be suited to the purpose. But in Mart. 3 81, *Abscissa est quare Samia tibi mentula testa?* we have *testa* spoken of as the instrument, without any mention of its being broken. *Testam sumit homo Samiam, hoc inguit milite telo Praecidi caulem, testesque una ampulat ambo*, Lucil. fragm.

vii 1; Plin. H. N. xxxv 12. The Emperor Elagabalus who was an adept in all these rites is said to have emasculated himself, Lampr. and Aur. Vict. Dio, with much more probability, says he only thought of doing so. 515: *cedunt*, "they are silenced," to enable him to speak. Compare with this passage ii 111, sqq. *tympana* were their instruments, viii 176. *Gallo matris Deum tympanizante*, Suet. Aug. 68. 517: sqq. He bids her, in big language, dread the unwholesome season of the year, and threatens all sorts of evils unless he purifies her with a hundred eggs. Eggs were used in purifications, Plin. H. N. x 6; Ov. A. A. ii 330, where they are coupled with sulphur. Pliny tells many cock-and-bull stories about eggs, which are still the subject of superstitions; as, for instance, that the spoon should be thrust through the bottom of the shell, after the inside has been eaten, Plin. H. N. xxviii 2. 519: *xerampelinas*, from ξερός and ἄμπελος, the colour of a dried vine-leaf, "between scarlet and purple," Schol. I have followed Mr. Evans in translating "murrey-coloured." 521: *tunicas*. Women, it is hardly necessary to mention, wore a kind of tunic. Sometimes the neophyte dipped his head seven times, *purificandi studio, me marino lavacro trado; septiesque submerso fluctibus capite, quod eum numerum praecepit religionibus aptissimum divinus ille Pythagoras prodidit*, &c., Appul. Met. xi 238. 522: sqq. This superstition is mentioned by Hor. Sat. ii 3 290, sqq.; Pera. ii 15. *regis agrum* is the Campus Martius, originally the property of Tarquinius Superbus. In the preceding line *timidum* is put in contrast with *verticibus ipse abluet*. To such an extent will superstition lay hold of her, that she, timid and shrinking female as she is on ordinary occasions, will plunge her head in the very eddies, &c. 525: Compare Tibullus, i 2 83, quoted by Ruperti, and Senec. de Vit. Beat. 27, *cum aliqua, genibus per viam repens, ululat*, a practice which he mentions among other superstitions. 526: *Io* is here, as elsewhere, identified with Isis. There is a certain degree of resemblance between the religious myths of the two, and they were both represented with cows' horns, Herod. ii 41. *candida*, from the story of her being turned into a white cow. 528: *Meroe*, in

Aethiopia, where Jupiter Ammon had an oracle, Herod. ii 29. In the present day, babies of royal families are sometimes baptized with water from the river Jordan. 528, 529: *aedem . . . ovili*. This was the temple of Isis, near the Campus Martius, the principal temple of the goddess in Rome, though there were others. It seems to have been destroyed in the great fire which took place under Titus, and to have been restored by Domitian. She was thence called *Isis Campensis*. The *ovile*, otherwise called *septa*, or *carceres*, were the enclosures, or lobbies, into which the citizens were admitted to vote at the Comitia Centuriata. These were in the Campus Martius. 531: taken in conjunction with the preceding line, seems to refer to the woman herself, and not the priest, as some understand. She thinks the goddess has communicated with her in a dream. The ancients, as is well known, believed dreams to come from the gods. 532: *ergo*, "what then?" as i 158. The most extravagant of these impostors gets the greatest credit, as below, 557. 533: These priests wore linen dresses and were shorn. Martial calls them *linigeri, calvi, sistrataque turba*, xii 29 19. Otho was said to have celebrated the rites of Isis, *linea religiosaque veste*, Suet. Otho, 12. 534: *Anubis*, an Egyptian deity, worshipped under the form of a dog, xv 8, or of a man with a dog's head. The image of the god himself is supposed to laugh at the people beating their breasts, as he is carried about; compare *trepidam Minervam*, iii 139; *juris peritus Apollo*, i 128. 537: *violato*, "stained." *cadurco*, "a kind of quilt," vii 221, "the sheets," as we should say. Men and women were bound to keep themselves chaste during these ceremonies, Tibull. i 3 26, Propert. iv 5 34, and, generally, some obligation of the kind seems to have been incumbent previous to sacrificing, cf. Tibull. ii 1 11 12; Ov. Fast. ii 326 sqq., iv 657, and cf. Ov. Met. vii 239, x 434 435, &c. 538: *movisse caput*, i.e., in anger, as a serpent raises his crest; not in token of pardon, as Macleane takes it. The god (Osiris) was represented carrying an asp. 539: *meditata*, "studied." In the same way we have *vigilata proelia*, vii 27. 540: *ansere*. *Nec defensa jurant Capitolia, quo minus anser Det jecur in lancee, Inachi lauta tuas*, Ov. Fast. i 453 454. 541: *Osiris*, the husband of Isis, worshipped

in conjunction with her. Osiris and Isis were, in fact, the two great divinities of Egypt, the only two Divinities which, according to Herodotus, were universally worshipped in that country. *popano nōtravos* (*πίστρων*), "a round cake." The Latin form is not, I believe, found elsewhere.

542–547: A shivering, or palsied (*tremens*), Jewess is next introduced. **542**: *cophino foenoque*. These have been mentioned at iii 14. **543**: *arcanam in aurem*. Heinrich thinks this an unusual expression, and would read *arcانum*. I think *arcانam* may stand very well, and that it is far preferable. If every expression is to be condemned which is not to be found in exactly the same form in the same or another author, there is an end to the most original and picturesque turns of speech of the poets of all nations. *arcانam in aurem* means "into her secret ear." *arcانus* means also, sometimes, "that can keep a secret," "that has a secret entrusted to it," of which sense Forcelli gives several examples. In ix 113 we have a much more startling expression, *vinosus inebrict aurem*. **545**: *arboris*, cf. iii 12–16, which explains this. According to the *Guardian* newspaper, the late Lord Stanhope read a paper before the Society of Antiquaries, in which it is attempted to be shown that *arbor* here means "the Cross," and that there is a reference to Christians. **546**: She fills her hand too, but with small coin. **548–552**: An Armenian or Syrian (*i.e.*, Eastern) soothsayer next gets his palm crossed, in return for the good fortune he promises, after the stereotyped fashion, a handsome young lover, a thumping legacy, &c. This man examines the entrails of beasts and birds; he will kill a boy too, for the purpose, and then go and inform. **551**: *rimabitur*. *rimatur et* is another reading.

553–568: But the Chaldaean astrologers are in most repute, especially those who have got into trouble in consequence of their art, and have seen the inside of a prison, or have suffered exile. *Chaldaeis*. The Chaldaeans would seem to have been originally a tribe in the south of Babylonia, but the two names came to be confounded. Pliny, H.N. vi 26, speaks of *Babylon*, *Chaldaicarum gentium caput*, and a little further on he says, *Durat adhuc ibi Jovis Beli templum*. *Invenior hic fuit sideralis scientiae*. This country

was looked upon as the headquarters of astrological science, magic, sorcery, &c., as may be gathered from the book of Daniel. Hence *Chaldaeai* came to be applied *par excellence*, as here, to all sorcerers and magicians from the East; cf. x 93 94. *Chaldaeorum promissa, magorum sacra*, Tac. Ann. ii 27. 554, 555: *credent . . . Hammonis*. Valer. Maxim. viii 15, speaks of the great honour in which this sacred fountain was held, and he couples it, as here, with Delphi. The three greatest oracles of ancient times were those of Dodona, Delphi, and Jupiter Hammon. Lucretius, Ovid, &c., speak of the fountain being cold by day, and warm by night,—a legend which Moore has reproduced in his "Irish Melodies." 555: *Delphis oracula cessant*. The oracle had been plundered by Nero. It was restored by Hadrian, and finally put a stop to by Theodosius. 558, 559: These lines are omitted by some of the best MSS. They would, certainly, be much better away. The *magnus civis* is Galba, ii 104, note. The astrologer who persuaded Otho to aim at the Empire is called Ptolemaeus by Tacitus, Hist. i 22 23, and Seleucus by Suetonius, Otho, 4 6. It is impossible to say exactly what *tabella* means here. I take it to be some memoranda of his supposed observations of the stars. 561: *castrorum in carcere mansit*. Not (surely) "for some military offence," as Maclean puts it —for this would gain him no credit; but for something connected with his trade. 562: *genium*. Most of the commentators render "genius," "talent," and so Messrs. White and Riddle in their Dictionary. The word may bear that sense in two passages of Martial, but not here. The meaning is, no professional fortune-teller will get the credit for being attended by a familiar spirit, unless, &c. Strictly speaking, every Roman had his *genius*; but the meaning above seems quite plain, "nobody will give him credit for a genius worth anything." 563: *Cyclada*, one of the Cyclades. Not "Cyclas," as Maclean has it. There was no one island of that name. 564: *contigit, 217, note. caruisse*, "to have been delivered from," "set free from." In Hor. Epod. 16 14–16, *carere* is twice used in this sense. *Quaeque carent ventis et solibus oesa Quirini nefas videret dissipabit insolens (barbarus vitor) Forte, quid expeditat, communiter aut melior*

pars, Malis carere quaeritis laboribus. Petron. 89, *turba carens bello*, that has been delivered from war. Cic. Tusc. Quaest. i 16, has a kind of dissertation on *carere* which he says signifies “egere eo quod habere velis:” but this meaning was certainly not kept to. For *Seriphus*, cf. x 170. 566: *Tanaquil*, your wife; cf. Livy. i 34. *Tanaquil, perita, ut vulgo Etrusci, coelestium prodigiorum mulier*, which explains the use of the word here. She was the wife of Tarquinius Priscus. Martial alludes to these impostors of *astrologi* or *mathematici* in ix 83 i. *Dixerat astrologus peritum te cito Munna.*

569–581: He passes on to women who no longer consult astrologers, but have become professors of the art themselves.

569: *triste Saturni sidus.* 570: Virg. *has triste Minervae Sidus*, Aen. xi 259 260, but in reference to a particular occasion.

573: *pingua sucina* balls, or pieces of amber, which the Roman ladies used to hold in their hands, for the sake of the scent which they gave out, *spirant Succina virginea quod relegata manu*, Mart. xi 8, iii 65, or to keep their hands cool, according to some, though I hardly understand how they could have produced that effect. Propertius, it is true, has *manibus dura frigus habere pila*, which may refer to this practice, ii 24 12, *electra . . . quae lucidus amnis . . . nuribus mittit gestanda Latinis*, Ov. Met. ii 365. *pingua*, “greasy,” or “clammy,” from being held in the hand. A correspondent informs me that in Zante, the ladies still hold strings of amber beads in their hands.

574: *ephemeridas*. These must have been something in the shape of our “almanack, with a diary or space for entering accounts,” &c., Ov. Am. i 12 25 26, or rather the word is used sometimes in the former, and sometimes in the latter sense. Here it means an almanack, with the motions of the heavenly bodies. Plin. H. N. xxix 1, speaks of a quack who eclipsed his rivals, *ad siderum motus ex ephemeride mathematica cibos dando, horasque observando* (580 581 below); and he adds that the man died worth eighty thousand pounds of our money; cf. Am. Marc. xxviii 4. *nec in publico prodeunt, nec prandent . . . antequam ephemeride scrupulose sciscitata didiscerint . . . ubi sit signum Mercurii*, &c.

575: *patriam*, “his native place.” The French still use “patrie,” and “pays,” and the Italians, “paese,” in this

sense. Maclean's rendering, "she will not come home if they are abroad," seems wrong. The woman is supposed to be at Rome throughout. **576** : *numeris Thrasylli*. So *Babylonios numeros*, Hor. Od. i 11 2. *numerisque moventibus astra*, Lucan, i 641. There were two Thrasylli, astrologers, father and son, the former the intimate friend of Tiberius. **577** : *ad primum lapidem*, "as far as the first mile-stone." The Roman roads had mile-stones like ours. They are repeatedly mentioned by Martial, sometimes as *lapides* : *Quo te bis decimus dicit ab urbe lapis*, iv 57 4, sometimes as *marmora* : *Octavum domina marmor ab urbe legit (viator)*, ix 65 4, sometimes simply with the number *ad quartum*, iii 20 18. **581** : *Petrosiris*, an early Egyptian astrologer, who, in conjunction with Necipsos, an Egyptian king, was said to be the founder of the art of casting nativities.

582–591 : A person in a humble station goes to the Circus, and consults one of the vulgar fortune-tellers that are to be found there, instead of one of the fashionable charlatans, who are summoned to the houses of the rich. There is force in Maclean's remark that this passage 582–591, ought rather to come after 568 and before 569–581. It relates to persons who consult astrologers, whereas in 569–581, the poet has done with this class, and passes on to those who have got a step further, who no longer consult others, but are themselves consulted as authorities. But if the transposition were made, a still stronger difficulty would arise from 591 sqq., *Hae tamen*, "These (poor women), however, &c.;" which clearly refer to the persons mentioned in 582–591, and would be unintelligible after 569–581. We must therefore leave the passage alone.

582 : The Circus was full of these "gipsies," as we should call them. Ennius, quoted by Cicero de Div. i 58, speaks of the *de circo astrologos*, and Horace for this reason calls it *fallacem circum*, Sat. i 6 113. *utrimque metarum*. These "goals," were three pillars at each end of the *spina* or low wall running lengthways down the course in the Circus, round which the chariots had to turn. An engraving of them will be found in the Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Circus." **587** : *qui publica fulgura condit*, an old priest who purifies a place struck by lightning, Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Bidental." *mundi*, "the sky." *unus omnium*

parens mundus est, Sen. de Ben. iii 28, "we all come from the sky." 588 : This is ironical, "The destinies of the vulgar seem to be decided in the Circus and at Tarquin's Mound," viii 43, note. 589 : *Quae nullis*, &c. So ii 90, *nullo gemit hic tibicina cornu*. viii 219, *nullis aconita propinquis miscuit*. viii 193, *nullo cogentie Nerone*. *nulla vehitur cervice supinus*, Luc. Some (Heinrich and Maclean among them) read *nudis*, and take this to mean any common prostitute (iii 65), referring to 122 above, *nuda papillis Constitit auratis*; but I cannot understand what the gold-leaf on the nipples of Messalina standing naked for hire, has to do with the *longum aurum* of a woman who is here represented as going to the Circus, to consult a fortuneteller on a matrimonial project. 590 : *delphinorum columnae* were two pillars on the *spina* or central wall, supporting figures of dolphins, in honour of Neptune. This will be best understood by referring to "Circus," in Dict. G. and R. Ant., where an engraving is given. *phalae* were either two other columns at the opposite end of the wall, supporting a number of eggs, *ova* (see engraving), or else, as Servius says, ad Virg. Aen. ix 705, they were movable towers on which fights take place, and this is more likely to be correct. However this may be, the eggs and the dolphins were seven in number, to indicate the number of times the chariots went round the course, and they were movable, so as to be either taken down, or more probably put up, in succession, according as each round had been accomplished, as a kind of telegraph-board for the spectators. The author of the article in Dict. G. and R. says, the "dolphins" were not movable. But I think he is wrong, Dio. xlvi 43. A signal would be wanted at both ends, and the dolphins and the eggs exactly correspond to each other.

592-601 : Yet these poor women, whatever may be their follies, become mothers and nurse their children. Rich women practise abortion; yet perhaps, after all, so much the better for the husband. Who knows what might be the result if his wife brought forth? He might have a blackamoor for his heir. 592 : *Hae*, the poor women mentioned above. These undergo the perils of childbirth, and are obliged to nurse their own children. *fortuna urgente* rather refers to the latter duty, they cannot afford to do otherwise than nurse them; but rich ladies don't even have children

. . . In the old times all Roman mothers nursed their children ; but long before Juvenal's time it had become fashionable in the upper class to employ wet-nurses. **594**: *puerpera* is a woman in labour, or just delivered, Ter. And. iii 2 10. This line is clearly an exaggeration—very common in our author, *ex gr.*, *prodigio par est cum nobilitate senectus*, iv 97. There were plenty of old noblemen living, and plenty of noble ladies in childbirth, when he wrote. Ovid has a similar expression, *Raraque in hoc aeo est quae velit esse parens*, Nux. 24; and compare Sen. Cons. Helv. 16. Rome was bad enough, Heaven knows ; but we must not take poets and satirists as our implicit guides on the subject, any more than we ought to take Pigault-Lebrun, or Paul de Kock for our guides as to the manners of the first French Empire or the reign of Louis Philippe. This is a mistake often made. Yet abortion does not seem to have been a legal offence, till the time of Severus ; cf. Long's note Cic. pro Cleunt. 11. **595**: *tanum medicamina possunt*. This same ending of a line occurs twice in Ovid. Met. vii 116 and xiv 285. **596, 597** : *homines . . . conducti*. iii 31, *conductit siccandam eluviem*. She does it as a business transaction. **599** : *pueris salientibus*. So the babe that leapt in Elizabeth's womb, in the New Test. **599, 600** : Mart. vi 394-7. *decolor heres. decolor Indus*, Ov. A. A. iii 139. **601** : *numquam tibi mane videndus*. The ancients attached great importance to what they saw the first thing in the morning. A blackamoor, as it appears, would be ominous. Compare v 54, where we are told that a man would not like to meet a black among the tombs at night—perhaps for the same reason ; and a story to the same effect of the Emperor Severus meeting a black and ordering him to be removed, *coloris ejus tactus omne*, Spart. Sev. 22.

602-609 : The case of supposititious children. How fortune must laugh at some of these foundlings, bearing the noblest names and filling the most aristocratic offices in the state ! The exposure of children was permitted at this time, and was not made a legal offence till the reign of Constantine. **602** : *Transeo*. Macleane renders this "I pass on to," in the same way that he translates *Transi gymnasia*, iii 114. I think he is wrong, and that the meaning is, "I pass by," as in x 273, *regem transeo Ponti*, cf. vii 190. He says "I pass by sup-

posititious children," and yet he gives us eight lines on the subject. But this is a common form with all writers and speakers. It means, "I won't dwell on the topic." 603 : *lacus*, the public ponds or reservoirs of water in Rome, of which Pliny says that Agrippa constructed seven hundred, H. N. xxxvi 15 ; cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Aquaeductus." They would naturally become muddy and *spurci*, from the number of people who came to fetch water there, *ad lacum concurrunt quem qui exhauiunt, et turbant*, Sen. Epp. 36, and from the beasts of burden that were driven to be watered there. *universa nos jumenta . . . ad lacum proximum, bibendi causa, gregatim prominabat*, App. Met. ix 195. *Ipse petita lacu nunc mihi dulcis aqua est*, Propert. ii 23 2. Compare Hor. Sat. i 4 37, *a furno redeuntes lacuque*, and Ter. Adelph. iv 2 44, *apud ipsum lacum est pistrella*. We are nowhere else informed that children were exposed at these ponds, but they would be likely places for the purpose. The word is used by Lucret. iv 1026, where Mr. Munro translates "urinal," which can scarcely be correct, though *dolia curta*, which follow, bear that sense, and are utensils in the shape of a half-barrel, which we have often seen abroad. The way in which the word *lac* figures in Lucret. suggests an additional reason for their being *spurci*. 604 : With regard to the *Salii*, cf. ii 124. The *Scauri*, ii 35, who are here put for a noble family, were, however, by no means remarkable for great antiquity. They were first raised to eminence by Aemilius Scaurus, who was born about a century and a half before Christ. His father was a coal-merchant. 607 : *Involvique sinu*, literally "wraps them up in her bosom," as evidencing her care of them. It would be in the *sinus* that the most precious objects would be carried, *pellitur paternos In sinu ferens Deos Et uzor et vir sordidosque natos*, Hor. Od. ii 18 27. 608 : *Secretumque sibi mimum parat*, Hor. Od. iii 29 50. *Quos tibi Fortuna ludos facis?* Plin. Epp. iv 11. 609 : *producit*, "brings them up," "rears them," *Et laero monitu pueros producit avaros*, xiv 228, vi 241 ; Hor. Od. ii 13 3. Or it may bear the sense of "advances them," which is common to *producere*. *Quo potuit civium populus producere liber Ascendi, supraqe nihil, nisi regna rei qui*, Lucan, ii 562-563.

610-626: Love-potions are next mentioned, the effect of which was commonly supposed to be madness. **610,** **611:** *Thessala philtرا.* Thessaly was celebrated for its witches, magic incantations, drugs, &c. *portenta Thessala*, Hor. Epp. ii 2 209. *Thessala venena*, Od. i 27 21. *Thessalus veneficus*, Plaut. Amph. iv 3 9. Compare Aristoph. Nub. 739, Γυναικα φαρμακιδ' ει περάμενος Θεσσαλή, κτλ. **612:** *solea pulsare nates*, i.e., treat him as a child, do whatever she likes to him. *solea puer objurgabere rubra*, Pera. v 169. **612,** **613:** *inde, inde*, "from this source it is that;" from these philtres. **614:** sqq. The case he cites is that of Caligula, to account for whose undoubted madness it was supposed that his wife Caesonia had administered a potion to him, Sueton. Calig. 50. As to *tremuli frontem puli*, cf. 133-135, note. Who, he says, will not be ready to follow the example of an empress? viii 198-199. All the world was turned topsy-turvy by the insanity of Caesar. *avunc*, "maternal uncle," the word which the purists of Servius's time objected to in the Æneid: and it does seem to have been avoided in epic poetry. The mushroom of Agrippina (as to which see v 147 148, note) was far less baneful, for that only killed a single old man; whereas Caesonia's potion was the cause of senators and knights being murdered, and carried fire and sword through the Empire. *in coelum descendere.* The same expression occurs in Seneca, *postea quam Claudius in coelum descendit*, and Statius Silv. iii 3 77 has imitated it *stelligerum senior demissus in axem Claudius. siquidem*, "inasmuch as," as xii 107.

626-642: Women poison their step-sons, and even their own children. This is no invention of the satirist. Look at the case of Pontia. **627:** Horace, opposing to the vices of the Romans the manners of some imaginary barbarians, whom he endows with every virtue (much as Rousseau, long afterwards, constructed his ideal "primitive man"), says of them, *Illic (among them) matre carentibus Privignis mulier temperat innocens*, Od. iii 24 17 18. Comp. Virg. Georg. ii 128. For *pellice*, cf. ii 57, note. **631:** *livida*, because they make people livid, as *pallida mors*, and other expressions. Before *livida*, Heinrich says that *nam* is to be understood; but this

is unnecessary. **632, 633**: Comp. Hor. Sat. ii 6 108 109, *praelambens omne quod affert*. These lines are left out in some MSS., perhaps on account of the difficulty in *quae peperit*. But Juvenal has passed from step-mothers to real mothers. This is clear from what follows. *Natos de pellice* are the husband's bastards, *privignum*, his son by a former marriage. These women go on to murder their own children, if they have an interest in doing so. The *pupillus* is a boy under age, who has lost his father. His mother would have the care of his person, but his property would be under the guardianship of a *tutor*. **635**: *priorum* "of former satirists." It is better to take *finem* by itself and not with *priorum*, "the proper limit (of satire) and the laws observed by our predecessors." **638**: *Pontia*. This woman, who poisoned her two children, had become proverbial. The scholiast says she was the daughter of Petronius, who conspired against Nero. Martial in several places mentions her, ii 34, iv 43, vi 75. **640**: The meaning seems to be, "The evidence against me is palpable, and I must suffer the consequences; still, I have accomplished my purpose by my own hand." I see no necessity for reading *tantum* in place of *tamen*. **642**: *septem . . . fuissent*. It is better to take these words as put into the mouth of Pontia, not (with Heinrich) as an utterance of the poet. They answer to the question, and they agree, in tone, with the impudence of the former speech.

643-661: Granted that all the old poets tell us of the crimes of Medea, &c., is the truth, there were doubtless female monsters in those days; but they were hurried along by their passions; they did not, as now, act with cool deliberation. There are plenty of Clytemnaestras in the present day. The only difference is that their weapon is subtle poison, in the place of a rude axe. Yet they would not shrink from using an axe either, if the necessity arose—if they thought their husbands had protected themselves by antidotes against the effects of poison. **643**: *Colchide*, Medea. *Procne* killed her son *Ity*. **647, 648**: *feruntur praecipites*. Compare 134 135. *Per mala praeceps fertur*, Hor. Sat. i 4 30. *Rapienda rebus in malis praeceps via est*, says Clytemnaestra, in Sen. Agamem. 154. So *agere praecipitem* in Catull. 40, and Sen.

de Ira, iii 20. 649, 650: *ut saxa . . . recedit*, describes a landslip. The antecedent to *quibus* seems to be *saxa quibus mons subtrahitur* from which the mountain (so to speak) withdraws its support, slips away. *clivo latus pendente recedit*, "from the hanging slope its side recedes," i.e., "is thrown further back." Not that the side slips off, as some take it. *quibus* might indeed go with *recedit* as well as with *subtrahitur*, "from which the mountain is withdrawn, and from which its side recedes;" but the other is better. 653: *Alcestim*. Alcestis, who devoted herself for her husband Admetus. 655: *Belides*, the Danaides, daughters of Danaus, and the granddaughters of Belus. Their story is well known. *Eriphyle* betrayed her husband Amphiaraus and her son. 654: her lap-dog. Plaut. Asin. i 3 32. 657: *Tynduris illa*, that daughter of Tyndareus who murdered her husband Agamemnon. *Armat bipenni Tyndaris dextram furens*, Sen. Agam. 889. *bipennem*, a two-edged axe used in battle, (*Camilla*) *validam dextra rapit indefessa bipennem*, Virg. Aen. xi 651, also as a woodman's axe. *Duris ut illex tonsa bipennibus*, Hor. Od. iv 4 57. 657-659: In these lines *bipennem* is opposed to *pulmone rubetac*, *insulsam et fatuam* to *tenui*, and *dextra laevaque tenebat* to *agitur*. Clytemnaestra used an axe, a bungling, senseless instrument, laying about, right and left, with it; now, "the business is transacted" by the subtle poison of a toad; cf. i 70. Another account made a sword the instrument of the murder. Aesch. Ag. 1506. Eur. Elect. 163. *bipennem insulsam et fatuam*. Valer. Flacc. has *docta bipenni* (the best reading, another is *ducta*), i 122. The ancients, like the moderns, often personified inanimate objects, applying to them epithets which are proper to sentient beings. Of this practice we have many examples in Juvenal, with whom it was a favourite: *anxia epistola*, iv 149; *audaces carinas*, x 264; *miranti aratro*, xiii 65; *irato sistro*, xiii 93; *esuriens ramus*, xiii 99; *temeraria lina*, v 102; *sollicitae portae*, sterile aratrum, *pigra dolabra*, *gulosum fictile*, *locuples podagra*, *vigiles fenestræ*, *jejunum odium*, &c. So Horace has *impiae rates*, *avaræ terræ*, *cessans amphora*, *illiterati nervi*, Virgil, *crudeles terras* and *littus avarum* in one line, and Martial, *succintus libellus*, *attonus ignis*, *laecia numismata*, *irata lagena*, Silius, *insanus ensis*, &c., &c. Pers.

deceptus nummus, sapiens porticus, bibulae aures, sitiens lagena.
cf. v 10, note. **660, 661:** Yet she will use steel too, if her husband has fortified himself with the antidotes of Mithridates, the thrice conquered king of Pontus. His armies were defeated by Sulla, Lucullus, and Pompey. As to his famous antidotes, cf. Plin. H.N. xxv 2, *uni ei excogitatum quotidie venenum bibere, praesumptis remediiis, ut consuetudine ipsa innoxium fieret.* In another passage of the same book, he speaks of certain plants as *Mithridatia.* Compare Juv. xiv 252.



INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE VII.

THIS Satire turns on the neglect of literary men and the miseries of small lawyers, &c. In the Emperor lies the only hope for poets, the most eminent of whom have been obliged to take to trade. The rich favour genius with their admiration—and that is all. They accommodate you with some dirty, untenanted apartment in which to recite your productions, and send people to applaud you, but they decline contributing to your expenses. These people forget that, in order to become a great poet, it is absolutely necessary that a man should have the wherewithal to sustain life, that his mind should be free from small pecuniary cares. Neither Horace nor Virgil could have produced their immortal compositions, if they had not been at the time in tolerably easy circumstances. But now-a-days, there are no Maecenases; substantial patronage of literary men has entirely ceased.

Does it pay any better to write histories? This is a very laborious class of composition, and costs a great deal of time and trouble; and yet when all is said, people would prefer having the newspaper read to them. Then, as to lawyers, for all their big talk, their fees are ridiculously small. It is true that some of the big-wigs get what they please to ask; but then they are men of known wealth and position. The small fry try to rival their expenditure and their establishments, and become bankrupts in consequence. The poor lawyer had better emigrate to Gaul or Africa.

How about teachers of rhetoric? After all their labours and all their drudgery, they will fail to get paid their fees, and will have to go to law to recover them; while teachers of music and singing-masters realise immense fortunes. There are exceptions, it is true, such as Quintilian; but these men

owe their success to a rare good fortune : the majority come off badly ; and their pupils look down upon them.

Teachers of grammar are in a like case. They are robbed of part of their fees by the servants ; they have to get up in the small hours ; the parents of their charges expect that they should be gifted with universal knowledge, that they should be answerable for the morals of their pupils ; and then pay them, for a year's work, as much as a popular favourite gets for a single victory in the Circus or Amphitheatre !

The date of this Satire depends on an answer to the question, Who is the emperor alluded to in the first line ? I think Hadrian is most likely to be the man. It is impossible to suppose, with Gifford, that Domitian is meant ; for Paris, the actor, 87, sqq., had not obtained a great reputation till some time after Domitian's accession, when that Emperor had begun to develop qualities which rendered him an object of abhorrence to the Satirist. And while Juvenal constantly uses the names of dead men, i 170 171, in a typical sense (as, for instance, Lucan and Palaemon in this very Satire, 79 215), he had not the gift of prophecy. What I have just said about Lucan, &c., may apply to Statius and Paris ; the names may be used as types. When he tells us that Paris patronises poets, it seems to me probable that he is satirising, under that name, a favourite of Hadrian, unknown to us, and some living poet might be designated by *Statius*, which would be quite in Juvenal's manner, or, 82-87 refer to a real occurrence in the life of Statius (dead before this was written), and 88-92 beginning with *ille et*, "Aye and Paris too," are a hit at a contemporary actor, possibly of the same name.* The mention of Quintilian's wealth, or supposed wealth, must also refer to a later time than the opening year of Domitian's reign.

* Cf. Introd. p 209 note. That the name of a favourite actor was constantly assumed by other actors after him, is certain from other examples besides this of Paris ; ex gr. there were at least three artistes who bore the name of Pyrades ; one in the reign of Augustus, Suet. Aug. 45, another a favourite of Trajan, Dio. lxviii 10, a third mentioned in an inscription of Gruter, cf. Fronto. Epp. ad Ver. 8 Aug. Mais' note. But it is not necessary to suppose that the person aimed at should have been called Paris.

NOTES TO SATIRE VII.

1: There has been a great discussion as to what Emperor is meant here. See Introduction. *ratio* is the French *raison d'être*. The Camenae are here used for the Muses generally, iii 16, note. 3: *respicere* is "to have some regard for." *Respic Laerten, ut jam sua lumina condas, etc.*, Ov. Her. i 113. *Sive neglectum genus et nepotes Respici auctor*, Hor. Od. i 2 35. Calpurnius has *Nec quisquam nostras inter dumeta Camenae Respiceret*. This may be one of the passages to which Professor Ramsay alludes (Dict. G. and R. Biog, article, "Calpurnius") as imitations of Juvenal by Calp., cf. note to 27 of this Satire. I do not think there are any passages in Calp. which necessarily show an acquaintance with Juvenal (supposing him to have written later than Juv. as I believe he did—though, as is well known, this is disputed). The point is not of the slightest importance, except as bearing on the reputation as "a classic" of our author, with the poets of the next few centuries. While Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Tibullus, &c., are constantly laid under contribution, there are very few passages indeed which can be cited from their writings as showing even a probable knowledge of Juvenal. *jam* might be taken with *celebres*, "poets already celebrated," "even celebrated poets," but it is better to take it with *tentarent*. 4: *Gabii*, as already observed, iii 192, vi 56, is used by Juvenal for any small town. But baths seem to have been taken there. *Qui caput et stomachum supponere fontibus audent Clusinis Gabiosque petunt et frigida rura*, Hor. Epp. i 15 9. They were probably sulphur baths, as the water in that district is sulphureous at the present day. The complaints contained in this Satire about the neglect of literature, philosophy, &c., have been common in every age. Seneca had given utterance to them, in the preceding generation, *Cessat*

omne studium et liberalia professi, sine ulla frequentia, desertis angulis praesident, Epp. 95. Compare also, with parts of this Satire, Theocrit. Idyll. 16. In the present day, literature, at any rate, can scarcely be called a neglected or under-paid profession. 5: *tentarent conducere* means that they were trying the experiment of renting baths and public ovens, as a means of livelihood. 6: *Praecones* were a union of our "public criers" and "ushers of the court." At public auctions they called out the biddings, and stimulated the purchasers, while the *magister auctionis* knocked the lots down. (French auctions are conducted in this manner at the present day.) They kept silence in public assemblies, &c., Dict. G. and R. Ant. The profession was rather looked down upon, but in the days of Juvenal and Martial, it had become very lucrative, iii 157. *Artes discere vult pecuniosas?* . . . *Praeconem facias vel architectum*, Mart. v 56. *Praetores duo, quatuor tribuni, Septem causidici, decem poetae Cujusdam modo nuptias petebant A quodam sene, non moratus ille Praeconi dedit Eulogo puellam*, Mart. vi 8; cf. Hor. Sat. i 6 86; Epp. i 7 56 65. 9: *ames*, "acquiesce in." *Machaera* must be some auctioneer or crier. 10: *commissa auctio*, "an auction of confiscated goods." *commissa, i.q., fisco adjudicata*. The word occurs in this sense of "forfeited" in Quint. Declam. 341, quoted by Forcellini, Cic. Verr. Act 11 lib. 1 ch. 10 and elsewhere, and often in the law-writers. 11: *armaria*, "cupboards standing against, or inserted in, the walls." Hence the French "armoire." Pliny, in describing one of the rooms in his villa, says, *Parieti ejus in bibliothecae speciem armarium insertum est quod non legendos libros sed lectitandos capit*, a cabinet of his favourite authors, Epp. ii 17. 12: *Alcithoen . . . Fausti*. Nothing more is known of these tragedies, or their authors, any more than of the "Theseis" of *Codrus* in i 2. Whether real or imaginary, they stand for very poor productions. 13-16: The poet says it is, at any rate, better to earn an honest living in this way, than to rise by perjury, like some of the oriental adventurers, who came here originally in the character of slaves, and have risen to the dignity of knights, and so on. 13: Compare xvi 29 30. 15: *Cappadoces equites*. So Martial, x 76 3, speaks

of *de Cappadocis eques catastis*, a "knight" from the bench where slaves were put up for sale. *Capp.* was a term of reproach. Cic. Flacc. 25, quum Senat. 6. 16 : *traducit*, "exposes to view," viii 17, note, such as Galatia, or Gallo-Graecia, is in the habit of exhibiting to us set up for sale. Of course, they had been put up for sale before they became "knights," i 155, note. *nudo talo as pedibus albis*, i 111.

18 : sqq. Real poets will now attract the attention of the Emperor. 20 : *So aliud agere*, to be negligent. 21 : Martial, addressing Domitian, says of his own books, *Con-suevere jocos vestri quoque ferre triumphi Materiam dictis nec pudet esse ducem*, i 5, and Statius has almost the same expression as Juvenal, *magni ducis indulgentia pulsat*, of Domitian, Silv. v 2 125. 23 : *Praesidia*, Hor. Od. i 1 2. *croceae membrana tabellae*. It is quite clear that the Romans sometimes bound up books in the same form as ours. Here the binding is either naturally yellow, *ex gr.*, of cedar or stained to that colour; cf. Mart. i 3, *Hos eme (libellos) quos arclat brevibus membrana tabellis*, and he goes on to say *me manus una capit*. It was a small octavo, or a duodecimo, as we should say. 25 : *Veneris marito*, to Vulcan, i.e., to the fire. 25 : *Telesine*, a name probably put in for the metre. It occurs in Mart. 26 : *tinea. tineas pasces taciturnus ineris*, Hor. Epp. i 20 12. 27 : *Frange miser calamos*. *Frange leves calamos et scinde Thalia libellos*, Mart. ix 74 9. *Frange puer calamos et inanes desere Musas*, Calpurn. iv 23. The Roman pen was a reed, the form of which is shown under "Atramentum" in Dict. G. and R. Ant. 28 : *cella* is any small apartment. Here it properly means a garret, as in Mart. vii 20 20 21, *Haec per ducentas cum domum tulit scalas, Seque obserata clausit anxius cella*, where the *cella* is a poor apartment up two hundred steps, exactly our garret, attic. 29 : *imagine*, cf. ii 7, note. 31 : *disertus* is applied to poets by Martial and Petronius; "eloquent" may perhaps be similarly used. 32 : *Junonis avem*, the peacock. 35 : *se odi*, is to be sick of one's life. It occurs in this sense in Plaut. Bacch. iii 3 13, *Jam aderit tempus cum sese etiam ipse oderit*, which Terence has imitated in Hec. iv 1 28, *At pol jam aderit, se quoque etiam cum oderit*. *facundus* is an epithet more commonly bestowed on an orator

than a poet, and from the fact of Martial addressing Juvenal as *facunde Juvenalis*, vii 91, it has been inferred that "Martial knew nothing of his poetical studies." Yet Martial applies the epithet *facundus* to poets constantly, cf. Introduction, and in addition to the passages cited there, compare Stat. Silv. i 2 4, *facundum ebur*, and Stat. Silv. i 3 1, in conjunction with lines 22 13. Horace uses *facundia* of a Poet, A. P. 41, and Calpurn. has *facundus Apollo*. iv 87.

36 : The rich man lends the poor poet some untenanted old house in which to recite. Comp. with what follows Tac. de Or. 9. 37 : *Musarum et Apollinis aede relicta*, after having given up reciting there, in order to take up with a private literary patron. 38 : So Lucian says ironically of the Roman blue-stockings, that they write poems not much inferior to those of Sappho, *τοιώσαν ἀσμάτα οὐ πολὺ τῆς Σαρφοῦς ἀπεδίορα*. Juv. might almost be supposed to have in view Pliny the Younger's compliments to his friends on their *vers de société*. Vid. the Epistles *passim*. 41 : There does not seem to be any other instance of *longe = diu*. But *longius* and *longissime* occur in this sense: also *longe ante*. And Servius seems to have read *longe = diu*, Virg. Eclog. iv 53. It would be difficult to assign any other meaning to the word here. Otherwise it must mean "At a long distance," "In an out of the way part of the town:" which is rather forced. The argument that a word is not found elsewhere in precisely the same sense is of very little avail against a context showing what the author *did* mean. And the same holds good of constructions. So the passage iv 153-155 would be quite clear, even if we had not preserved to us accidentally two passages to show that *jaculari a capella* is perfectly good Latin. See *ad loc.* 43 : *scil dare*. Compare Pers. i 54. *scis comitem horridulum trita donare lacerna*. 48, 49 : We throw away our labour. *quid arenae semina mandas?* Ov. Hor. v 115. *Laudet, qui sterili semina ponit humo*, Propert. ii 11 2.

53 : *publica*, "common-place," "common to all," as in Petron. 3 *sermonem habes non publici saporis*. So Ovid speaks of *publica sidera* the stars which shine for all, which are everybody's property. 54 : *deducere*, "to spin out." *tenui deducia poemata filo*, Hor. Epp. ii 1 225. *Rectius Iliacum carmen*

deducis in actus, A. P. 129. In 132 of the same poem, *Nec circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem*; *vilem patulumque* corresponds to *expositum* and *triviale* here, as Orellius observes *ad loc.* 55 : *triviale* like the in *triviis carmen*. Virg. Ecl. iii 26. Fr. "chan-teur de carrefour." 58 : *cupidus silvarum*. Compare Tac. de. Orat. 9 and 12 where *nemora et luci* are spoken of as the resort of poets; and the passages are remarkable, as having served to identify the author of the treatise. Compare Pliny to Tacitus Epp. ix 10. This passage recalls one in Ovid. Trist. i 1, which was, I think, in Juvenal's mind, *Carmina proveniunt animo deducta sereno . . . Carmina secessum sribentis et otia quaerunt . . . Carminibus metus omnis abest*; and compare with 69-71, *Da mihi Maeoniden, et tot circumspice casus, ingenium tantis excidet omne malis.* 62 : *satur—Euoē*, quoted by Sidon. Apoll. Epp. 3. *Euoē!* the allusion is to Hor. Od. ii 19. *Euoē!* *parce Liber, Parce gravi metuende thyrsō.* 63 : sqq. Mart. i 108, 3 4. 64 : *dominis Cirrae Nysaeque*, Apollo and Bacchus, xiii 79. *Quid tibi cum Cirra?* "Why continue to write poetry?" Mart. i 77. The whole epigram should be read. 66 : sqq. The reference is to the Aeneid, of which Juvenal was a great admirer. The Rutulian is Turnus, and Erinnys is Alecto, whom Juno sent to inflame his jealousy against Aeneas. The Furies (of whom she was one) were represented with snakes in their hair, and are so described by Aeschylus in the Eumenides, *geminos erexit crinibus angues*, Virg. Aen. vii 450. *nec de lōd. par. att.* may mean "inspired with divine awe about something higher than buying a blanket." 70 : *caderent*, "would have fallen." Mr. Simcox gives (from Madvig) several examples of the use of the imperfect in this way, *Non tam facile opes Carthaginis concidissent nisi illud receptaculum classibus nostris patret*, Cic. in Verr. ii 1,—"Carthage would not have fallen so easily if we had not had Sicily open to our fleets." *Persas Indosque aliasque si Alexander adjunxisset gentes, impedimentum magis quam auxilium traheret*, Liv. ix 19,—"If Alexander had enrolled these tribes, he would have had more burden to drag than help." The present is similarly used in such a phrase as *Num tu igitur Opimum, si tum esses, temerarium civem aut crudelēm putas*, Cic. Phil. viii 4 (also quoted). A good example, twice repeated, may be added from Virg.

Æn. iii 186. *Sed quis ad Hesperiae venturos littora Teucros Crederet, aut quem tum vates Cassandra moveret*, cf. Zumpt. § 258; and there are instances in Juvenal, *et tamen alter, quis comes utilior, si . . . honestum afferre liceret consilium*, iv 84. *quid faceret plus aegrotante viro*, vi 388. *ut te conciperet*, "that one should have conceived you," viii 42. *si muniret*, "if he had," &c., viii 248, vii 211. *et cui non tunc eliceret risum*. In this idiom, the mind is thrown back to the time indicated by the first clause. It is an idiom common to all European languages. 72: *Rubrenus Lappa*, some small playwright unknown. To keep himself alive, while writing his "Atreus," he is represented as having to pawn his *alveolos*, v 88, and his cloak. 74: The poor rich man whom he calls *Numitor*, viii 93, cannot afford to make a present to his starving friend, the poet; but he can afford to make presents to his mistress, and to purchase a tame lion, &c. A tame lion would cost more than a wild one, and this may give the force of *jam*.

79: *Lucanus*. The poet Lucan had long been dead when this Satire was written, but his name is used as an illustration. "It is all very well for rich poets, like Lucan, to talk about fame, at ease in their splendid villas, but what would fame be to poor devils who have nothing else?" Lucan inherited a large fortune from his father, who was a *procurator*, or agent for the imperial revenues. *marmoreis in hortis*, i 12, note. 80: sqq. Of *Serranus* we know nothing. Martial mentions a person of the same name, iv 37 3, as being in debt. *Saleius* is *Saleius Bassus*, an epic poet, mentioned in Tacitus *de Orator*. cs. 5 9; and by Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* x 1, who speaks of his *vehemens et poeticum ingenium*. 82: Statius appears to have recited portions of his "Thebais" before publishing them. This seems to have been usual, i 1, note. Pliny speaks of one who *librum recitaret publicaretque in quo Rusticum insectatur*, Epp. i 5, Epp. 2 10; and so of Silius Italicus, Epp. iii 7. Statius himself confirms what Juvenal here says of the popularity of his "readings," *Hei mihi, sed coetus solitos si forte ciebo, Et mea Romulei venient ad carmina patres*, &c., Silv. v 2 160. 83: *urbem*, "the town" for "the best literary society of the town," which can, of course, alone be meant—a little out of Juvenal's usual turn of thought. 86: *fregit subsellia*.

Compare i 13. 87 : *Paridi*, vi 87, note. With regard to the following passage, see Introduction p. 206, &c. *intactum Agaven* must mean his play of "Agave" which had never been acted. We have the same word in the same sense in Statius, *Quaerit Hymen thalamis intactum dicere carmen*, Silv. i 2 238. *Pieridum flores, intactaque carmina discens*, Id. iii 1 67. *voc. juc* may, or may not, refer to the voice of Statius being a particularly pleasant one. Probably it only means "the welcome voice," in allusion to his poems. 87 : Statius, then, sells his play, but does not seem able to sell his poem. Here I presume the mention of Paris to have suggested the lines which the poet had long before written on that personage (viz. 88-92, see "Introduction"), and which he accordingly inserted. These lines were supposed to reflect on some favourite actor of the day—not necessarily of the same name: the term *figurate* in Suet. life would rather convey the contrary—and got the author into trouble. 89 : Originally no one, as a rule, could be a tribune of the soldiers who had not been ten years in the infantry or five in the cavalry. Augustus introduced the practice of giving "commissions," as we should call it. In order that a greater number of persons might be obliged, the post was frequently conferred for six months only. It is to this that Juvenal alludes; and Pliny, Epp. iv 4, *Hunc rogo semestri tribunatu splendidiorem facias*. The *awro* is the gold ring which formed one of their insignia, Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Exercitus." We have seen that the pay of the tribunes was considerable, iii 132. 90, 91 : The Camerini were a distinguished family of the Sulpicia gens, and are again mentioned at viii 38. One of the Bareae was mentioned at iii 116. 92 : *Pelopea, Philomela*, plays so named. 93 : *Haud invideas* is, "don't be angry with him (not 'don't envy him'), what else is he to do? There are no Maecenases nowadays." *pulpita*, "the boards," "les planches," iii 174. *Aeschylus et modicis instravit pulpita tignis*, Hor. A. P. 279. Literally, a stage made of boards put together; hence sometimes used in our sense of "a platform," Hor. Epp. i 19 40; Mart. i 77 13. 94 : *Maecenas. Sint Macennates, non deerunt Flacce Marones*, Mart. viii 56 5. *Proculeius*, Hor. Od. ii. 2 5. *Fabius*, Fabius Maximus, the patron of

Ovid. *Cotta*, whom the same poet calls *Pieridum lumen prae-sidiumque fori Lentulus*. P. Corn. Lentulus Spinther, who was the cause of Cicero's being recalled from banishment, and to whom the great orator addresses nine letters. 97: *Pallera*. Paleness was supposed to be a characteristic of poets. Horace says of his imitators, *quodsi Pallerem casu, biberent exsangue cuminum*, Epp. ; 19 18, and Mart. vii 4, *esset cum mali coloris, Versus scribere coepit Oppianus*. He thought his pallor indicated that he was a poet, and set to work, accordingly, to scribble verses. *pallebat, scribebat*, Plin. Epp. vi 2 Pers. v 62. It rather represents the sallowness of complexion, which would be produced by confinement, the Greek ὄψης, χλαυγής. *Quantum saepe magis fulgore expalluit auri* Catull. 64 100, *Hospes inaurata pallidior statua*, Id. 81 4; Mart. ix 62 3. Heyne remarks on Virg. Aen. ii 47 that the paleness of Southern Europeans is yellow. *vinum . . . Decembri*, i.e., to abstain from the enjoyments of the Saturnalia, when great license was allowed; *age, libertate Decembri utere*, Hor. Sat. ii 7 4. So Mart., xiii 1, speaks of *ebria bruma*. *Postulat ecce novos ebria bruma sales*. Even lawyers took a holiday during that festive season (the courts being closed). Martial writes to one of them, when sending a copy of his book, *Otia dum mediis praestat tibi parva December, &c.*, vii 28. Cf. Plin. Epp. ii 17, from which it appears that, though he himself did not take a holiday during the Saturnalia (indeed he was in the habit of reading, when being shampooed after the bath, and even when going out boar-hunting), he allowed full license to his household.

100: *oblita modi pagina*, vi 657 658, note. The quantity of paper which these people will have to use for their enormous tomes will be ruinous. *Omnibus* may go with *damnosa* "a plague to the readers as well as the author," in which case it will mean "for every one." 104: *acta legenti*, ii 136, note. In Petron. 53, there is an *actuarius*, or historiographer, who reads, at Trimalchio's supper, a kind of burlesque on the *Acta Diurna*. But here the meaning is, "What is the result of all your pains? People very much prefer the daily newspapers to your histories! A man would get more by reading the former than by writing the latter."

106, *lecto*, "the couch," not "the bed." *Mollierant animos lectus et umbra meos*, Ov. Am. i 9 42. 108: *magna sonant magna sonabit, Cornua quod vinctaque tubas*, Hor. Sat. i 6 43 (according to one reading). *grande sonat*, Juv. vi 517. *Os magna sonaturum*, Hor. 108–112: The meaning is that they come out very strong in the speaking line if their client, the creditor (as we should say, the plaintiff), in the action is there to listen to them; or if a client, showing greater eagerness than one who merely listens, should nudge them in the side, fearful of losing his money. Madvig makes *creditor* the lawyer's creditor. 110: *nomen*, "a debt." For a full explanation of the technical use of the word, cf. a learned note by Long on Cic. Verr. Act. ii lib. i c. 38. He comes to sue, as we should say, "upon a doubtful security," "a doubtful entry." 112: *consputitur* means simply "is spluttered over." Quintilian mentions among the faults of a bad speaker, *exspuere crebro . . . et oris humore proximos spargere*, xi 1, and that is the sense here. Mr. Simcox has a note, "For fear their fictitious prosperity should provoke Nemesis," adopting, as usual, where he does not invent, a most out-of-the-way rendering. 113: *hinc, parte alia*. So *inde, alia pars*, vi 436 437. Compare with these lines Mart. x 74 5 6, x 76 8 9. *russati Lacernae*. The drivers were divided into four parties, distinguished by their respective colours, *russata, alba, prasina, veneta*, cf. xi 198. *De prasino convita meus venetoque loquatur*, Mart. x 48. 115: A parody on Ov. Met. xiii 1 sqq. *Concedere duces, et vulgi stanle corona Surgit ad hos clipei dominus septemplicis Ajax*, where the scene described is the contest between Ajax and Ulysses for the armour of Achilles. Here the lawyer is called *Ajax*, and he is supposed to be defending one who is claimed as a slave, before the Judices, among whom perhaps there is a neat-herd, cf. "Judices, Judicium," in Dict. G. and R. *Ant. sedere* is the proper word for judges, as "to take one's seat" with us. *Judex inter illos sedet simius*, Phaedr. *posita judex sedet Aeacus urna*, Propert. *ne ejus rei causa sedisse videretur*, Livy iii 46. 119: Lawyers, when they had gained an important cause, suspended palm-branches over their doors, as at weddings laurels, and probably other evergreens and flowers,

were hung up, vi 79. *Sic fora mirentur, sic te Palatia laudent Excolat et geminas plurima palma fores*, Mart. vii 28. Here the poor lawyer living in a garret is supposed to decorate his stairs, *scalae*, in the same manner, that his neighbours, and the rare clients who come to his chambers, may be made aware of his triumph. 119 : *siccus petasunculus*, a small *petaso*, which was the same as a *perna*, *περνα* ἡ τίρης καλοῦσι, Athen. Deipn., a fitch of bacon, dried from being kept so long; what Martial calls *dubius petaso*, iii 77 6. The same poet has an epigram on the fitch of bacon, which he classes among the presents sent to strangers and guests, *Xenia*. *Musteus est: propora caros nec differ amicos Nam mihi cum vetulo sit petasone nihil*, xiii 55. It would consequently be a likely object to be sent, as a complimentary fee, to a poor lawyer. 120 : *Afrorum epimenia*, the monthly allowance of black slaves such as we have mentioned in v 52 sqq. *'bulbi*, "onions," are expressly mentioned by Martial as among presents sent at the feast of the Saturnalia (very much after the fashion of our Christmas presents) to poor lawyers, iv 46 11. The whole of the epigram should be read in connection with the text, *vinum Tiberi devectum*, i.e., from the north, of inferior quality. 122 : The Lex Cincia (cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant.) prevented an advocate from taking a fee. In the time of Claudius, he was, however, allowed to receive ten sestertia, something like £80. In the reign of Trajan, i.e., in Juvenal's day, a senatus consultum was passed, compelling parties to suits to declare on oath that they had paid nothing to their advocates, who were, however, allowed to receive as much as ten sestertia, after the decision of the cause. This senatus consultum appears to have created great surprise, Plin. Epp. v 21; and such laws as these were probably constantly evaded. An *aureus*, twenty-five denarii, in value about a Napoleon. 123 : Even from this slender fee must be deducted what you have stipulated to pay your legal assistants. The *pragmatici* were a lower kind of practitioner, who helped the advocate, who "devilled" for him. They were also called *tabelliones*, whence the French "tabellions" still applied to village notaries. Compare Cic. de Or. i 45, *Ut apud Graecos infimi homines, mercedula adducti, ministros se praebent in judiciis oru-*

toribus, ii qui apud illos ἀραγματικοὶ vocantur. Quint. iii 6; Mart. xii 72 6. 124 : sqq. *Aemilius* is any lawyer of great family. Martial speaks of an equestrian statue being put up in honour of a lawyer, *Tam grave percussis incudibus aera resultant Causidicum medio cum faber aptat equo*, ix 69 ; *in vestibulis*, i 132. *lusca* means here, I think, "with one eye shut ; taking aim." Maclean says, "I do not think a statue was ever seen, with one eye shut." True ; nor perhaps that of a lawyer, aiming a spear. The whole thing is imaginary, and the poet, by the introduction of *lusca*, throws an additional air of ridicule over it. Others render "wall-eyed" or "blind," which is very feeble.

129 : *Pedo* is unknown. A man of that name is twice mentioned by Martial, v 5, x 19, but he seems to have been a poet. *conturb.* the full expression seems to have been *conturb. rationes*. *Matho* we had at i 32, where he was represented as prosperous, and going about in great self-contentment, in his bran new litter. He is mentioned again incidentally at xi 34. *Tongilli*. There is a Tongilius mentioned by Mart. ii 40, but in a different connection. He is a glutton. *rhinocerole*, "an oil-flask, made of a rhinoceros-horn." *Gestavit modo fronte me juvencus, Verum rhinocerota me putabis*, Mart. xiv 52. 131 : *vexat*, i 100. In the last Satire 419 sqq., we had a lady who went to the baths with a great crowd of attendants. 133 : Martial has a good epigram, ix 60, on a man who goes about inspecting young slaves, and *murrina* and other costly objects, to give himself consequence and with no intention of buying. Here the lawyer buys, by way of advertising himself, and gets ruined in consequence. 134 : *silatoria*. The meaning is very doubtful. It is derived by Festus from *silata, genus navigii latum magis quam altum*. The scholiast renders *illecebrosa*, "deceptive," "decoying," perhaps taking *silata*, as some do, for a piratical craft, and quotes Ennius, *Et melior navis quam quae silatoria portat*. The word, if the reading be correct, occurs again in Petron. 108, but if it be received there, the sense is as doubtful as it is in this place. 135 : *utile* "answers their purpose," as above, 96, ix 27. *vendit*, "puffs him," "gets him his price," "le fait valoir." *se peregrinis vendere muneribus*, Propert. i 2 4, so

venditare and *venditatio* in Cic. 136 : *amethystina*, “a violet-coloured cloak.” Martial, on a person who assumed the outward appearance of wealth, while he could not pay for his supper, writes of him as one *Amethystinatus media qui secat septa*, ii 57. 138 : This is a verse which, with Heinrich, Ribbeck and others, must be pronounced spurious, if the fact of a verse being out of place is to form a sufficient reason for rejecting it. 141 : sqq. These hangers-on accompanied the pleader to the courts and applauded him in his discourse, as Pliny amusingly sets forth, Epp. ii 14. *Paulus, Cossus, Basilius*, are poor lawyers. There is a *Basilus* mentioned at x 222. 146 : When is poor *Basilus* granted the opportunity of exhibiting his talents in court and producing the weeping relatives of his client, to soften the judges? This was usual; *ex gr.* in each of the three orations for *Sulla, Flaccus* and *Sestius*, Cicero produces before the court his client’s son. And the client would endeavour to excite compassion in his own person, xv 135–137. 148, 149 : Africa and Gaul were supposed to be particularly litigious, xv 111.

150 : sqq. *Declamare*, Hor. Epp. i 2 2; Pers. iii 44, sqq. *ferrea*, i 31. *Vettius Valens* is mentioned by Pliny, H. N. xxix 1, as a physician and professor of eloquence. 152, 153 : Observe the onomatopoeia in *eadem . . . eadem . . . isdem. cantare* is here to recite in the sing-song drawling tone which often accompanies such recitations. *Quodcumque ex his vitiis magis tulerim, quam quo nunc maxime laboratur in causis omnibus, scholisque; cantandi*, Quint. Or. xi 3. Aul. Gellius speaks of subjects in *scholis decantata*, Praefat. in Noct. Att. *Haec et talia pueris decantata*, Macrob. Sat. v 2. See note to Sat. i 3. 154 : *crambe repetita*. The scholiast says, δις κράμβη θάραρος, “two helps of cabbage are fatal,” was an old proverb. 155 : *color*, vi 280. The English have (or had) colour “express and implied” in their pleadings. *diversa parte*, “from the opposite side;” *diversis partibus arma damus*, Ov. Rem. Am. 50. 158 : *Mercedem appellas?* quid enim scio? Compare Cic. Phil. ii 17 *At quanta merces rhetori est data!* . . . *ut tanta mercede nihil sapere disceres.* 159 : *laeva in parte mamillae*, “in his heart.” *pectore laevo.* Pers. ii 53.

cor animalibus ceteris in medio pectore est, homini tantum infra laetam papillam, Plin. H. N. xi. 37; and the heart was supposed to be the seat of the understanding, *aliis cor ipsum animus videtur : ex quo excordes, recordes, concordesque dicuntur*, Cic. Tusc. Q. i. 9. The Arcadians were celebrated for their simplicity, Pers. iii. 9. 161 : *dirus Hannibal* is borrowed from Horace. Quintilian, viii. 2, appears to think the epithet so applied a somewhat bold, but happy one ; why, I do not know. It is here used jocularly. 163 : As to these storms which prevented Hannibal from engaging the Roman army, see Livy xxvi. 11. The popular idea, embodied in the same historian, xxii. 51, that Hannibal after Cannae lost the decisive opportunity of marching upon Rome, is combated by Mommsen with considerable plausibility : "He knew Rome better than the simpletons who, in ancient and modern times, have fancied that he might have terminated the struggle by a march on the enemy's capital. Modern warfare, it is true, decides a war on the field of battle ; but, in ancient times, when the system of attacking fortresses was far less developed than the system of defence, the most complete success in the field was on numberless occasions neutralised by the resistance of the walls of the capitals," Bk. 3, c. 6, Dickson's translation. *Madidas a tempestate* "drenched with tempest," Evans ; but *madidas tempestate* would be the usual construction for this sense. The meaning here is "he wheels his soaking troops away from the storm," *a tempestate*. 166 : sqq. This is what all these sophists who are refused payment (157 158) cry out, and they have to undertake real law-suits in order to get their fees (below 228 229), laying aside their fictitious disputations about ravishers and poisonings, and Jasons, and Theseuses, and Peliaxes. Therefore (since they must meet with all these difficulties) my advice to them would be to throw up their profession altogether, and take to a different line, instead of going down to fight in the courts (*ad pugnam*), lest the value of a "ticket for corn" should be thrown away. They would get this as poor citizens, in any case ; and a successful verdict will bring in no more (*or* by being absent at the court they might lose their corn-ticket). I cannot agree with Macleane "that they give up teaching, and go and

practise in the courts." We have done with lawyers altogether, and are on the subject of those who teach youth; moreover it is very difficult to get such a sense out of the passage. *raptore relicto*, &c., are topics for declamation such as would be furnished by Paris, Medea, Jason, old Pelias, whose story is related by Ovid, Met. vii, &c.; and see M. Seneca, Controv. iii 23; Quintil. Declam. 349, &c. *jam veteres*, the *jam* is emphatic, as *jam senior*, vi 215, *jam senis*, viii 153. 171: *sibi dabit ipse rudem*, vi 113, note. Here the expression is used metaphorically, as in Hor. Epp. i 1, *Spectatum satis et donatum jam rude quaeris Maecenas, iterum antiquo me includere ludo*, and in Mart. iii 36, *Hoc merui Fabiane toga tritaque meaque Ut nondum credas me meruisse rudem?* i.e., to have merited my discharge from the duty of attending upon you. These metaphors from the arena are common in the Roman authors, xvi 47. Even in Seneca, the only Roman writer who expresses his abhorrence of the amphitheatre, terms taken from the national pastime are exceedingly frequent, *exerceamur ad palum*, Epp. 18; and again Epp. 100 117, &c., &c. 173: *qui descendit ad pugnam*, "he that is for going down and fighting in the courts." *descendere* is the proper word for going to plead, Plin. Epp. v 21. *Hodie non descendit Antonius*. Cic. Phil. ii 6. *rhetorica umbra*. We have had *Pieria in umbra*, 8, and *genus ignavum quod lecto gaudet et umbra*, 105. I do not see why the same sense should not be given to the word here, "the retirement in which they have practised the rhetorical art," and so Ruperti takes it. Macleane says it means "a school," and refers to Forcellini; but none of the examples quoted by Forcellini are satisfactory. *vacua tonsoris in umbra*, Hor. Epp. i 7 50, for example, means "in the shade of a barber's shop," shops, among the Romans, being protected from hot weather by awnings, curtains, &c. M. Seneca says of those who leave scholastic declamations for the Forum, *velut ex umbroso et obscuero prodeuntes loco clarae lucis fulgor obcaecat, sic istos a scholis in forum transeuntes omnia tamquam nova et inusitata perturbant*, Proem. Controv. iv. *Tu, quamquam non ante forum legesque severas Passus, sed tacita studiorum occultus in umbra*, &c., Stat. Silv. v 2 104. *umbraticus doctor*, Petron. 2. 174: *pereat*, "should be thrown away," "wasted;"

donabitur ergo Ne pereat, iv 56, note. Below, 222 225. *vilis tessera frumenti*. This was a ticket enabling the holder to obtain a small quantity of corn either gratuitously or on payment of a small price. This distribution was made every month in the time of Augustus, and it seems probable that the same regulation existed, when Juvenal wrote: also that every citizen was entitled to one, with the exception of senators, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Leges frumentariae."

176, 177: *Chrysogonus* and *Pollio* are both musicians, vi 74, vi 387; Mart. iv 61 9. *scindens* must mean "reviling," "cutting up," in which sense *proscindere* is often used. Another reading (apparently suggested by Jahn, for neither his nor Ruperti's MSS. give any account of it) is *scindes*, "when you learn what these music masters make, you will tear up the treatise of Theodorus." *Theodorus*, a rhetorician.

176: Popular artists of all kinds must have made large fortunes at Rome. Roscius the actor, we are told by Pliny, made about £4000 a year, H. N. vii 39 (not £400,000, as the Dict. G. and R. Biog., "Roscius," takes it: a sum which would probably have been about a fifth of the national revenue of his day, and which is incredible). 178: sqq. These men are in a very different position from the poor teachers of rhetoric. They make large fortunes, and are able to build splendid baths, and covered drives, and dining-rooms, for different seasons of the year, and have first-rate cooks. *sexcentis*, six hundred sestertia, or 600,000 sesterii; in English about £4650, at this time. *porticus in qua gestetur*, "a covered drive," i.e., *gestatio*, Plin. Epp. i 3. *spargatque*. Ruperti would prefer *ve*. The change is unnecessary. "Is he to wait till it has left off raining, and then go out and get splashed with mud?" *mulae*. Martial, speaking of his improved condition, says *vehimurque mulis non ut ante conductis*, viii 61. Mules, the offspring of a he-ass and a mare, were in great request by the wealthy Romans, *pluris mula est quam domus empia tibi*, Mart. iii 62, Sen. Epp. 123. Pliny says that Poppaea, the wife of Nero, had hers shod with gold, H. N. xxxiii 11. *Numidarum columnis*, made of marble brought from Africa. *algentem . . . solem*. Compare Hor. Od. ii 15 14-16, *nulla decempedes Metata privatis opacam Porticus excipiebat Arcion*, and the passages quoted by Orell, to

which add Pliny's description of his villa, ii 17. The rich had summer and winter dining-rooms, as appears from these passages, and compare the pretty lines in Statius Silv. ii 2 45 sqq., *haec domus ortus Aspicit, et Phoebi tenerum jubar; illa cadentem Detinet, exactamque negat dimittere lucem.*

186 : sqq. Meanwhile such a man as Quintilian will receive only fifteen guineas for a course. But you tell me Quintilian is rich and possesses large estates. That may be, but it only shows he is a lucky fellow and was born under a fortunate star. Luck will do anything for a man. Ventidius and Tullius may be cited as similar examples. But these lucky fellows are extremely rare. Most people gain very little by the professorial chair. Look at Thrasymachus and Secundus Carinas—look at Socrates himself! The pecuniary circumstances of Quintilian have given rise to a great deal of discussion. Here we have him represented as a large landed proprietor, and there is reason to suppose that he received a salary of some seven hundred a year from the State for teaching rhetoric, Suet. Vesp. 18. On the other hand, the younger Pliny, who had been his pupil, sends him a present of about £400 English, towards the outfit of his daughter, on her marriage, Epp. vi 32. (There are other difficulties connected with this epistle, for which and for fuller details, the reader should consult the article "Quintilianus," in Dict. G. and R. Biog.) Pliny speaks at the same time of his moderate means. But what would appear wealth to a poor poet like Juvenal would seem but a competency to a wealthy and generous nobleman like Pliny. Moreover, in the epistle above quoted, the donor apologises for not having sent a larger sum, as he could only hope to induce Quintilian to accept anything by the smallness of his offering. "The man to whom this could be said must be a rich man," as Maclean well observes, "though Pliny was much richer." It may be added that fifteen guineas fee from every pupil—and this it seems is what is meant in this passage of Juvenal—would make up a very handsome income, when added to his State salary, for a man who, like Quintilian, had many pupils. Music-masters may have got a great deal more ; still this was something. 187 : *Ut multum,*

"and a large fee too," as we should say. *constabit*, the future, as constantly in this sense, iii 238 below 201, &c. 189 : *novus* is here equivalent to *mirandus*, Serv. ad Virg. Ecl. iii 86, where the word is similarly used. 190 : *transi*, "pass over," as vi 602, &c. 192 : *appositam . . . alutae*, "he has attained the dignity of a senator." Senators wore a black leather shoe, or half-boot, *nigra aluta*, hence *mutavit calceos* of a man created a senator, Cic. Phil. xiii 13. *nigris medium impediit crus Pellibus et latum demisit pectore clavum*, Hor. Sat. i 6 27. On the front part of this boot was an ornament in the shape of a C or half-moon, *luna*, because the original number of senators was a hundred, and other reasons have been given. The ornament appears to have been made of silver or ivory. Martial, speaking of Spain, says *Lunata nusquam pellis et nusquam toga*, i.e., there are no nobles and no clients there, i 50 31, and again *Non extrema (or hesterna) sedet lunata lingula planta*. *Primaque patricia clausit vestigia luna*, Stat. Silv. v 2 28. *Coccina non laesum cingit aluta pedem*, Mart. ii 29, from which, and other passages, it appears that scarlet as well as black shoes were worn by senators. *aluta*, from *alumen*, properly leather steeped in alum, to soften it. 197, 198 : These lines very closely resemble a speech attributed by Pliny to Licinianus, a banished praetor, who set up a school in Sicily, *Quos tibi ludos Fortuna facis!* *Facis enim ex professoribus senatores, ex senatoribus professores*, Epp. iv 11, "a sarcasm so bitter and pungent," Pliny, in his absurd style of laudation, goes on to say, "that I fancy he must have adopted the profession, in order to give vent to it." Quintilian was named consul, through the influence of Flavius Clemens, to whose sons he was tutor, but never exercised the office. Ausonius, the poet, was afterwards made consul by his pupil Gratian, thus, as Bayle remarks, literally verifying these words of Juvenal. *Ventidius* is P. Ventidius Bassus, consul B.C. 43. When a child he had been carried captive along with his mother in a triumph of Cn. Pompeius Strabo, father of the great Pompey. He afterwards let out mules and carriages, and becoming known to and employed by J. Caesar, rose to distinction as a commander, and had a triumph B.C. 38. He is referred to by Plin. H. N. vii 43, as an instance of the

mutations of fortune. *Tullius* is King Servius Tullius, son of a female slave, viii 259, *servis regna* applies to him; *captivis triumphos* to Ventidius.

202: cf. vi 165, Pers. i 46. **203**: *cathedra*, is here the professorial chair, as in Mart. i 77 14, who applies the same epithet to it, *sterilis*; it produced little or nothing to its occupants. *circum pulpita nostra Et steriles cathedras basia sola crepant*, “the chairs of us poetical professors.” **204**: *Thrasy-machus*, of Chalcedon, a sophist mentioned by Plato and introduced personally in the Politeia. His end is unknown. The scholiast says, he hanged himself, but this is probably invented to explain this passage. *Secundus Carinas* or *Car-rinas* was banished by Caligula for a rhetorical declamation against tyrants, Dio. lix 20; but he seems to have returned, for we find him employed by Nero, Tac. Ann. xv 45 (at least, it is probable that the same person is meant). *hunc* is Socrates. **207**: After *Di* understand *date*. That the earth might lie light on those whom they loved was a common prayer of the ancients, sometimes indicated by the letters S.T.T.L., *sit tibi terra levis*, on tombs. A similar sentiment occurs in the Vedic hymns. *Ut mihi non ullo pondere terra foret*, Propert. i 17 24. The general sentiment is that of Quintilian, *Discipulos . . . moneo ut preceptores suos non minus quam ipsa studia ament, et parentes eos non quidem corporum sed mentium esse credant*. **210**: Achilles submitted to his tutor Chiron the centaur, notwithstanding his horse's tail, which he might have been pardoned for laughing at. The tail of Chiron was a real one, but there may be an allusion to the trick, common among schoolboys then as now, of fixing a paper or other tail behind the back of their master, or schoolmate, for the sake of making fun of them. Horace refers to this in Sat. ii 3 51, sqq., *hoc te Crede modo insanum nihilo ut sapientior ille Qui te deridet, caudam trahat*. “Solent enim pueri deridentes nescientibus a tergo caudam suspendere ut, velut pecus, caudam trahant,” Scholiast; like the three other ways of playing tricks behind one's back mentioned in Pers. i. Juvenal says “that was a tail to make one laugh, if you like.” Achilles was removed from under Chiron's care at nine years of age, according to the legend, but this must not be pressed. He was sufficiently *grandis* to

have a son (Pyrrhus) shortly afterwards. Some put no note of interrogation at the end of the sentence, and a comma after *montibus*. The meaning, then, will be “not being moved to laughter, in those days, by the tail,” &c. 214 : The scholiast says this *Rufus* was a Gaul; and he is here described as calling Cicero an Allobrogian, Savoyard, i.e., a barbarian. Some commentators identify him with a certain Satrius Rufus described in one of Pliny’s epistles, in the language of a third party, as *Satrius Rufus cui est cum Cicerone aemulatio et qui contentus non est eloquentia seculi nostri*; Plin. Epp. i 5; again ix 13; but he was an orator, and quite a different person. And as *et cui est* is the probable reading in the above passage, the latter part of it applies to the younger Pliny himself, as the context shows. “I am anxious to try and rival Cicero as my best model,” &c., he says directly afterwards. Even if *cui* be read, there is nothing to connect the two men of the name of Rufus in these passages.

215 : *Enceladus* is unknown. *Palaemon* was mentioned at vi 452. He was a celebrated grammarian in the time of Tiberius and Claudius. Suetonius gives a very bad account of him, and, moreover, describes him as having made a great deal of money, de Gramm. Illust. 23. The Life of Persius (Suet.) mentions him as having given lessons to that poet; and the scholiast says he taught Quintilian. He is mentioned also by Quintil. Inst. Or. i 4. The name stands for any teacher of grammar. 217 : *autem*, “after all,” as in Virgil, *Sed quid ego haec autem nequidquam ingrata revolo?* *aera* is used by Horace for tuition money. *Laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto, Ibant octonis referentes Idibus aera*, Sat. i 6 74 75. 218 : *Acoenonetus*, from the Greek *ἀκονώντος*, “unsociable,” “selfish,” “refusing to participate,” in which sense it appears to be used here. Pliny uses the same word, Ep. iii 9, *Habet quidem gloria, in studiis praesertim, quiddam ἀκονώντος*. Some read *Acoenonoetus* from *ἀκονόντος*, “wanting in sense.” Aul. Gell. xii 12, a barbarism; the true reading there is as here. 219 : *qui dispensat*, “the steward who has charge of the strong box,” i 91 92. I do not think, with Macleane, that the pedagogue is meant, “who here acts as paymaster.” More than one person has a nibble at the fee before it

reaches the poor teacher of grammar. *Et* seems to show this, and besides, the sense is much stronger. 221: The *institor*, or commercial traveller, seems to have been looked down upon. *Institor heu noctes quas mihi non dat, habet*, Ov. Rem. Am. 306; Hor. Od. iii 6 30. 222: *Dummodo non pereat*, "provided it is not entirely thrown away," "wasted," i 18, note. The subject to *pereat* is *quod sedisti*, &c. 225: The boys, it seems, carried their lanterns with them. Horace and Virgil were by this time class-books, as Horace foresaw that his works would one day become, *Hoc quoque te manet ut pueris elementa docentem Occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus*, Epp. i 20 17. 226, 227: *Flaccus, Maro*. Friedländer takes these as *busts* which are blackened by the smoke, vol iv, pp. 9 10, Fr. ed. 228: *tamen* means, "and yet with all this." This must be one of the poet's usual exaggerations. See note to 166, sqq. Compare Ov. Fast. iii 829. *sed vos*, and what follows, is, of course, ironical. 231: *nec historias sciat omnes*, vi 450. 233-243: *Phoebi balnea*. Where the baths of Phoebus were we do not know. It is curious to see commentators handling a passage in which Juvenal ridicules persons who ask such silly questions as, "Who was Anchises' nurse?" "Who was the step-mother of Archemorus?" and themselves plunging into an inquiry as to the same questions. These mythical personages were unknown then, and they are unknown now. The allusion in the second query is to *Archemorum thalamos ausum incestare novercae*, Aen. x 389, where *Anchemolum* is another reading, as *Anchemoli* here. Juvenal may have had in his mind questions which he heard put after the recitations of Statius, in whose Thebaid the name frequently occurs. 237, 238: *ut mores . . . facil*. *Qualiter artificis victriae pollice cerae Accipiunt formas*, Stat. Achill. i 332 3. Prof. Conington thinks this is an imitation of Pers. v 40. *Acestes, aevi maturus*, Aen. v 73, was the Sicilian king who showed hospitality to Aeneas and his followers (*Phrygibus*). Seutonius describes Tiberius as delighting to put just this kind of question to grammarians, *Quae mater Hecubae? quod Achilli nomen inter virgines fuisse? quid Sirenes cantare sint solitae?* Tiber. 70. *ne turpia ludant . . . trementes* alludes to dirty practices. The poet concludes: "Attend to all these

things; let this be your business," says the parent, "and when the time for your annual payment has arrived, you may expect to receive from me, for the services you have given my son for a whole year, as much as a popular performer gets by way of gratuity at the request of the people, for a single victory." The scholiast says this was five *aurei*. A successful charioteer would often get a great deal more, Mart. x 74 5, who speaks of Scorus, a charioteer, carrying off, in a single hour, fifteen heavy bags of gold; but this would be from his admirers, or the produce of his own bets. Jockeys with us often receive similar fees. Here *victor* may be a gladiator as well as a charioteer. Compare Macrob. Saturn. i 12, *Hoc mense mercedes exsolvebant magistris, quas completus annus deberi fecit.*

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE VIII.

THE poet asks of what use are lofty pedigrees and family images to a man who shows himself unworthy of his great ancestors. Virtue is the only nobility. Distinguish yourself by your character, and I am ready to acknowledge the nobleman. There is nothing in a great name.

It is all very well for some people to boast of their high connections, and to sneer at us, and sit at home and do nothing, while men of low origin are actively engaged in serving the State. Say, with regard to dumb animals, how do we judge them? We value the horse for his fleetness and the victories he has won, not for his pedigree. So, then, let these people go and do something on their own account before claiming our homage.

Do not lean therefore on the reputation of your ancestors, Ponticus. Be, yourself, upright in the discharge of a citizen's ordinary duties. If you become governor of a province, be distinguished for your clemency and justice, and avoid the plundering habits of some of our governors.

Some of these people, for all their nobility, turn amateur coachmen, and frequent low haunts by night, and do things which, in the case of a slave, would ensure his being sent to the bridewell. Others, when they are ruined, take to the stage; others to the arena. A noble spectacle!

Who would not prefer Seneca to Nero—a monster stained with every crime? Look at Catiline and Cethegus, men of lofty birth! Who saved the State from their vile machinations? The upstart Cicero. Look at the plebeian Decii, and the ploughman Marius, and the slave who revealed the conspiracy of the consul's own sons. Better be an Achilles, the son of a Thersites, than a Thersites the son of an Achilles.

After all, be your origin what it may, you can at the furthest only trace it up to the gang of ruffians whom Romulus gathered about him.

All that we can tell, with certainty, respecting the date of this Satire, is that it must have been written after A.D. 100; for in 128, Marius is again alluded to, and not a great number of years after, for *nuper* is the word used. It has been supposed that 51 alludes to Trajan's Armenian and Parthian wars, A.D. 114-116. If we use the term "may allude to," we shall be safe.

NOTES TO SATIRE VIII.

1 : *Stemmata*, literally, "wreaths." The Romans seem not only to have had waxen masks, *imagines*, of their ancestors, Ov. Fast. i 591, which were carried in funeral processions, Polyb. vi 53, but also family-trees, resembling our own in form, on which were medallion portraits *pictos vultus*, 2 ; *imagines pictas*, Plin. H. N. xxxv 2, encircled by wreaths, running from one to another, *stemmata*, though the existence of a family tree, with portraits, has been disputed, and it has been asserted that the waxen images were connected with each other by threads, *lineis*, the whole group, when so disposed, being alone called a *stemma*. The above passage in Pliny, and another from Seneca, de Benef. iii 28, as well as Sueton. Nero 37, and Galba 2, will bear either interpretation, as also Mart. iv 40 ; cf. Becker, "Gallus," sc. ii, note, where other passages are given. I think it probable, however, that the Romans had family-trees like ours, the *tabula capax* of 6, and cf. 7, and Pers. iii 28. In either case, *stemmata* will mean "pedigrees," Mart. viii 6 ; Stat. Silv. iii 3 44. *Pontice*. Of Ponticus nothing further is known. He may be, according to the frequent usage of Juvenal, an imaginary personage. I am inclined to think his is a fancy name, perhaps adopted from Martial, whose poems were read as widely as the novels of Paul de Kock in Louis Philippe's time, long before this Satire was published, at any rate in its existing form. The latter poet addresses one Ponticus in many of his epigrams, *ex gr.*, *Hermogenes tantus mapparum, Pontice, fur est*, xii 29, where Ponticus seems to be brought in as a dactyl. comp. Mart. ii 23 ; i 2. 2 : *sanguine censeri*, "to be valued by the antiquity of your race," as 74, *censeri laude tuorum*, "to be valued by the renown of your ancestors." *Id in quoque optimum est cui nascitur, quo censemur*, Sen. Epp. 76. From Tac. Ann. iv

9, we learn that these pedigrees were sometimes carried back, as might be expected, to the mythical ages. *pictos vultus* will be either the painted faces on the family-tree, or family portraits generally, or the waxen masks above mentioned, which are also described by Polyb. vi 53, and referred to by Herodian (*πρόσωπα, προσωπία*) cf. Schweighäuser's note on the former passage. At any rate, the meaning is "the portraits of his ancestors," in some form. 3, 4, 5: *Aemilianos*, ii 154; *Curios*, ii 3; *Corvinum*, i 108; *Galbam*, ii 104, are put as so many illustrations of lofty descent. Galba is here an ancestor of the Emperor of that name. The Aemiliani standing in their chariots, must, I think, refer to triumphal statues, and *Curios*, &c., may also refer to statues, though they are usually taken as waxen images. It is clear that these wealthy Romans had both. A marble bust was to be seen standing on its pedestal in one of the houses at Pompeii when I was there, with indications of forming one of a series. *humerosque minorem*, "short of a head and shoulders," a Greek form, as *frontem minor truncam*, Sil. iii 42. I see no necessity for reading *humero*, as some do. *Curios jam dimidios*. Compare Mart. x 2 10. *dimidios Crispi equos*, where, certainly, statues are meant. Time had not spared these old effigies. 6: *generis* is usually taken with *tabula*, i.e., the genealogical table. It might, however, be taken with *fructus*. "What profit from ancestry in thus displaying on capacious roll?" &c. The first is better. The *tabula* would indeed have to be *capax*, if the genealogy was carried up to the heroes of antiquity and the gods; cf. note to 2. Suetonius relates of Galba, how *imperator vero etiam stemma in atrio proposuerit, quo paternam originem ad Pasiphaen Minois uxorem referret*, Galb. 2. 7: This line is probably spurious. *virga* is taken by Heinrich as a broom, or besom, with which the busts were cleaned, but *multa* is hardly in keeping with this rendering. *multa virga* must mean "through many a branch," i.e., of the ancestral tree, Pers. iii 28, *Stemmate quod Tusco ramum millesime ducis*. 8: *Fumosos*. The family-tree would be liable to be blackened from the smoke of the *focus*, or fire-place, dedicated to the Lares of each family. This was always placed in the atrium, though in the time of the poet it is possible that the *focus*

had been removed from the *atrium* in great town-houses, cf. xii 86, note. Martial expressly speaks of *fumosa stemmata*, viii 6 3 (where *fumosa*, and not *furiosa*, is undoubtedly the correct reading), and Seneca, Epp. 44, *non facit nobilem atrium plenum fumosis imaginibus*, so Cic. in Pis. i. *equitum . . . magistros*. Along with the Dictator there was always a Magister Equitum, who was named by the Dictator himself. The Magister, as his name implies, was originally at the head of the cavalry; the Dictator at the head of the legions or infantry, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. 9: *coram Lepidis* and *ante Numantinos*, "in the presence of their effigies." The Lepidi, a branch of the Aemilia gens, filled many high offices of state in their time, cf. Dict. G. and R. Biog. Though held up here as examples of virtue, they appear to have included some very disgraceful characters among their number. *quo*, "to what purpose," as xiv 135. *sed quo divitias haec per tormenta coactas*, viii 142, note, and 144. 10: *alea pernox*. So Capitolin. tells us of Verus, *fertur et nocte perpeti alea lusisse*, Ver. 4. 11: *Numantinos*. Scipio Africanus the younger acquired the name of Numantinus after the capture of Numantia. The plural here, as often in Juvenal, is used, though only one person is meant. The idiom is very common in Latin, both in prose and verse, as well as in modern languages; *Omne tempus Clodios non omne Catones feret*, Sen. Epp. 97. *Sint Maecenates, non deerunt Flacce Marones*, Mart. viii 56 5. *si dormire incipis*, "if you don't go to sleep till." *quo*, "the hour at which."

13: The Fabia gens claimed a legendary descent from Hercules. The Ara Maxima, in or near the Forum Boarium, or Ox-market, was supposed, according to one tradition, to have been consecrated by Evander to Hercules, Virg. Aen. viii 271 272, according to another, it was built by Hercules himself, after killing Cacus. Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, of this family, defeated the Allobroges, B.C. 121, from which exploit he received the name of Allobrogicus. *Fabius* means one of the family. *natus in Herculeo Lare*, with a dash of satire. 15: *Euganea*, Liv. i 1. The Euganei, a people who originally occupied the whole of Venetia. The word is used here roughly. The wool of all this district was famous.

Mart., xiv 155, classes wool as follows: *Velleribus primis Appulia, Parma secundis Nobilis, Altinum tertia laudat oris.* Altinum, a town of Venetia, would most nearly correspond to the district here alluded to. Martial says of a girl that she is *Agna Galeis mollior Phalantini*, v 37 2, in a complimentary sense. 16: *Catina* (Catania) was at the foot of Aetna, and the stones thrown up by the volcano were no doubt used for rubbing the body, *Nam res mortifera est inimicus pumice levis*, ix 95. *Pumex in usu corporum levigandorum feminis, jam quidem et viris*, Plin. H. N. xxxvi 21. On this practice of the effeminate Romans, of smoothing the body with pumice-stone, &c., and pulling out the hairs, cf. Mart. ii 29 6, *Et splendent trito brachia nusa pilo*, where *splendent* means "shine with friction," Juv. ii 12; Pers. iv 40. The two last passages explain *lumbum* here. Sueton. J. C. 45; Otho, 12. Lucilius enumerates all the processes to which the effeminate subjected themselves, *Rador, subvellar, desquamor, pumicor, ornor, Expolior, pingor*, Fr. vii 5; Plaut. Poen. i 2 10. 17: *Squalentes*, "rugged," in contrast to the artificial smoothings of their degenerate descendants. *intonsi avi*, Tibull. ii 1 34. *traducit*, "dishonours," "exposes to contempt," ii 159, vii 16. Martial often uses the word in the same sense, i 54, &c. *tradi*ci, in this sense, means literally to be led along in public by way of disgrace. Sueton. uses it in its literal sense in Tit. 8, where, by the Emperor's orders, informers and suborners are scourged, *ac novissime traducti per Amphitheatri arenam*, previously to being sold as slaves. In some parts of Spain, it was the custom some years ago, and is perhaps still, to promenade a condemned malefactor through the town, previous to his execution, mounted on an ass. Hence metaphorically, as here, "brings disgrace upon." 17, 18: *emp-torque . . . gentem*. And, a convicted prisoner, brings disgrace upon his unhappy family, by having his image broken up. *frangenda imagine*, "the breaking up of his image." Busts and statues of those who had been found guilty of a capital crime, as treason, &c., were often delivered up to be destroyed by the executioner. So of Sejanus, *descendunt statuae restemque sequuntur*, x 58. *funestare* is properly to pollute with blood, as in Catull. 64, (*Theseus*) *tali*

mente Deae funestet seque suosque. 19, 20 : cf. vi 162 163, note.
21 : *Paulus, Cossus, Drusus.* "Be a Paulus, or a Cossus, or a Drusus, in moral character!" There is an emphasis here on *moribus*. A Paulus and Cossus are mentioned together in vii 144 145, in rather a contemptuous tone. There may have been a Drusus of the same stamp; and the meaning might be, "be a Paulus, &c., in something more than mere name." These are names of the Aemilian, Cornelian, and Livian gentes. What are the particular members of these families whom the poet holds up as examples, is a matter of doubt. He may have used the words generally for men of the old stamp. The two most distinguished of the Pauli were the consul who perished at Cannae, *animaeque magnae Prodigum Paulum superante Poeno*, Hor. Od. i 12; and his son. Juvenal had probably both of these in his mind. Drusus may mean Drusus the younger, brother of Tiberius, and father of Germanicus. But there were many eminent men of that name.
22 : *hos, sc. mores.* 23 : *virgas*, "the fasces," which were borne before the consuls. The occurrence of *virgas* here appears to have misled the scholiast, who translates *multa virga*, at 7, "multis fascibus, dignitate." 24 : *debēs*, "you owe me," i.e., "I am entitled to look for." *sanctus haberi*, &c., understand, si "if," *Graeculus esuriens in coelum jusserris, ibit*, iii 78. 26 : *Gaetulice*. Cossus (or Cneius) Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, so called from his victory over the Gaetuli, is probably alluded to by the poet. 27 : *Silanus*, the name of several noble Roman families. It is evidently used here in a general sense. The Junii Silani are most probably glanced at, as they were connected with the Caesars by marriage, and might be proud of that circumstance, 72. 29, 30 : We are disposed to shout "Eureka" like the Egyptians. This is explained by Plin. H. N. viii 46. The superstitious Egyptians, for whom Juvenal had an especial contempt, worshipped their god Osiris, under the form of a live bull. When the animal grew old, he was drowned, under the notion that the Deity had left his body, to go and inhabit that of a younger bull. The new tenant was accordingly sought for, and when recognised, was received with great rejoicing, and a cry of *εὑρήκαμεν, συγχαιρόμεν*, "we have found him; let us

rejoice!" Compare Plaut. *Aulul.* v 10 11. Sir Samuel Baker tells us that even now the dwellers on the White Nile will not eat the ox, and this is probably an instance of "survival." *exclamare libet.* So Mart. x 31. 30 : sqq. Don't suppose that a noble name is all that is required to make you noble in reality. Don't we call dwarfs Atlas, &c ? Take care then lest you be styled Creticus or Camerinus, on the same principle, i.e., ironically. There is a slight digression here from the main line of argument. We should rather expect, "take care then, lest, for all that you may have a great name, such as Creticus or Camerinus, it may be held to imply very ignoble qualities." But the construction seems to demand the first rendering. *Atlas* seems to be the name of a dwarf in Mart. vi 77 7. *extortam*, "distorted," *omnibus membris extortus et fractus*, Plin. Epp. viii 18. *Creticus*, ii 67. *Camerinus*, vii 90. The former was an agnomen of the Metelli, first bestowed on Q. Caecilius Metellus for his victory over the Cretans, for which he had a triumph.

39, 40 : *Rubelli Plaute.* There is some difficulty here, for Rubellius Plautus, the son of Rubellius Blandus, by Julia, grand-daughter of the Emperor Tiberius, was put to death, A.D. 62, long before this Satire was written. Yet we find him spoken of as still alive (*vivas 46 tua vivit imago 55*, and the context generally). Most of the MSS. read *Blande*, and some suppose the person addressed to have been a son of Rubellius Plautus and a grandson of the first-named Rubellius Blandus. But 42 *Ut te conciperet quae sanguine fulget Juli* is conclusive against this. We have seen how common it is for Juvenal to select types from the dead and speak of them as if still living; Tigellinus i 155, Paris and Palaemon in vii, and below 170, Nero, for the Emperor, for instance. We must suppose this to be the case here, and that the name is put for any one who is puffed up with his birth; though, to me at least, this is not quite satisfactory. But I see no other solution. Tacitus gives Rubellius Plautus a more favourable character, Ann. xiv 22. *tecum est mihi sermo*, "a word or two with you." 40 : *Drusorum stemmate.* His mother Julia was the daughter of Drusus; see the "Stemma Drusorum," in Dict. G. and R. Biog. *tumes*, the proper word, see note to

72. 42 : *ut*. Heinrich proposes, and Macleane approves *et*. I see no necessity for the change. Juvenal says, "Just as if you had yourself done anything to account for your coming into the world noble; in order that (*ut*) you should have been born of a princess and not of a common soldier's drab." All this was arranged for you by fate, and is not due to your own merits, and you have no right to boast of it! Mr. Evans translates "As if you had yourself achieved something to deserve *being ennobled*," which does not appear to me to be the sense. Juvenal's sentiments here are quite as much above our age as they were above his own, nor have so many centuries of civilisation in the least altered our worship of birth and rank. *aggere*, v 153. There may have been, as Heinrich suggests, workshops and factories in the camp (if so, probably of articles of attire for the soldiers), but *ventoso sub aggere* seems rather to refer to one working in the open air, under shelter of the rampart, exposed to the wind on account of its height. It is usually called the Mound of Servius Tullius, but Plin., H.N. iii 5, attributes it to Tarquinius Superbus. 46 : *Cecropides*. "I am a descendant of Cecrops, the first king of Attica, and an autochthon." "I am of royal and lofty descent," so *Dinomaches ego sum*, Pers. iv 20. 49 : *nobilis indocti*, "a noble who is an ignoramus." *veniet*, in our idiom, "there will be :" the Romans sometimes say "there will come," *veniet qui ferula doce Componat*, vii 184 185. *plebe togata*. The toga was not confined exclusively to the lower orders, i 96 note, but, as Macleane says, "the poorer people may have been called so from their frequent appearance before the rich in the toga." It was their dress of ceremony. Mart. has *turba togata*; cf. Juv. vii 142. 52 : *juvenis*, "a man of fighting age"—from seventeen to forty-five. 53 : *Nil nisi Cecropides*, "a Cecropid, and nothing else." The poor man goes out to fight the battles of his country or to garrison conquered districts; the "descendant of Cecrops" remains at home, like a motionless bust. *Hermae* were busts of Mercury, or some other god, ending in a pedestal. They served to mark boundaries, &c. "You resemble nothing so much as a Hermes."

56 : *Teucrorum proles*, i 100. 57, 58 : *volucrem sic laud-*

amus equum, “we praise the horse as swift,” below 161, *dominum regemque salutat*, “salutes him as,” &c. The Romana, however, thought a great deal of the pedigrees of their racers, cf. Stat. Silv. v 2 21; sqq. *volucr.* seems to have been a name given to horses, Capit. Ver. 6. *palma*, “the palm of victory.” *Primaque ventosis palma petetur equis*, Ov. Fast. iv 392. Others take it “of the clapping of hands by the spectators.” 59: *rauco Circo*, so *vicinia rauca*, in Hor. 60, 61: will not fail to attract notice, both from the sentiment and the rhythm. Comp. *Acer equus quondam magnaue in pulvere famae*, Ov. Met. vii 542. *longusque a Caesare pulvis*, Mart. x 6 5. 62: *Corythae*. Of this mare nothing further is known. *Coryphaei* and *Coryphaeae* (equally unknown) are other readings. 63: *Hirpinus* was a celebrated racer mentioned by Martial, who says of a busybody who affected to know everything, *Hirpini veteres qui bene norit avos*, iii 63 12. It seems that Lipaius copied an inscription on a stone at Rome, with the words *Hirpinus N(epos) Aquilonis vicit cxii secundas tulit lvi tert. tul. xxxvi.* 66: *Epiredia*, from *īw* and the Gallic *reda*. This word is noticed by Quintilian, Inst. Or. i 5. The scholiast says they were *ornamenta redarum aut plastra*. They were either vehicles or something connected with vehicles; that is all we can say. 67: *Nepotis*, this man must have been a well-known baker or miller. Some of the bakers' mills, which were usually turned by asses, or by slaves for punishment, are to be seen at Pompeii. The poet says these slow horses were fit to take their places at such mills. Ribbeck has *nepotes*, which is ingenious. See above inscription on Hirpinus, 63, note. 68: *da*. Heinrich takes this as equivalent to *fac*. Macleane says, in his off-hand way, “It means, ‘tell me,’ as in Virg. Ecl. i 19, *Sed tamen iste Deus qui sit da Tityre, nobis*, and Hor. Sat. ii 8 4.” No doubt *dare* often has this sense, as again in Ter. Prolog. ad Heaut. Tim. 10, *nunc quamobrem has partes didicerim, paucis dabo. Quis . . . tot templa tot aras Promeruisse datur?* “is said to have,” Stat. Silv. iii 3 79; Ov. Fast. vi 434. But here it may mean either, and is perfectly translated by the English “give me.” In iii 137, *da testem Romae iam sanctum*, &c., the sense is “produce,”

very much the same as here, and again at xvi 29. Compare with this passage, Tibull. iv 1 28, sqq.

71 : *juvenem*, 52, note. Rubellius Plautus was probably nearly thirty at the time of his death. *quem nobis fama superbum tradit*, "whose nobility gives him to us proud," &c., Heinrich and Maclean: *fama* may have this sense in Hor. Sat. i 6 15: or, "whom common report hands down to us proud," &c., which I think better, as Rubellius had been dead some forty years before this Satire was produced. *ad juvenem*, "with respect to," "on the subject of." 72 : *plenumque Nerone propinquo*, i 163, note. So Horace, Sat. i 6 49 50, *quia non ut forsitan honorem, Jure mihi invideat quiris ita te quoque amicum*, i.e., "your friendship for me." *inflatum as tumes*, 40. Compare Mart. iv 11 1, *Dum nimium vano tumefactus nomine gaudes*. Plin. Epp. vii 31, *numquam secundis rebus intumuit. Nero longa Caesarum serie tumens*, Tac. Hist. i 16. *claro tumentes genere*, Sen. Oct. 496. Burmann on Calpurn. i 89, seems to think that the words may be used as *plenum numine*, satirically, "filled by his divine relative." He quotes an inscription, *Templum in rupe Tagi, superis et Caesare plenum*. 73 : *sensus communis*. A great deal has been written about the meaning of these words. Horace uses them, *communi sensu plane caret*, Sat. i 3 66, to signify "tact." They are used in exactly the same way by Seneca de Ben. i 12, *Sit in beneficiis, communis sensus : tempus, locum, personas observet, quia momentis quaedam grata et ingrata sunt*. It would be difficult to define tact better than this. *Communis sensus* is here a sense shared with others, and consequently of what is due to others. *sensum communem, humanitatem et congregationem*, Sen. Epp. 5, Quint. Inst. Or. i 2, a "fellow-feeling" which, in what may be called its humbler manifestations, is the same thing as tact. A man possessed of this would not thrust his relationship to Nero down the throats of others less nobly connected. *enim* is connected with *plenum* and *inflatum*, &c., "for, indeed, in that rank of life, people are commonly arrogant and selfish." It is possible that Juvenal may have had in his mind a fable of Phaedrus, dedicated to those *quibus honorem et gloriam Fortuna tribuit, sensum communem abstulit*, i 7 (though s.c. is used there for "intelligence" generally). In

Lucret., c.s. has a kindred meaning, "universal feeling common to all alike," cf. Munro ad i 422. **76-78**: It is a sad thing to have to lean for support on the reputation of others, like a roof propped up by pillars, or a vine longing to cling to an elm. Here the roof and the vine represent the man himself, and the pillars and the elm correspond to *aliorum famae*. The Romans, as is well known, were in the habit of training their vines round poplars, elms, and ashes, Colum. de Arb. 16; Ov. Am. ii 16 41, *Ulmus amat vitem, vitis non deserit ulmum*. Hor. Epod. 2 9 10. *Collibus in suis vitem viduas ducit ad arbores*, Od. iv 5 29, where *viduas* is rather "virgin," as the plane-tree is called *coelebs*, Od. ii 15 4; and *vidua*, Mart. iii 58 3, from the fact that, owing to its dense foliage, vines were not trained round it. Here *viduas* is not easily translatable, "the vine, as it trails along the ground, longs in vain for some unwedded elm to cling to." It does not mean that the vine has been torn from the elms. **79**: *arbiter* corresponds very nearly to our arbitrator, Dict. G. and R. Ant., "Judex." Pliny expressly distinguishes between *arbiter* and *judex*. *Sunt enim me qui aut judicem aut arbitrum faciant*, Epp. vii 30. *Caeteri cum ad judicem causam labefactari animadvertunt, ad arbitrum configunt*, Cic. pro Rosc., and the distinction between the two is very clearly laid down by Seneca de Ben. iii 7, from which it appears that the *arbiter* was possessed of a greater latitude than the *judex*, and was armed with something very closely resembling what we call an equitable jurisdiction. Hence the more necessary for one filling the office to be an upright man. **81**: *Phalaris*, tyrant of Agrigentum, with his brazen bull, had become proverbial. Cicero styles him *crudelissimus omnium tyrannorum*, in Verr. iv 33. **83**: *Pejusque leto flagitium timet*, Hor. Od. iv 9 50. (*mallet*) *Intemerata mori, vitamque impendere famae*, Stat. Silv. v i 63. *pudor* is here "honour," as often in writers of this period, Plin. Epp. ii 4; *famam defuncti pudoremque suspicere*, and Epp. v 1. It is found in Cic., too, in this sense, *Estne tui pudoris aut nostri de die rogare?* ad Div. vii 23. **84**: *causas*, "the true incentives to life." *causas discriminis atque laboris inde habuit*, x 139, and xiv 173. Compare Plin. Epp. v 5, *Qui voluptatibus dediti, quasi in diem vivunt, vivendi causas quotidie finiunt*. *Ingenio causas tu dabis una meo*, Ov. Am. ii 17 34.

85 : *perit*, the perfect, as *magnus civis obit*, vi 559. "Such a man is already as good as dead ; his existence cannot be dignified with the name of life—life is something more than mere breath." This is, I think, a reminiscence of Seneca, with whom the sentiment is a very favourite one, Epp. 60; *Vivit is qui se utitur, qui vero latitant et torpent sic in domo sunt, tamquam in condito . . . mortem suam antecesserunt*, and another passage to the same effect in Epp. 77, and in Epp. 93, *Alter post mortem quoque est, alter ante mortem periiit*, and Epp. 122, and again, *Non est ergo otiosus hic, aliud nomen imponas, aeger est, immo mortuus est*, de Brev. Vit. 13. cf. also Cic. Sex. Rosc. Amer. 39. Compare also 80 81, sqq., with a passage in Epp. 66, *vir bonus . . . stet illic licet carnifex, stet tortor atque ignis, perseverabit*. It is quite clear that the works of Seneca were well known to, and often in the mind of, our author. Compare, for the converse of this sentiment, Plaut. Capt. iii 5 32, *qui per virtutem peritat, at non interit*. **85** : *ostrea*, iv 141, note. "However sumptuously he may fare." Mount Gaurus was near the Lucrine lake, hence Lucrine oysters are meant. *Cosmus* was a celebrated perfumer in Rome, often mentioned by Martial, *Cosmi pastillos voras*, i 88 2. *Cosmi redolent alabastra*, xi 8 9, &c. *aeno* is the copper in which he prepared his unguents.

87 : sqq. Plin. Epp. viii 24, gives advice to his friend Maximus on his appointment to the province of Achaia, very similar to that given by our author, *Recordare quid quaeque civitas fuerit, non ut despicias quod esse desierit. Absit superbia, asperitas, &c.*, imitated from Cicero ad Quint. Fratr. **89** : *sociorum*, cf. art. "Socius," Dict. G. and R. Ant. **90** : "You see the very bones of the kings (native and dependent princes) sucked dry, with the marrow gone, the same as *ossa vacua exsuctis medullis*. Horace has *exsucta medulla*, Epop. 5 37. *exedit cura medullas*, Catull. 66 23. **91** : *leges*, "the laws of the province." The provinces were in general governed by their own laws. See Plin. Epp. x 110, where Trajan writes to Pliny very strongly on this subject. *quid Curia mandet*. The governors of provinces received their orders, *rescripta*, from the emperor (many interesting specimens of those sent by Trajan are to be found in Plin. Epp. x), and were practically nominated by him ; but their appointment was, in

theory, by the Senate, whose representatives they were supposed to be : much as in England, the right to appoint a bishop is legally in the dean and chapter. 92: *fulmine*. A condemnation by the Senate, the Emperor, &c., is frequently compared to a "thunderbolt," *venturi fulminis ictus*, Stat. Silv. iii 3 158. *cum . . . castum libraret Julia (lex) fulmen*, Ib. v 2 102; Plin. Paneg. c. 90. So Ovid, of his sentence, *Venit in hoc illa fulmen ab arce caput*, Trist. i 1 72; and Seneca speaks of one visited by the Emperor's displeasure as *quasi fulguritus*. 93: *Capito*, a lawyer, son-in-law of Tigellinus, and governor of Cilicia ; was recalled and degraded from his senatorial rank, for his exactions in that province, A.D. 57. He was, however, afterwards restored, and came forward as the accuser of Thrasea Paetus, who had supported the Cilicians against him. For this Juvenal would naturally hate his memory, v 36. *Numitor* is unknown. The name has been mentioned at vii 74. 94: *piratae Cilicani*. The Cilicians had a bad reputation and were notorious pirates. Hence the poet calls their despoilers "pirates of the pirates themselves." Possibly, this is a reminiscence of Cicero (with whose writings our author was well acquainted) *ostendent C. Verrem in ea classe quae contra piratas aedificata sit piratam ipsum consceleratum suisse*, Verr. Act. ii, Lib. i, c. 35 ; and again *praedonum praedo*, c. 59. 94-97: The sense is : But what would be the use of a mere condemnation to you, poor provincial, when the new governor would rob you of all that the displaced governor has not laid his hands on ? Dispose of your little all, by the help of the auctioneer, turn it into cash, and hold your tongue. Don't think of going to Rome to obtain redress ; you would only be losing your passage-money in addition to your previous losses. *Pansa* and *Natta* appear not to apply to any particular persons. The latter may be taken from Horace, Sat. i 6 124, *fraudatis immundus Natta lucernis*. Originally the Nattae Pinarii were a very noble family, Cic. de Div. ii 21 ; so the name may stand for "a noble thief," cf. Pers. iii 31. *Chærippus*, "any provincial ;" but according to Aristotle, names compounded with οὐνος indicated noble birth : cf. Aristoph. Nub. 60, where this very name occurs. There may be allu-

sion to this. Even persons of high birth and station are reduced to rags. *post omnia perdere naulum* may have been proverbial, like "to throw the haft after the hatchet." Some take *naulum* (ναῦλον) to be Charon's fee, iii 267; but this does not suit the context as well, and especially *tace*. 97 : *post omnia*, "after everything else." "*post omnia cetera*," a very common Latin idiom, *rebus quisque relictis, Naturam primum studeat cognoscere rerum*, i.e., *rebus ceteris*, Lucr. iii 1071.

99 : *sociis . . . victis*, "when our allies were still flourishing, having only recently been conquered." I prefer taking *modo* in this sense, as *populus modo victor*, ii 73, and *modo captias Orcadas*, ii 160. They had been so recently subdued, that we had not had time to clean them out. Sallust says, *Ignavissimi homines per summum scelus omnia ex sociis adimere quae fortissimi viri victores hostibus reliquerant*, which expresses the same sentiment, Bell. Cat. 12. 101-103 : *Chlamys* (χλαμύς). A light scarf or shawl, imported from Greece, and fashionable in Rome, under the Emperors. Caligula wore one embroidered with gold, Suet. Calig. 19. *Spartanas*. There may be an allusion to the Laconian, or purple dye, Hor. Od. ii 18 7. *conchylia*, cf. iii 81, literally the shell-fish from which the purple was extracted. *Coa*. Cos, in the Aegean, was celebrated for its cloth or silk, which was sometimes dyed purple. It seems to have been very transparent. *Coae purpuree*, Hor. Od. iv 13 13; *Cois tibi paene videre est Ut nudum*, Sat. i 2 101; *Coa puellis Vestis, et a rubro lucida concha mari*, Tibull. ii 4 29 30. *Parrhasius* was a Greek painter, who lived about 400 B.C., the first, according to Pliny, who gave true proportion to painting. *Myro* and *Phidias*, celebrated sculptors, somewhat older than Parrhasius. The former worked also in silver, according to Phaedrus, v prolog. *Polycletus*. There were two of this name, celebrated as statuaries and sculptors. *Mentor*, a well-known silver-chaser (a Greek, like all the others mentioned) of the fourth century B.C. Martial often speaks of him, *Inserta phialae Mentoris manu ducia Lacerta vivit et timetur argentum*, iii 41, where the expression *lacerta vivit* may be compared with *vivebat ebur*, at 103. *Mentore*, "a cup of Mentor's chasing," as we say, "a Titian," "a Hogarth." All these things are put for the *chefs-d'œuvre*

of antiquity. *labor, poculaque insignis veterum labor*, Val. Fl. Argon. i 143. Cicero compliments his brother Quintus on not having robbed the people of Asia during his proconsulship, of a single *signum, pictura, vas, vestis, &c.*, ad Q. fr. i 2. **105** : *Inde* and *hinc* may also mean "from this source came," &c. This (the existence of this wealth and these rarities) brought Dolabellas, &c. *Scire volunt secreta domus atque inde timeri*, iii 113. *Inde caput morbi*, iii 236. *inde faces ardent*, vi 139. *hinc subitae mortes*, i 144, &c.; and similarly *unde*. *unde nil majus generatur ipso*, sc. *ex quo*, Hor. Od. i 12 17. *Dolabella*. There were three of this name who plundered provinces; Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, governor of Macedonia, charged with being guilty of extortion, B.C. 77, but acquitted; Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, governor of Cilicia, condemned for a similar crime; P. Cornelius Dolabella, son-in-law of Cicero, who robbed and plundered in Greece, Macedonia, Thrace and Asia Minor. *Antonius*. C. Antonius condemned for pillaging Macedonia, B.C. 59, though defended by Cicero, or M. Antonius, surnamed Creticus, brother of the above, and father of the Triumvir, who plundered Sicily, may be intended, or both of them. **106** : *sacrilegus Verres*, condemned for extortion in Sicily. Sacrilege was one of the counts in the indictment. (*Deorum*) *simulacula sanctissima C. Verres ex delubris sustulit*, Cic. in Verr. Compare Tac. Ann. xv 45. *alitus* may be "deep-laden," "weighed down with the spoil." **108** : *grex parvus equarum*, cf. note to ii 80. **111** : *aedicula*, an oratory, as we should say, a niche or shrine, for the image of the god. *Grande armarium in angulo vidi, in cuius aedicula erant Lares argentei positi*, Petron. 29. These are now the highest prizes to be got. **113** : *Rhodios*, vi 296. Corinth was even more celebrated for its luxury and effeminacy. Martial says of an effeminate fellow that he boasts of being *municipem Corinthiorum*, x 65. **114** : *resinata*. *resina omnis oleo dissolvitur aut creta, pudetque confieri maximum jam honorem ejus esse in ebellendis virorum corpori pilis*. Plin. xiv 25. It was used like the *pumex* 16 and the *dropax*, another unguent. **116, 117** : But take care what you are about with such rough customers as the Spaniards. Martial, in the epigram referred to on 113, contrasts the

Spaniards with the Corinthians in the same way, *Hispanis ego contumax capillis, Levis dropace tu quotidiano, Hirsutis ego cruribus genisque. axis vi 470.* 117, 118 : The Romans derived a great portion of their corn from Africa, v 118 119, *quidquid de Libycis verritur areis, Hor. Od. i 1 10; frumenti quantum metit Africa, Sat. ii 3 87.* "Spare too (if only for your own sake) the reapers who fill the bellies of the Romans and enable them to give their time to the circus and the stage." On the love of the Romans for the circus, cf. iii 223, &c. *saturant,* xiv 166 167, in the same sense. 119 : *autem* "moreover," "besides." Moreover, what would you gain by making a raid upon the Africans, and so starving Rome ? (which is what the poet hints at satirically in *tam dira culpa.*) Has not Marius already stripped them to the skin ? These two lines are thrown in parenthetically. 120 : *discinzerit*, "has robbed them of their very girdles." In a hot climate, such as that of Africa, a covering round the middle would be the only thing worn by the bulk of the men. So *discingere* means "to strip." It is used precisely in this sense by Mart. xii 29 13, of a thief, *Hoc quoque si deerit, medios discingere lectos Mensarumque pedes non timet Hermogenes.* *tenues Afros discingere* may be an example of prolepsis, "to strip them, and so to reduce them to poverty," i 83, note. *tenuis*, for "poor," "starving," as at iii 163 ; vii 80. Virgil speaks of *discinctos Afros*, "the loosely-clad Africans," Aen. viii 724, but I can see no allusion to that passage here. As a contrast to Marius, Scipio may be quoted, who said of himself, *Cum Africam totam potestati restrae subjecerim, nihil ex ea quod meum diceretur praeter cognomen retuli,* Valer. Max. iii 7 1. This is what Horace means when he speaks of him as one *qui domita nomen ab Africa Lucratus redit,* Od. iv 8 18. As to Marius, cf. i 49, note. 124 : is pronounced by Jahn (and doubtless by Ribbeck) to be spurious. It may be, and the passage might perhaps better end with *relinques*, yet, if so, *spoliatis arma supersunt*, is a happy expression, to whomsoever due, and has become proverbial.

125 : *sententia*, a "phrase," "saw," "aphorism,"—exactly applicable to *spoliatis arma supersunt*—Quintilian devotes a large part of a chapter, Inst. Or. viii 5, to *sententiae*, of various kinds. 126 : The Sibylline books were kept in the

temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, till its destruction by fire, B.C. 82. Afterwards, a fresh collection was made. They appear to have contained oracles, and prophecies, and directions for the proper observance of religious rites. See Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Sibyllini Libri." *folium* is here the leaf (of a tree) for the Cumæan Sybil, from whom these oracles were supposed to have descended, wrote them on leaves, Virg. Aen. vi 74. Ovid has a similar expression to this; *Haec tibi non hominem, sed quercus crede Pelasgas Dicere*, A. A. ii 541. 127: *cohors comitum*, iii 47, note. *tribunal vendere*, "to sell decisions," is like *somnia vendere*, vi 547, "to sell the interpretation of dreams." 128: *acersecomes*, "a young favourite with flowing locks, not yet cut" ($\alpha\kappa\iota\gamma\epsilon\sigma\varsigma\;\chi\omega\mu\eta\varsigma$), Homer's epithet for Apollo, used as *Bromius*, an epithet for Bacchus, vi 378. 129: *conventus*. The word refers to the meetings of the provincials in certain places appointed by the praetor, or proconsul, for the purpose of administering justice. A province was divided into a number of districts or circuits, each of which was likewise called *conventus*, *forum*, or *jurisdictio*, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. So they were not unlike our assizes, or circuits. Plin. iii 1 says of Spain, *Juridici conventus ei quatuor, Gaditanus, Cordubensis, Astigitanus, Hispalensis*, and his nephew, writing to Trajan, speaks of the *conventus* he had held, x 66. *conjuge*. In old times governors of provinces were not allowed to take their wives with them, Tac. Ann. iii 33 34, and cf. Ann. iv 20. Augustus was very particular on this subject, Suet. Aug. 24. 130: *Celaeno*, one of the harpies. *dira Celaeno*, Virg. iii 211, to whom he gives *uncaequa manus, et pallida semper Ora fame*. 131: *licet* I prefer taking as a conjunction. "Then (if you show yourself upright and worthy), though you may call yourself a descendant of Picus, &c., you are welcome to any pedigree you may like as far as I am concerned." *Picus* was a legendary king of Italy, represented as the son of Saturnus and father of Faunus, Virg. Aen. vii 48. 132: *omnem Titanida pugnam* for "all the Titan warriors," an expression resembling "cum tota Carthagine," in vi 171, "with all your Carthaginian belongings."

137: *lasso lictore. lassis caedenibus*, vi 484. *Sectus flagellis hic triumviralibus Praeconis ad fastidium*, Hor. Epod. 4 12, where,

however, it must not be supposed that the *praeco* administered the blows. 138 : *contra te stare*, “to plead against you,” iii 290, note. 139 : *facem praeferre*. Cicero has *ad libidinem facem praeferre*. Catil. i 6. Compare Plin. Epp. v 17, *Adolescentem laudibus incitavi lumen quod sibi maiores sui praelulissent, posteris ipsis praeferret*. 140, 141 : *Majora populus semper a summo exigit*, Sen. Oct. 575. *perlucet omne regiae vitium domus*. Id. Agam., “the fierce light that beats upon a throne.” 142 : After *quo* in the sense of “to what purpose?” there is often an ellipsis, as at 9 and xiv 135. Supply here *jactas*, or some such word. *tabellas*. Legal documents, and especially wills, were generally written on waxen tablets. They were often kept, with other valuables, in temples, as we deposit articles with bankers, xiv 260. 145 : *Santonico*, from Saintonge, in Aquitaine. *Gallia Santonico vestit te bardocucullo*, Mart. xiv 128. The *cucullus*, or cowl used for purposes of concealment, we have had at vi 118; cf. Hor. Sat. ii 7 55, *prodis . . . Turpis odoratum caput obscurante lacerna*. Cic. in Pis. 6, Capitol. Ver. 4.

146 : sqq. One reading here and at 151 and 167 is *Damasippus*; but a *Damasippus* is mentioned again, in a different connection, at 185, and moreover the original of the character never was consul, cf. 185, note. The scholiast and P. both read *Lateranus*. He is a man of fortune, fond of horse-flesh; he drives along the Latin and Flaminian way past the tombs, i 171, v 54 55. There was a *Lateranus* consul in A.D. 94. 147 : *carpentum*, ix 132, a carriage drawn by mules and sometimes by horses, as here. 148 : *sufflamine*. The word, I believe, is only found here, and at xvi 50 (where it is used in a metaphorical sense), in an inscription quoted by Forcellini, and in Prudent. *Pscych.* 416, *lacero tardat sufflamine currum*. *sufflaminare* is used by Seneca, cf. note to xvi 50. See Rich.’s Dict. Ant. ad voc. and engraving. In a passage of Athen. Deipn. iii 55 (p. 99), a similar contrivance, *ιποχλητης*, (*ιπεχεντης*), or *τροχοποιητης*, is described as made of wood, and passed through, or across the wheels; *τὸ διαβαλλόμενον ξύλον διὰ τῶν τροχῶν*. 149 : *sed luna videt*. So *luna teste*, vi 311. Horace makes *lunam rubentem Ne foret his testis* (sc. to the incantations of Canidia) *post magna latere sepulcra*, Sat. i 8 35. *Sidera sunt*

testes, Propert. ii 9 41, and similarly Virg. and Ovid. 153: *Jam senis*, "though an old man, and, therefore, likely to be horrified." *virga prior annuet*. So far from being ashamed of himself, he will be the first to salute his respectable old friend with his whip—perhaps, as coachmen do in the present day. At iii 318 *virga annuere* (or *innuere*) is "to make a signal with the whip." Juvenal seems to have had a great dislike for charioteering and horse-racing, i 58, sqq., xi 195. There does not appear to be anything so very atrocious in this part of the man's conduct. It would have been well if the Roman nobility had never amused themselves in a more reprehensible way. 155–157: *Interea*, "all this time" (vi 508), whenever he is sacrificing, he is secretly thinking of Epona, the goddess of horseflesh, and swearing by her, &c. An altar to *Epona* was discovered in England; see Wright's "The Saxon, Celt and Roman." The hero of Appuleius' romance, when he is turned into an ass, and first goes into the stable, finds *in ipso fere meditullio Eponae deae simulacrum residens aediculae*, Met. iii 60. 158–162: *pervigiles*, because kept open to a late hour, or all night, *vigiles fenestrae*, iii 275, *pervigilique toro* xv 43. These *popinae*, or cook-shops, were frequented by the lower classes, and many of them were little better than brothels. Making allowance (and not a very great allowance) for the difference of manners, these "pervigiles popinae" must have resembled our former "night-houses" in the Haymarket, &c. Cicero attacks Piso for going into a house of this description, *tu ex tenebris cosa popina consul extractus*, Pis. 6 and 8. Horace calls them *immundae popinae*, Sat. ii 4 62; and Lucilius, *infamam in honestam turpemque . . . popinam*, Fragm. i 19. *luxuriae popinalis, scortisque et diurnis potationibus exercitatus*, Appul. Met. viii 153. 159: *obvius* = "promptus," "paratus," "sponte se offerens," Lucan. viii 58; and Burmann's note. *assiduo*. Some have proposed *Assyrio*, but the reading in the text is undoubtedly correct. 160: The genuineness of this verse has been doubted. What *Idumaeae portae* may mean I do not know. At xi 124, we have *porta Syenes*, "the entrepôt of Syene," Syene, the place through which the traffic passes, and if the same sense be given here the meaning will be as Ruperti has it, "portus vel oppidum aliquod Idumaeæ per

quod, tamquam portam, transvehebantur merces ex India et Perside in Romanum imperium." This is not very satisfactory to me. Others take it as "the Jewish gate through which Vespasian and Titus entered the city in their triumph after their victories in Palestine." But there is no authority for the existence of any gate so called; and why, if there were such a gate, should the Jews be found living near it? There is a tavern-keeper of the same nationality in Lucil., *Caupona hic tamen una Syra*, Fr. iii 33; and Virgil's *Copa Syrisca*. 161: He "my-lords" him. *Cum te non nossem, dominum regemque vocabam*, Mart. i 113, iv 84 5, and xii 60 14. *dominus* was a common appellative in the time of Juvenal. 162: *Cyane*, "the hostess," *succincta*, "her clothes girt up to facilitate her movements," hence, "bustling." *succinctus cursitat hospes*, Hor. Sat. ii 6 107.

164: sqq. *desisti nempe*. But, of course, you have left off this kind of thing. Horace has the same sentiment, *Nec lusisse pudet sed non incidere ludum*. 165: *turpiter audes*, vi 97. 166: iii 186, note. Such follies as these should be discarded with the first beard. They are excusable only in youth. 168: *Thermarum calices*. *thermae* are generally taken here to be the same as *thermopolia*, "places where hot drinks were sold." But this is quite conjectural. In our uncertainty as to the exact meaning of the words, I prefer to take *thermae* in its usual sense, and to render "the drinking orgies of the bath." That drinking did go on at the public baths is shown by Mart. xii 70, *Sobrius a thermis nescit abire domum*, and the whole epigram; and in Petron. 28 (to which, however, too much importance must not be attached), we read how, while Trimalchio was being rubbed dry, *tres iatraliptae in conspectu ejus Falernum potabant*. Compare Pers. iii 100. In Senec. Epp. 56, we have, at the baths, people selling cakes and pastry, *et omnes popinarum institores mercem sua quadam et insignita modulatione vendentes*, and again in Epp. 122, we have the practice of drinking at the baths distinctly mentioned, *in ipso pene balnei limine, inter nudos bibunt, imo potant, et sudorem quem moverunt potionibus crebris ac ferventibus, subinde destringunt*. Comp. Mart. xii 19. The *thermae*, it should be remembered, resembled the Greek *gymnasia*, and included play-grounds,

lecture-rooms, libraries, &c. It is possible that they may have included *thermopolia*, "bars for the sale of hot drinks." At any rate, there would be sure to be such establishments very close to the public baths; and the expression, with the above rendering, is quite intelligible. Compare Mart. v 70 3 4. *inscripta linteae*. There has been very much disputing over these words. I think they mean "brothels," vi 121, note, and Mart. xi 45, quoted in note to vi 122. The *titulus*, as to which see note to vi 123 of the same satire, was, no doubt, very often affixed to the curtains (which covered the small apartments, *cellae*, in which the prostitutes were), and hence they would be called *inscripta linteae*. It is no objection that the passage generally relates to night-taverns, and not to stews. Juvenal is very discursive, and is never particular as to the order in which he introduces his points. "Lateranus frequents all sorts of low haunts at an age when he ought to know better," that is his meaning. 170: *praestare Neronem securum*, "to guarantee the security of Nero,"—the common use of *praestare* in Juvenal. 171: *mitte ostia*. This may mean, "send your army to the mouths of the Tiber (there to embark)," or, "send your army to the mouths of those rivers, the Euphrates, Tigris, &c. (to protect the frontier)." I prefer the former. Mr. Prior seems to be right in affirming that the Roman port *Ostia* is meant here. He quotes the plural form from Livy ix 19. *Antio atque Ostiis tenuis*. "Send off your expedition, by all means, Caesar, but your general you will have to hunt up in some low pot-house," is the sense. 172: *magna*. The epithet is introduced to account for the large assemblage of ruffians amongst whom he places the *legatus* in the following lines. These drinking-shops were usually very small, and were furnished with stools instead of couches. They are hence called *sellariolae popinae* by Mart. v 70. It is probable that a real occurrence is here referred to, the story of which has not come down to us. 173: *percussore*, "a cut-throat," "a bandit," as *grassator*, iii 305, where Rome was represented as infested by these nocturnal marauders. *iacentem*, "reclining at table." 174: *fugitiinis*, "fugitive slaves," xiii 111. To harbour a fugitive slave was unlawful, and constituted *furtum*. This further marks the low character

of the house ; *fugitiv.* however, was often used as a mere term of reproach ; and similarly, *carnifex*. 175 : *carnifices* seems to mean here the same as *tortores* in vi 480, where see note, and Plaut. Capt. iii 4 65. *sandapilae* were rude biers on which the bodies of slaves and poor people were carried out for burial. The word occurs several times in Martial, ii 81, &c. 176 : *resupinati* may, or may not, have an indecent meaning, iii 112, vi 126. In the latter case, it will mean that the priest of Cybele is lying on his back, dead-drunk, with his drum beside him. We had these drums mentioned at vi 515, and the worship of Cybele there and at ii 111. These *tympana* very closely resembled modern tambourines, "and it appears from old paintings that they were struck with the open hand," Munro, Lucret. ii 618, and also with a stick, according to the article in the Dict. G. and R. Ant. ; but the passage quoted (Phaedr. iii 20) does not confirm this. They were properly women's instruments, *tibi pensa manu tibi mollia gesto Tympana*, says the disguised Achilles in Stat. Achill. i 654, hence, *tympanotriba*, "an effeminate coxcomb," Plaut. Truc. ii 7 60. The Galli, as we have seen, were eunuchs, and Martial constantly uses the term as a synonym for eunuchs, iii 24, &c., cf. Lucret. ii 614, sqq. Catullus calls them *Gallae*, 63 12. 177 : *Aequa ibi libertas*, "it is liberty-hall." The place is a "tapis franc," as the French call it. 180 : *Nempe*, "of course," as at 164. *nempe enim daturi estis consulari viro servos aliquos*, Plin. Epp. iii 16, "of course, you mean to give," &c. *ergastula*, vi 150, note. *in Lucanos (agros) aut Tusca ergastula mittas* means, "you would send him into the country, there to work in chains." *Et sonet innumera compede Tuscus ager*, Mart. ix 23 4. 181 : *Trojugenae*, i 100, note. 182 : *cerdonibus*, iv 153, note. *Volesus*, or *Volusus*, was the reputed ancestor of the Valeria gens. For the general sentiment contained in these lines, compare Hor. Epp. i 18 29, sqq., *Stultitiam patiuntur opes, tibi parvula res est . . . desine mecum certare*.

183, 184 : *Ultimur* applies to the poet himself. Shameful as are the instances of profligacy already cited, it seems that we are continually brought face to face with something worse. He then proceeds to cite an instance of something which he considers still worse, men of birth going on the stage.

185 : Damasippe. The name is used here for that of any man of birth and fortune who had ruined himself. It had no doubt become proverbial from Horace, whose works, in Juvenal's time, were text-books, vii 226 227, and familiar to educated men from boyhood. Damasippus, a broken spendthrift, is introduced as talking with Horace all through Sat. ii 3. There was a living original of the character mentioned by Cicero, ad Fam. vii 23; ad Att. xii 29. Probably from *consumptis opibus* here, some of the transcribers have taken this as a continuation of the preceding passage, and hence *Damasippus* has been substituted for *Lateranus*. **186 : Sipario,** literally the "drop-scene," or "stage-curtain," hence, metaph., "the stage." The *Phasma* (*φάσμα*), or "Ghost," appears to have been a farce, written by Catullus the playwright (and who must not be confounded with the celebrated poet). We know nothing certain of the farce, or its author. Menander wrote a play with the same title, of which a Latin version was given in Terence's time, *Idem Menandi Phasma nunc ruper dedit*, Ter. Eun. Prol. 9. But elegance appears to have been the distinguishing mark of Menander's comedies, and it is difficult to trace any connection between a production of his and the noisy (*clamosum*) farce alluded to in the text; unless it were a burlesque of the original. Catullus is again mentioned at xiii 111, and by Mart. v 30, *facundi scena Catulli*.

187 : Laureolum, "the hero of a farce" (also by Catullus, according to Tertull. adv. Valent. 14), a robber who was crucified on the stage. Juvenal says Lentulus acted the character so much to the life that he ought to have been crucified in reality, not in mere show. This appears to have been actually done in some cases, *Nuda Caledonio sic viscera praebuit urso, Non falsa pendens in cruce Laureolus*, Mart. Sp. 7.

189 : frons durior, as os durissimum in Cic. *frons* is here, as often, "shame," "a sense of shame;" *exclamet Melicerta perisse Frontem de rebus*, Pers. v 103; *Aut cum perflicuit frontem, posuitque pudorem*, Mart. xi 27 7. **190 : triscurria,** "buffooneries of the lowest kind," *tri* having, as in several other words, an intensive meaning: *trifurcifer*, Plaut. Rud. iii 4 29; *trivenefice*, or *tervenefice*, Bacch. iv 6 15, quoted by Britannicus. Also, *trifur* and *triparcus* in the same poet, and *triportentum* in

Pacuvius. So *ter* alone. *Ter tanto pejor ipsa est quam illam tu esse vis*, Plaut. Pers. i 3 73. This word must be compounded of *tres* and *scurrus*. It occurs nowhere else. 191, 192 : *planipedes*, “actors in mimi, who wore nothing on their feet.” The *Fabii* we have had already in this Satire, 14. The *Mamerci* were a family in the Aemilia gens who, like all the other Aemilii, traced their descent from Numa. They were extinct, or had at any rate disappeared from history, when Juvenal wrote. *alapas* are here “stage-slaps,” such as are administered in our pantomimes by clown to pantaloons. *O quam dignus eras alapis, Mariane Latini, Te successurum credo ego Panniculo*, Mart. v 61, where however *alapae Latini* are those bestowed by Latinus, and *Panniculus* is “pantaloons.” 191 : sqq. I am very nearly reading *munera* here, from a conjecture of Dobre's which Ribbeck has adopted. It would make the sense clear, and I think it might stand for “services,” “favours.” However all the best MSS. have *funera* (one of no great authority has *vulnera*, which, in the sense of “stage-bruises,” would do), and we had better make the best of it. Some of the commentators have introduced worse confusion into this passage by taking *gladios* for the “gladiator's sword.” They have been deceived by the juxtaposition of that word to *pulpita*. The sense (or rather nonsense) will be this,—“No matter what they sell their lives for in the arena. They sell them voluntarily, &c. Yet, suppose a gladiator's part were offered you on the one hand, and the stage on the other, would not the gladiator's part be preferable? To be sure it would. What then remains worse than the stage? The gladiator's part.” Juvenal never could have written thus. *gladios* is evidently “a violent death,” cf. 195, note, and then (194 being obviously spurious) we shall get this,—“What matters it at what price they sell their lives in the arena? They do it voluntarily; no tyrant compels them. Yet suppose a violent death were offered as an alternative, even to going upon the stage, would not the former be preferable? Who would choose life, on condition of playing ‘the walking gentleman,’ ‘the heavy old man?’ &c. Beyond such performances as these, what remains? The arena, &c.” This is intelligible, but somewhat confused, and like iii 232-

236, and some other passages, would have offered a fine target for Ribbeck, if it had occurred in one of his "spurious" satires. Seneca takes the same view as Juvenal as to the comparative enormity of the two employments, *Deinde sub persona cum diu trita frons est, transitur ad galeam*, Nat. Quaest. vii 32. *haec ultra* is as *quid ultra*, vi 190, leading up to something worse. In ii 143 for a nobleman to appear in the arena is described as surpassing in horror an unnatural marriage between males publicly celebrated. 193: *vendunt nullo cogente Nerone*. Compare ii 90, *nullo gemit hic tibicina cornu*, and vi 589. Manilius iv 225, has *Nunc caput in mortem vendunt et funus arenae*, where Heinsius conjectured *munus*, but there *funus* is clearly right. Suetonius says that Nero caused four hundred senators and six hundred knights to fight in the arena, Ner. 12, but the number is probably exaggerated. It does not appear that he compelled any one to go on the stage. 194: is doubtless spurious. The praetor presided over the public games in Juvenal's time. *celsi*, "seated on high," x 36 37. 195: *gladios*, "violent death (awaiting you if you refused to comply)," as at iv 96, x 123, xiii 25. I cannot, as I have said, make sense of "the sword of the gladiator." Yet but for the context it would bear that sense. *Se ad gladium locare*, is "to hire one's self out as a gladiator," Sen. Epp. 87. 197: *ut sit zelotypus Thymeles*, as "to play the part of the jealous husband (or lover—but the first is perhaps better) of Thymeles," i 36, note. *Corinthi*, an actor who played "the dupe," "the heavy man," *patresfamilias togatos, modo stupidos, modo obscenos*, as Tertullian terms their rôle, de Spect. So *stupidus* is "the heavy man" in Capitol. M. Ant., 29. 198: *citharoedo principe*, with the example of an Emperor figuring as a harper. Not "when the Emperor is a harper." He is speaking of his own day, when in any case Nero had long been dead, *nullo cogente Nerone*, 193. That Emperor's performances on the public stage are well known, and coins of him, with a harp in his hand, still exist. Compare v 617, *quae non faciet quod principis uxor?* *Regis ad exemplar totus componitur orbis*, Claud. 199: *haec ultra quid erit?* As at vi 190. *quid ultra?* "what can there be beyond this, what remains further?" And then

something still worse is mentioned. 200 : The *mirmillo* was a gladiator, whose name has been derived from the image of a fish (*μορύγιος*) which he wore on his helmet. He was usually matched with the *retiarius*, ii 143, note ; and for a full account of the different kinds of gladiators, see Dict. G. and R. Ant. It was the latter part which Gracchus appears to have chosen on this occasion. What is meant here is, that he came into the arena as a gladiator, and not as one of those who are heavily armed with sword and shield, and whose faces are concealed by a helmet, such as the *mirmillo*, but in the light costume of a *retiarius*, with his face exposed—and actually wearing the gold-fringed tunic and tall conical cap, with flowing ribbons, of the priests of Mars—thus unblushingly exhibiting his person and disgrace to the world, and reserving to himself the means of running away, like a coward, if he got worsted in the encounter. We have had all about this before in ii 143-148 ; and Gracchus has been mentioned as a priest of Mars in the same satire, 125 126. We do not read of persons of rank appearing in the character of gladiators before the time of Julius Caesar, Suet. J. Caes. 39. 202 : is probably spurious. 205 : *spectacula*, “the spectators.” So *auxiliis*, “the auxiliary troops,” 256 ; *elementa*, “learners of first elements,” Quint. Inst. Or. i 2 ; *servitia*, “slaves ;” *crimen*, “a criminal,” Virg. ; *latrocinium* for *latro*; *custodiae* for *custodes*, Sen. Epp. 77. *ministria*, &c ; see 219. 207, 208 : *de faucibus aurea cum se porrigit*, refers to the tunic which was embroidered or fringed with gold. *galero* is here the conical cap worn by the Salii. It seems that they were not allowed to lay it aside in public, Aul. Gell. x 15, and this is perhaps why Gracchus appeared in it. If recognised without it, he would have lost his priesthood, Val. Max. i 1 4, and Dict. G. and R. Ant. “*Apex*.” At vi 120, the word is used in another sense, “a wig.”

211 : According to Tacitus Ann. xv 65, some of those who joined in Piso’s conspiracy against Nero, A.D. 65, had the ultimate aim in view of raising Seneca to the throne. The respect which Juvenal professes here and elsewhere (v 109) for Seneca, will be shared in a very moderate degree by those who are acquainted with his life. Having introduced

Nero into the Satire, the poet not unnaturally contrasts Seneca with him, but it would have been more in accordance with the general argument, if the latter had been a man of low birth, which he was not. Some commentators have thought, from the way in which Nero is dwelt upon, that the first draft of this Satire was probably written during his reign or shortly after his death. But it is clear that Juvenal wishing to illustrate his theme, *Stemmata quid faciunt?* by the example of an emperor, among others, could not have chosen one more recent than Nero. For Galba he had a partiality. Otho and Vitellius were of no remarkable descent, and the Flavians of humble origin. And Nero fits in with and was perhaps suggested by what has preceded about the stage. *Lib. si dentur*, so Livy iv 3, *Si populo Romano liberum suffragium datur.* 213, 214: Alluding to the well-known punishment for parricides, under which term were included, as exposed to this penalty, the murderers of a father, mother, grandfather, and grandmother. They were whipped, sewn up in a sack with a dog, a cock, a viper, and an ape, and thrown into the sea, or where the sea was not at hand, exposed to wild beasts, xiii 155 156, though Suetonius alleges that none were punished in this way who had not confessed their guilt, Aug. 33. Nero was, strictly speaking, guilty of only one *parricidium* (or two, if he really had a hand in the death of his father by adoption, Claudius, Suet. Nero, 33), thus punishable,—that of his mother Agrippina; but he murdered his wives Octavia and Poppaea, Britannicus his step-brother, &c. *non una*, not one alone, vi 218. 215: sqq. cf. Hor. Sat. ii 31 32, sqq. "Orestes murdered his mother Clytemnaestra too; but his case was quite different from that of Nero." *causa* is the incentive, motiva. Nero was compared to Orestes in his lifetime, Suet. Ner. 39. 218: *Electrae*, the sister of Orestes. Nero murdered Antonia, daughter of the Emperor Claudius, his sister by adoption, because she would not marry him. His wife Octavia was also his sister by adoption. 219: *conjugii* for *conjugis*. *connubium* is similarly used, and *conjugia* pl. So *remigium* for *remiges*, Hor. Epp. i 6 63; and many other words of the same kind. 220: *Troica non scripsit* Orestes never sang on the stage. He did not compose rub-

bishy poems like the *Troica*, iii 9, note. If we are to believe Lucian, the Emperor put to death, at the Isthmian games, a singer whose voice drowned his own. 221: *quid enim Verginius armis, &c.* "He asks which of all Nero's crimes so called for punishment, as his having written this dull poem," Maclean. I can scarcely think that Juvenal meant to say this. The humour of what has preceded, *Troica non scripsit*, coming after a catalogue of crimes, would be destroyed by dwelling on the idea. If Nero had never done worse, he would have been simply ridiculous. The poet has, rather, the whole career of Nero before his eyes, and particularly his public appearances on the stage, which he is just going to mention. "What could Verginius, &c., have found (in the world) more deserving of the vengeance of their armies? What did Nero do in all his tyranny? This is what he did," &c. 221, 222: *Verginius, Vindex, Galba*. The last named was Nero's successor. Vindex commanded in Gaul, and first raised the standard of Galba, but Verginius marched against him, protesting that he would acknowledge no one as Emperor till he had been proclaimed by the Senate. Verginius, however, subsequently aided in the establishment of Galba. Verginius Rufus was a very remarkable figure in the history of these times, a man who had several times refused the imperial throne. He had not long been dead when this Satire was written, and he was honoured with a public funeral, Plin. Epp. ii 1. It is rather strange to find Juvenal coupling him with Vindex, as the epitaph composed by himself for his tomb ran thus, *Hic situs est Rufus pulso qui Vindice quondam Imperium asseruit non sibi sed patriae*, Plin. Epp. vi 10. The poet, however, cites these three men as having been the most instrumental in the downfall of Nero. 224-226: How Nero went about Greece performing in public is related by Suetonius, Ner., and others. *apium*, "parsley," was used by the ancients for crowning the head, *Floribus atque apio crines ornatus amaro*, Virg. Ecl. 6 68; *ιπλ θρηνον σιδηνων στεφανικον*; *θιμην*, Anacr.; Hor. Od. i 36 16, &c. Suetonius says of Nero, *Romam introiit coronam capite gerens Olympiacam dextra manu Pythiam*, Ner. 25. 227: The poet tells him ironically to hang up his stage-dresses, &c., by the statues of his

ancestors. 228: *Domiti*. Nero belonged to the Ahenobarbi, a family of the Domitia gens. His father's name was Cn. Domitius Ahen., and his own L. Domit. Ahen. before his adoption by Claudius. The Domitia gens was of plebeian origin, but before Nero's time, had come to be looked upon as one of the most illustrious of Roman families, Suet. Ner. x. 229, 230: The *syrra*, i.e., the long tragic cloak with a train to it, in which he had acted the part of Thyestes, or Antigone, or the mask which he wore in the character of Menalippe. Martial speaks of a tragic writer as one *qui scribit . . . coenam crude Thyesia tuam*, and says of his own epigrams, *Musa nec insano syrmate nostra tumet*, iv. 49, where *syrra* is used for "tragedy," as in Juv. xv. 30. There were many plays extant on these subjects. Varius wrote a tragedy of Thyestes, which is spoken of by Quint. Inst. Or. x. 1, and alluded to by Hor. Od. i. 6. 8. Ennius and Accius are said to have written tragedies on Menalippe. *marmoreo colosso* must mean "a colossal marble statue of one of his ancestors." Suetonius informs us that Nero had a colossal statue of himself, one hundred and twenty feet high, Ner. 31, but it would appear to have been of bronze, Plin. H. N. xxxiv. 2. It is to this that allusion is made in Mart. Sp. 2.

231: Catiline was of an old, but impoverished, family of the Sergia gens, who traced their descent from Sergestus, the companion of Aeneas. *Sergestusque, domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen*, Virg. Aen. v. 121. Cethegus, his chief associate, was of the Cornelia gens. The two are coupled at ii. 27 and x. 287, 288. 234: As if you had been born hereditary enemies of Rome. This may be a reminiscence of Cicero, *quam (patriam) quidam hinc nati, et summo loco nati, non patriam suam, sed urbem hostium esse judicaverunt*, in Catal. iv. 8. Nearly all the barbarous nations within the sphere of Rome's influence wore *braccae* (breeches) in those days, ii. 169, but the term is perhaps applied to the inhabitants of Gallia Narbonensis, or Braccata, Plin. H. N. iii. 4, *Narbonensis provincia Braccata ante dicta*. Martial speaks of the *braccae Britonis pauperis*, xi. 21. The *Senones* were a tribe who invaded Italy in the time of the Tarquins. Their name seems to have become proverbial for the enemies of Rome, *Et Senonum furias*

Latiae sumpserit cohortes, Stat. Silv. v 3 198. **235**: *tunica molesta*, cf. i 155. Martial uses the same expression, x 25 5. *tunicam alimentis ignium et illitam et intextam*, Senec. Epist. 14. Tertull. calls it *tunica ardens*, "a dress smeared with pitch, &c., in which the wearer was burnt." **237**: *novus Arpinas*. Cicero, lately a mere country knight, the first of his family who served a curule office. *his* is another reading here instead of *hic*, "to them," "in the opinion of such people as Catiline and Cethegus." But *hic* is preferable. **238**: *galeatum*, i 169, note. **239**: *in omni gente*, "for the whole of Italy," Heinrich. Maclean quotes Hor. Od. i 2 5, *terruit urbem, terruit gentes*, where he says that *gentes* means "the people about Rome, as opposed to those in the city." In both places, I think the meaning is the nations that make up the Roman Empire, the nations that own our sway. Cicero himself certainly uses the word in this sense when he speaks of himself as *assentiente Italia, cunctisque gentibus, conservator patriae*. Pis. 10, and cf. de Dom. 52. **241-243**: *Leucade, Thessaliae campis* refer to the battles of Actium and Philippi. Octavius, Augustus. **243, 244**: *libera*, "in the days of her freedom, when the people had *libera suffragia*," &c., 211. There is a strong emphasis on *libera*. Augustus indeed received the title of *Pater patriae*, and so did others, but then Rome was no longer free.

245: The mention of Arpinum is made to suggest, as it were, a notice of another native of that place Marius (to whom, by the way, Cicero applies the term *pater patriae*. C. Rabir. 10), who, though a plebeian by birth, saved the state. According to Plutarch, he was not actually born in Arpinum, but in a village near it. All ancient authors represent him as of very low origin, except Vell. Patrc., who, in his Roman history, ii 11, speaks of him as *natus equestri loco*; but the reading is suspected, especially as the same writer further on, 128, calls him a man *ignotae originis*. **247**: He had the vine-switch broken over his head. *frangere* has occurred in the same sense, vi 479. Compare viii 136. The *vitis*, or vine-switch, was the badge of office of the centurion. Hence it is used for a centurion's commission, xiv 193, *vitem posce libello*. *Vare Paraetornias Latio modo vite per urbes Nobilis, et centum dux memorande viris,*

Mart. x 26. It was used to flog soldiers, Tac. Ann. i 23. 249: The allusion is to the battle of Vercellae, won by the united armies of Marius and Catulus, over the Cimbri, B.C. 101. 251: After they were flying to the slaughtered Cimbri, *i.e.*, after the battle. 253: The noble colleague was Catulus. The nobility of the family has been already referred to, ii 146. There seems great doubt whether Catulus was not entitled to as much renown as Marius for his share in the engagement. 254: *P. Decius Mus*, father and son, devoted themselves to death for the sake of their country, the first in the war against the Latins, the second in that against the Gauls, Liv. viii 9, and x 28. In both cases they devoted themselves *Diis manibus, tellurique*. There was also a legend of the grandson having done the same in the war against Pyrrhus, Cic. Tusc. Quaest. i 37. Horace alludes to the plebeian origin of the Decii, Sat. i 6 20. 259: *ancilla natus*, Servius Tullius, vii 199 201. *trabeam*, x 35, note.

261: sqq. He goes on to the sons of Brutus, put to death by the sentence of their own father for engaging in a conspiracy to bring back the Tarquins. Instead of thus endeavouring to strangle liberty at its birth, they should have been engaged in doing some great deed on its behalf, such as might have excited the admiration of patriots of the stamp of Mucius and Cocles. *lazabant*, "were in the act of loosening." *Cocles* defended the bridge against King Porsena. *Mucius* burnt his hand before the same king. The virgin is *Cloelia*, who escaped from Porsena's camp and swam across the Tiber. *Et fluvium vinclis innaret Cloelia ruptis*, Virg. Aen. viii 652, who represents Horatius Cocles as also figuring on the shield made by Vulcan for Aeneas. In his illustrations, Juvenal, of course, followed the current legends. As a matter of fact, Porsena conquered Rome. 266: The secret was discovered at a supper-party by Vindicius, a slave. The matrons mourned Brutus for a whole year, Liv. ii 7; and so Juvenal speaks of Vindicius as *lugendus*. 268: *legum*, "under the republic." This may perhaps be best explained by referring to Livy (of Tarquin) *cognitiones capitalium rerum sine consilis per se solus exercebat* i 49. *animi . . . Deci Brutique secures*, Propert. iv 1 45.

269 : *Thersites*, the deformed talker and boaster of the Iliad, B. 212, sqq. 272 : *Et tamen*, "and yet after all is said." Seneca looks at the matter in a different way, *Omnes si ad primam originem revocentur a diis sunt*, Epp. 44, the whole of which should be read in conjunction with this Satire. *revolvas*, "unroll your pedigree," however long it may be. We talk of "a roll of ancestry." 273 : *infami asylo*, "of Romulus." *exiguum dominos (Romulum et Remum) commisit asylum*, Lucan. i 97; Livy i 8. 275 : "No better than he should be," as we say. This is one of Ribbeck's undisputed satires, and I must therefore point out that lines 231-275 are quite in the style of the "Declamator."

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE IX.

THIS Satire requires no words by way of introduction. Mr. Evans seems to think it one of the author's late productions from the mention of Pollio 6 7, and Saufeia 117, in much the same terms as those which are applied to them in the eleventh and sixth Satires respectively, xi 43, vi 320, and both of these latter bear evidence of being the works of the poet's maturer years. I think it doubtful, however, whether these are more than names.

NOTES TO SATIRE IX.

1 : The subject of this Satire is necessarily a painful one. As in Satire v, the poet addresses a mere parasite, and points out to him the disgrace which he brings on himself by hanging on to the skirts of the great; so here he introduces to our notice a character of a far worse kind, who endeavours to earn a living by pandering to the most diseased tastes of some of these great people. But the mode of treatment is different from that adopted in the other case. The man is made to tell his own story and reveal his own baseness ; and the effect produced is far greater than would result from a series of scathing rebukes administered by the poet. Though we should, perhaps, have been better pleased if Juvenal had left this subject alone, still, as he did undertake it, one is glad to see the spirit in which he approaches it, and to observe the contrast which he presents in this respect to other Roman poets, and particularly to Horace. *toties* gives the idea of the man's having long wandered about in quest of employment. Juv.'s never having asked him before why he looks so wretched may be intended to suggest the slightness of their acquaintance. *Naevole*. This is a name which occurs several times in Martial, but it does not follow that a real person is intended. 2 : *fronte obducta. obducta solvatur fronte senectus*, Hor. Epod. 13 5. *Marsya victus*. The story of Marsyas, conquered in a musical contest with Apollo, and flayed alive by the god, is well known. There was a statue of him in the Forum at Rome, to which Juvenal may be alluding, Hor. Sat. i 6 120 ; Mart. ii. 64 8. Appuleius Florid. i 3 12, quoted by Orell. ad Hor., describes Marsyas in terms which illustrate 12-15 of this Satire, *barbarus, vultu ferino trux, hispidus, illutibarbus, spinis et pilis obritus*. It was a common subject for sculptors. 3 : *Quid tibi cum vultu, "what have you got to do with."* *Quid tibi cum Cirrha quid*

cum Permesside lympha? Mart. i 77. *Nil mihi cum bello*, Ov. Fast i 253. *depressus*, "caught in the act," vi 285, below 18. 4: *Ravola* is some impure old wretch. *Rhodope*, a courtesan. 5: Compare Hor. Sat. i 3 81, Lucil. fragm. xxiii 1, but this verse has apparently slipped in from the margin, where it occurred as the note of a reader. If it is Juv.'s, it is clearly out of place. 6, 7: *Crepereius Pollio* is a spendthrift who goes about offering three times the amount of legal interest (i.e., thirty-six per cent.) for a loan, but can find no one foolish enough to advance the money. *Pollio*, as a spendthrift, occurs again at xi 43. 10: *vernā equitem*. Martial has the same expression in i 85, *futuit ancillas Domumque et agros implet equitibus vernis*, but the sense is not the same. The man speaks of himself as a *cliens* at 59 72. 11: *salibus intra pomeria natis*, i.e., *salibus urbanis*. Cicero speaks of *urbani sales*, "smacking of the town," "witty," Juv. xiii 111. *pomerium* was a space on each side of the city walls which was not to be built upon or cultivated, Liv. i 44; Aul. Gell. xiii 14. 12, 13: *sicc. silv. com.* So, in Theocrit. we find, among other signs of dejection, *αὐταλέοι κίκηοι* "dried-up curls," 19 4.

13: *tota nitor in cute* must be taken together, "a general sleekness of skin," which has now ceased to be seen—*nullus*. 14: Pliny speaks of the pitch from Bruttium in H. N. xiv 20, and xvi 11, and elsewhere. It was probably made from the pine-trees of Calabria. Here it is spoken of as a depilatory. 15: *fruticante pilo*, comp. Calp. vi 37, *Aepicis ut fruticat late caput?* of a stag—probably in reference to his antlers. 16, 17: Macleane thinks this refers to "a man recovering from a fever, and in the first stage of recovery," on the strength of iv 57, *jam quartanam sperantibus aegris* (where see note), but he is certainly wrong. The meaning is "like that of a sick old man who has long been tormented by a quartan," as many are in Italy at the present day. These fevers or agues did not necessarily begin by being *quotidianae* and then pass into *quartanae*, as Macleane's note would imply, but might begin and end by being *quartanae*, &c., or pass from the intermittent to the more serious stage. Here the sense is clear. 17: *domest.* Ov. Met. vi 686. 18: sqq. Juvenal

may have had Lucilius in his memory here, *Animo qui aegrotat, videmus corpore hunc signum dare*, Fr. xxvi 55. 21: *propositum*, v 1. 22: *nuper*, as Maclean observes, "does not always mean that which was very lately, but in former years. In Hor. Epod. 9 7, it means six years before." Cf. Juv. ii 29, and iv 9. In Cicero de Senect. Cato Major, speaking, B.C. 150, mentions *P. Crassum nuper pontificem maximum*, i.e., sixty-two years before. In the Div. in Q. Caec. 20, it is used of a time some thirty years before, in Sen. de Ira. ii 5, of an event which must have happened at least thirty to forty years before. Cicero speaks of *ea quae nuper, id est paucis ante seculis, reperta sunt*, Nat. Deor. ii 50, but here he means "recently," comparatively speaking, in reference to his subject; as we might say, "The art of printing is a recent invention in the history of mankind." *Ganymeden* is usually taken for a temple of Jupiter, where his statue would naturally be found; but I think that it should be taken with *Pax*. The temple of Peace erected by Vespasian, after the termination of the Jewish war, was adorned with many magnificent works of art, and there may have been a well-known statue of Ganymede among them. Certainly *secreta palatia* does not apply well to *Pax*, whose rites were not secret, and whose temple was not (like that of Cybele) on the Palatine Hill. Moreover all the other temples mentioned are those of female divinities, *Pax, Isis, Cybale, Ceres*, the three last particularly frequented by women. It was to these that an adulterer, *moechus*, in search of bonnes-fortunes would go, and the temple of Jupiter is out of place—for 26 is thrown in parenthetically. 24: *Cererem*, the temple of Ceres, a common usage: *ante Castoris, ad Spei, &c. quo . . . templo*, vi 489, and compare Propert. ii 19 10. *Fanaque peccatis plurima causa tuis*. The early Christian writers continually assign this character to the temples. 25: *celebrare*, iii 249. 26: *inclinare*, x 224. as *incurvare*, Mart. xi 43 5.

28: *pingues lucernas*. So Martial, *Te Cadmea Tyros me pinguis Gallia vestit*, vi 11, and he speaks of a cloak as *Sequanciae pinguem textricis alumnam*, iv 9. *pinguis* there, as well as here, means "coarse," "thick," not greasy. 31: Maclean seems to think *tenue argentum*, etc., refers to the cloak. He

translates "like base metal." This may be so, or it may refer to the money he gets, and which he describes contemptuously. *secundus* for "inferior" is common, *panis secundus*, Hor. *vir secundae notae*, Senec. *secundae sortis ingenium*, Id. 32, 33 : *fata, sidera*, vii 194–201. *sinus*, included all the front folds of the toga, as appears clearly from a passage in Petron. 24. 34 : i 40 41, *incognita* cannot mean "remaining unknown," as Mr. Evans renders ; which is against what immediately follows. We speak of a thing "of unknown size," i.e., "hitherto unknown," for "very great." So *numquam visis*, xii 74, "never seen," "hitherto unseen," "unprecedented." *ignota* "unknown before," xiv 187. *aper immanis atque invisitatus*, "such as had never been seen before," Appul. Met. viii 155. *noctem publicis voluptatibus inexpertam*, "such as had never been enjoyed before," Statius, proem. Silv. i. *equum magnitudine invisitata*, Aul. Gell. iii 9. 35 : Mart. i 97 13, xi 63. 36 : *viderit*, probably alludes to the bath, vi 374 375, Mart. i 24, xi 63. Lamprid. Elagab. 8. *densaque tabellae*, i 120. *denses amores*, Virg., "numerous." 37 : *αὐτὸς . . . κινδυνεῖ*, a parody on *αὐτὸς γὰς ἴφιλκεραι ἀνδρα σίδηρος*, of Homer. The vagabond quotes Greek. 42 : *numerentur deinde labores*. These words are usually taken with what has preceded, "reckon up five sestertia as a complete quittance, and then reckon up what he has done to earn them." But they are far more forcible and appropriate in the mouth of Naevolus, especially with what follows ; nor is it likely that the great man would himself call attention to the character of his client's *services*. The sum would be about £40. As to *calculus* and *tabula*, see Dict. G. and R. Ant., "Abacus." 43 : The part which the rich patron is here supposed to fill was even then looked upon as especially disgraceful, Mart. iii 71 (where the rôle of Naevolus is transposed). 44 : *legitimum* means here "of the right length." *Fistulas denum pedem longitudinis esse legitimum est*, Plin. H. N. xxxi 6. This passage, like many others, cannot appear in our translation. 45 : *servus . . . qui fodere agrum*. *fodere* is used in the same double sense in Mart. vii 102, and cf. Id. i 93 11 12. Juvenal may have had that epigram in his view, or, as is more probable, the word was common in an obscene sense, cf. Lucret. iv 1272 1273 ; and so *arare*,

Plaut. *Asin.* v 2 24.
mede," v 56, note.

47 : *dignum cyatho coeloque*, "a Gany-
49 : *morbo*, ii 17, note. *donare* is "to
spend money on." **50** : sqq. A pretty fellow this, who
expects presents, instead of giving them, a fit recipient for
parasols, amber and other female knick-knacks ! *sucina*, vi 573,
note. *cathedra*, i 64, note. *femineis kalendis* were the kalends
of March, when the Matronalia were held, and the women
received presents, Suet. *Vesp.* 19 ; Ovid, *A. A.* i 405-406,
Mart. v 84. *madidum ver incipit* refers to the same time.

54 : sqq. *passer*. The sparrow was supposed to be par-
ticularly lascivious, Plin. *H. N.* x 36. *Trifolinus ager*, "in
Campania," according to Pliny, xiv 6. Martial speaks of this
wine with less favour, xiii 114. **55** : *milvos . . . lassos*.
Dives arat Curibus quantum non milvus oberret, Pers. iv 26.
Ipse Trimalchio fundos habet, qua milvi volant, Petron. 37, i.e.,
"large enough for kites to fly about in." *miluus* and *milvius*
occur as forms in Hor. and Ov. Compare *praepotentes qui
possident fines gentium quos ne circumire equis quidem valent*,
Colum. *R. R.* i 3 12. **57** : *Gaurus* (now Monte Barbaro),
in Campania, celebrated for its wine, *vineta madentia Gauri*,
Stat. Many interpretations have been offered of *inanis*, and
we can only conjecture, as we do not know, the exact appear-
ance the mountain may have presented in Juvenal's time. I
think it means "hollow." The whole of this part of Cam-
pania was volcanic, and Gaurus was an extinct volcano.
Heinrich explains it by "minus uber, infecundus" (*fecundis
vitibus implet*, by the way, having just occurred). **58** :
victuro, because not likely to be uncorked by the niggardly
owner, or because the wine was of the best kind and would
keep long. **59** : *lumbos*. The use of this word does not
need comment. **60** : *rusticus infans*, &c., "the inhab-
ants of the farm," who would, of course, go with it ; compare
xi 151, sqq. **62** : *Cymbala pulsantis*. This would be a
Gallus, or priest of Cybele, vi 515, viii 176, "another filthy
fellow." "You may as well leave a few acres to me for my
services, as to some friend of yours among the priests of
Cybele,"—says Naevolus.

64, 65 : *sed . . . Ulixes*. "But (1), my slave is clamour-
ing" (for food and raiment), my only one, as unique as Poly-

phemus' eye; or (2), as Heinrich and Macleane take it, "My slave is calling out as loud as Polyphemus with his one eye," *lata acies Polyphemi* being taken as "big-eyed Polyphemus," iv 39, note. As for the roaring of Polyphemus, cf. Virg. Aen. iii 672, sqq. But the words *per quam, sc. effossam*, "by the putting out of which," following, as they do, seem to limit *lata acies* to an eye, and not to allow of its being taken as a periphrasis for the bearer of the eye. 68: What shall I say to their shoulders? i.e., How shall I account for not having a garment to put on them? *ventri et scapulis*, "his inside and outside," Sen. Epp. 17. 69: *durate, &c.*, looks like a parody on Virg. Aen. i 207. *Durate et vosmet rebus servate secundis.* 75: *tabulas quoque ruperat redderet uxorem, rumperetque tabulas nuptiales*, Tac. Ann. xi 30. 76: *signabat*, as *laxabant*, viii 261, "she was on the point of doing it." 78: *lecti sonus*, Catull. 6 7. 84: As to *libros actorum*, ii 136, note. *libris actorum spargere argumenta viri* might also mean "to sprinkle the gazettes with proofs of your virility," i.e., "to insert, at intervals, the announcement of a son's or a daughter's birth." In that sense *spargere libros argumentis* or *spargere argumenta per libros*, would be a more usual construction, yet the one in the text would be quite good. But the sense I have given is preferable. And so Becker takes it, "Gallus," sc. i, exc. 2,— "to diffuse through the medium of the *acta publica*." 85: Hang up garlands in honour of the occasion, vi 51. As he had a child, he could take a whole legacy, and not as when he was childless the half of it merely, the remaining half lapsing, becoming *caducum*. Moreover, he would be entitled to take *caduca* lapsing from others. If he had three children he would obtain "jus trium liberorum," conferring further advantages, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant., "Bona caduca" and "Leges Juliae."

92: *Negligit*, "takes no notice of me." *alium . . . asellum*, "he is looking out for another two-legged ass on which to ride." The meaning is clear. Macleane translates, "he gets himself another, a two-legged ass," and observes that the meaning is equivocal, and that the man uses words which may be taken against himself. I do not think this refinement was in the poet's head, or put by him into the speaker's mouth.

At 49 he uses, quite unconcernedly, the term *morbo*. As to *asellus* in this sense, cf. Burmann's note to Petron. 24; and Lamprid. Commod. 10. 94 : *fige, v 12*, "bury them deep." 95 : *pumice levis*, viii 16, note. *Compti semper et pumicati*, Plin. Epp. ii 11. 96 : The poet has put this in a somewhat different light in iii 49, sqq. Here the sharer of a guilty secret does not seem to get much. 97-99 : *sumere . . . dubitat*; compare vi 624. 100 : *His opibus*. So *magnis opibus*, iii 235, note. 101 : *Curia Martis Athenis*, "the Areopagus."

102 : This is an imitation of Virgil, *O Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit?* Ecl. ii 69, and the idea, "What madness has seized you?" is carried out in "Do you suppose a rich man can have a secret?" i.e., "Are you mad enough to suppose such a thing?" as in 69 (note), *exspectate cicadas* is a free rendering of *vosmet rebus servate secundis*. 102, 103 : *secretum . . . putas?* Compare Mart. ii 82. *Abscissa servum quid fingis Pontice, lingua?* *Nescis tu populum quod tacet ille loqui?* cf. Id. xi 38, and Plin. Paneg. c. 83, *Habet hoc primum magna fortuna, quod nihil tectum, nihil occultum esse patitur.* 104 : *marmora*, i 12, note. *postes*. Compare Catull. "ad januam moechae," 67. 105 : *rimas*, "chinks." Becker takes it to mean windows, "Gallus," sc. ii, exc. 1. 106 : *taceant*. The common reading here is *clamat*. P. seems to have *taceant*. Ruperti suggests *jaceant*, and Jahn has adopted it. It would be better, but wants MS. authority. 107 : The third watch of the night *ἀλεχτοροφωνα* was the period when the cock was supposed to crow three times. Hence the cock crowing a third time in the N. T. Here, the hangers-on and neighbours are supposed to know by daylight all that the rich man has been doing just before. Comp. Sen. de Ben. iii 27. 108 : The neighbouring tavern-keeper, to whom the servants repair for their morning dram, is the first to hear the news. A touch quite in the modern style. 109 : *quae finixerunt pariter*, "what they have invented together, in conjunction," or "at the same time," vi 20. 111 : *rumoribus*, "lies," "inventions;" *Rumoresque senum severiorum Omnes unius aestimemus assis*, Catull. 5, in the same sense. *Baltea*, "the thrashings they get with the belt." 112 :

nec deerit qui, iii 302 303. 113 : *vinosus inebriet aurem*, a striking and original expression : as if the man breathed his tipsiness into your ear. It is a wonder that the commentators have allowed it to be genuine, vi 543, note. Ears are termed *bibulae* by Persius, and *silentes* by Cic. ad Att. ii 14. 117 : *Saufeia* occurred at vi 320. *pro populo facere* is to sacrifice on behalf of the people at the rites of Bona Dea. This was done by the Vestal virgins, cf. Aut. Gellius, i 12; and *Saufeia* is represented as assisting. Seneca, Epp. 97, of Clodius, *violatis religionibus ejus sacrificii quod pro populo fieri dicitur*, and Cic. ad Att. i 13, of the same affair, *cum apud Caesarem pro populo fieret*. *facere* for to sacrifice is not uncommon, Virg. Ecl. iii 77. *rem divinam facere*, or *sacra facere* were the full terms. *τοιεῖν* and *ἔργειν* are similarly used in Gr. Pliny informs us that Greek wines were excluded from use in sacred rites because they contained a portion of water, H. N. xiv 19. *Saufeia* would drink pure wine, *merum*. We have seen from several passages in Sat. vi 300, 318-319, 425, sqq., the horror with which Juvenal regarded the tippling propensities of women, a sentiment which again breaks out in this line. An admirer of ancient times, such as he shows himself to be, would, if possible, be more shocked than we are at female drunkenness. For in the good old days, Roman women were not allowed even to taste wine, *vini usus olim Romanis feminis ignotus fuit*, Val. Max. ii 1. This statement is confirmed by a host of writers, among others by Pliny, H. N. xiv 13, whom Tertullian follows, Apol. 6.

123 : is, in all probability, spurious. 126-129 : *festinat . . . senectus*. Heinrich says these are fine verses. No doubt, but *decurrere* does not go well with *flosculus* or *portio*. In fact, a flower running down is on a par with a voice shining in the darkness : which Cicero treats us to in De Leg. Agr. i 8. Many other instances might be given of the carelessness of the best Roman authors in handling their metaphors. 128 : *unguenta*, perfumes, as is well known, were esteemed by the Romans as among the greatest luxuries of life. Catullus says, jestingly, of some which he promises to a guest, *unguentum dabo quod meae puellae Donarant Veneres Cupidinesque Quod tu cum olfacies Deos rogabis Totum ut*

te faciant Fabulle nasum, 13. Plautus couples *serta* and *unguenta*, *Tum si coronas, serta, unguenta jusserrit Ancillam ferre*, Asin. iv 1 58. Lucret. iv 1132. 129: *obrepere, subrepere*, are commonly applied to the creeping up of old age. *non intellecta*, "not distinguished." Ausonius seems to have had this passage in his recollection, Epig. xiii 3, quoted by Ruperti, *obrepit non intellecta senectus. Nec revocare potes qui perierte dies*. 131: *Stantibus. . . collibus*, this reminds one of Horace's expression, *Incolumi Jove et urbe Roma*, Od. iii 5 12. 132: *carpentibus et navibus*, "by land and sea." *navibus atque Quadrigis petimus bene vivere*, Hor. Epp. i 11 28 29. 133: *Qui . . . caput*, a proverbial expression for effeminate coxcombs, who, for fear of discomposing their hair, scratch their head with a single finger, Plutarch Vit. Pomp. c. 48 and Caes. and Senec. Controv. iii 19, quoted by Macleane. See also Controv. v 30. Seneca, Epp. 52, speaks of *relatus ad caput digitus*, a sign by which this class of persons might be known, and Amm. Marcell. xvii 11, alludes to the practice, *genuino quodam more (Pompeius) caput uno scalpebat*. 134: Do you only go on chewing rocket. This plant is twice mentioned by Pliny as an aphrodisiac, H. N. xix 8 and xx 13. *Nec minus erucas aptum vitare salaces*, Ov. Rem. Am. 799.

135, 136: *Clotho et Lachesis*, "my destinies." 137, 138: Observe the words *parvi, minuto, tenui*, so many touches by which he indicates his poverty, iii 226 227, note. *pascitur inguine venter*. So, *mentula quem pascit*. Mart. ix 64. 139: *figam*, a metaphor taken from hunting, i 22 23. It has also here, I think, an obscene sense. 140: *tegete*, sqq. v 8. He will be content with about a hundred and sixty pounds a year, a few pieces of plate, even though not embossed, a couple of strapping bearers to carry his palanquin, and (being apparently a man of taste) he would like to own a couple of skilled slaves besides, one a chaser in silver, and the other to model waxen images of his supposed ancestors. His demands are not over moderate. *Fabricius* is C. Fabricius Luscinus, censor B.C. 275, who removed from the Senate P. Cornelius Rufinus, an ex-dictator and consul, for having more than ten pounds' weight of plate in his possession. *Moesorum, strong provin-*

cials from Moesia (Bulgaria and part of Servia). *Securum*, “in comfort,” “at my ease,” iii 196. 145: *curvus* as *χάρω μνυσθεὶς τοῖς ἐφύοις*. Luc. Somn. 18. 146: *mult. fac.* Friedländer takes the meaning to be that he wishes for so many slaves, to increase his revenue by portrait-painting, iii 307, Fr. ed. (he of course reads *pingat*). 149: *Affixit ceras*, etc. Fortuna turns a deaf ear; she seems to have filled her ears with some of the wax which Ulysses put into those of his companions to prevent their hearing the songs of the Syren. Seneca has the same image, Epp. 31, *Sapiens eris, si claueris aures, quibus ceram parum est obdere: firmiori spissamento opus est quam usum in sociis Ulyssem ferunt remige*, properly “a rower,” iv 49, here, “a crew;” as often, *naves valido cum remige*, Tac. Ann. iv 5. *remige surdo* Mr. Munro (Mayer's Juv. i 13 note) takes as equivalent to *surditate remigum*. See my note to i 163, where really the same point is involved as far as translating is concerned. Both in Latin and English, to say that a man escapes from a peril on a swift horse is nearly equivalent to saying that he escapes by the swiftness of his horse. The grammatical point raised by Mr. Munro as to the use of an adjective making all the difference in such a case as this, would require an excursus to do justice to it. Mr. M.'s note should be consulted. I myself venture to think that in this case *effugit remige* would be perfectly good Latin.

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE X.

THIS is a Satire on the vanity of human wishes, and the poet says that there are few people who know what is good for them. Men pray for all sorts of things, which, when obtained, only serve to ruin them: eloquence, personal strength, great fortune and the like. The millionaire Seneca, Lateranus, and others, perish at the bidding of a tyrant. Poor men have nothing to fear. How Democritus would have laughed if he could have witnessed some of the sights of Rome,—a triumph, for instance, with the consul in his chariot and a slave behind him to warn him that he is but a mortal!

The example of Sejanus is then cited as showing the perils to which successful ambition is exposed, and a life-like portrait is introduced of the citizens trembling and whispering together as his corpse is dragged past by the executioner. "Would it not be far better to be a country police-magistrate than Sejanus?" asks the poet. Then Pompey and Crassus and Julius Caesar are mentioned, Cicero and Demosthenes, the orators, Hannibal, Alexander, Xerxes, the warriors, all of whom are made to point his moral.

"Every one is praying for long life, above all things." Well, but what does this long life entail? The poet gives a striking picture of extreme old age, its decrepitude of body and mind, its utter loneliness. He cites Nestor and Priam. How much better for these men if they had died at an earlier period! And the same may be said of Marius and Pompey. Then mothers pray that their children may be beautiful. But to what perils will not beauty expose them? Look at Lucretia and Virginia. Handsome youths are exposed to dangers no less formidable. Look at Hippolytus and Belle-

rophon, and Silius, whose connection with Messalina was the cause of his death.

Are men then to pray for nothing? Yes, for virtue and moral qualities, leaving to the gods to decide the rest. They know what is good for us better than we do ourselves.

There is no passage in this Satire from which we can infer its date. Line 136 has been applied by some to the Column of Trajan; but this is worse than fanciful. An arch is spoken of and not a column. Arches abounded in Rome, and many of them were covered with bas-reliefs. The reference is general. Mr. Evans thinks that the sustained majesty and dignified flow of language of this Satire and its philosophical character, are proof sufficient that it must have been the finished production of a thoughtful life. If conjectures are to be admitted, I should like to conjecture the other way; that it is an early work, smacking of the declamator, while he is still trying his poetical wings on general subjects.

This is the first of Ribbeck's disputed Satires, cf. Introduction. I can only repeat here what I have already said, that there is unquestionably a considerable difference between the tone and mode of treatment of the "true" and "false" Satires; not, however, such a difference as would not be amply accounted for by the suggestion above made. The disputed Satires may be early efforts of the poet's muse, devoted, as they naturally would be, to topics of a general nature, and conventional themes,—"The Vanity of Human Wishes," "A Shipwreck," "The Perfidy of a Friend," &c. They would naturally be full of mythological allusions, and contain very little about living persons or contemporary usages, with a good deal of the frothy declamation habitual to youth, and from which the poet never entirely freed himself. His success in the recitations may have led him on to compositions in which, with a maturer experience of the world, he lashed the vices of his own country and of his own day; and such compositions would require a somewhat different mode of treatment, and would, from their very nature, deal with what was passing around him; while practice would have matured his taste, and modified his tendency to inflated writing. The earlier Satires, with alterations, may have been first published (as

distinguished from “recited”) in the order in which they now stand. At any rate this is a theory which is not impossible, and for no other theory on this subject can more be said. We must deal with the Satires as they have come down to us, and not even the “higher criticism” of Ribbeck will suffice to overthrow the presumption that they are, as they have always been supposed to be, the work of one and the same person.

Compare, in reference to Ribbeck's theory, v 26, *Jurgia proludunt*, with xv 51 52, *Jurgia prima sonare Incipiunt*; ix 43, *An facile et pronum est . . .* with xiii 75; *Tam facile et pronum est . . .* and the striking similarity of idea in iii 310, *Maximus in vincis ferri modus*, with the expression in xiv 266 277, *plus hominum est jam In pelago*. Compare also xiii 137 with xvi 41; ix 141 with x 19; i 25 with x 226; x 365 with xiv 315. It has been well remarked that imitators do not borrow whole lines from the authors they imitate.

NOTES TO SATIRE X

1, 2: *a Gadibus . . . Gangen*, “from the extreme West to the furthest East; from one end of the world to the other.” So *Ulro Sauromatas*, for, “the ends of the earth,” ii 1, and *Gadibus* is similarly used in Cic. de Domo. s. 30. 3: *dignoscere* is used in the same construction by Pera. v 25. *dignoscere canthus Quid solidum crepet et pictae tectoria linguae. illis multum diversa* is, as Heinrich says, “a euphemism.” 4: *erroris nebula*, “the mist of error,” what Plato calls τὸν ἀχλὸν τὴς ψυχῆς. And so, *densissimis tenebris involuta mortalium mens*, Val. Max. vii 2, ext. 1, an expression which the poet may have had in his memory, as we shall have occasion to see that he has laid the whole passage under contribution. *ratione* is the French “avec raison.” Pliny uses it in the same way, *aedifico jam ratione quia tecum*, Epp. ix 7. 5: *dextra pede* means “auspiciously,” because the right foot, according to the ancients, ought to be moved first; and this was the reason why, according to Vitruvius, temples were built with uneven steps, that the right foot might be set on the first step and the same foot put forward on entering the temple, Vitruv. iii 3; Petron. 30; Propert. iii 1 6. Similarly it was thought unlucky to put on the left shoe first, as we learn from a curious passage of Sueton. Aug. 92. So *pessimo pede domum nostram accessit*, “most inauspiciously,” App. Met. vi 126. The same notion still lingers in the old German folklore rule that to get out of bed left foot first will bring a bad day; and in the phrase often heard from an English nurse to a naughty child, “you got out of bed wrong foot foremost, this morning.” See Tylor’s “Primitive Culture.” 7, 8: *Evertere domos*, etc. This may be a reminiscence of Cicero. *cupiditates . . . non modo singulos homines, sed universas familias everterunt*, or of Valerius Maximus, *haec . . . ita nonnumquam funditus domos ever-*

terunt, vii 2, ext. 1, or both. Seneca often has the same sentiment, (*Dei*) *aliquando specie boni puniunt*, Epp. 95. *ista quae ureunt, quae excruciant, optantibus data sunt*, Epp. 22. *deos ora, ne quid tibi ex his quae optantur eveniat*, Epp. 31. *quidquid optari, inimicorum execrationem puto*, de Vit. Beat. 2. Juvenal draws largely on Seneca throughout this Satire; and both of them from Plato. The passage in which Juvenal is held directly to have imitated Plato, particularly Alcib. ii, has been frequently pointed out. Statius has something like this, *Fatalem populis ultro poscentibus horam Admovet atra dies*, Theb., viii 375. 8: *Di faciles. Riserunt faciles et tribuere Dei*, Mart. i 104 4, Id. xii 6 10. *toga* is here opposed to *militia*, as at viii 240, to *gladius*. 9: *torrents*, a favourite epithet of Juvenal's for an orator. *Isaeo torrentior*, iii 74, and below, 128. 10, 11: *viribus ille*, etc. The scholiast says this refers to Milo of Crotona, the athlete, "wedged in the timber which he strove to rend." So nearly all the commentators take it, rightly I think. Maclean thinks *ille* refers to the soldier, as opposed to the orator. He and Heinrich read *admirandus*. But the weight of MS. authority is in favour of *admirandis*, and, if Milo be meant, I think it is preferable for the sense. He perished through trusting in his strength and *in* his wondrous arms. *Ille* is used here of a celebrated person, who is not named, but whose name is supposed to be familiar, as *haec* of Phaedra, below 326, of this Satire. 13: *cuncta patrimonia*, "all other fortunes," as *cunctis ephebis*, "all the other young men," ii 164, &c. I prefer this to "fortunes larger than those their fathers left them." *patrimonium* came to signify property generally, cf. xii 50, *facere patrimonia* (if genuine). At any rate, whenever that line was written, this meaning of the word was recognised. Seneca's wealth might well be said to exceed that of other men, if, as Tacitus and Dio inform us, he was worth three hundred thousand sestertia, which would be something like two millions and a half sterling, Tac. Ann. xiii 42; Dio lxi 10. 14: *balaena Britannica*, "the whale of the northern seas."

15: *Temporibus diris*, "in that reign of terror," *peste et clade sub illa* iv 84. 16: sqq. *Longinum*, "the house of Longinus," as *Cererem*, "the temple of Ceres," ix 24. C. Cas-

sius Longinus, the celebrated jurist banished by Nero, for no other reason, says Tacitus, than his great wealth and high character, though the pretext was that he had among his ancestral images that of Cassius, the murderer of Caesar, Ann. xvi 7. Suetonius says he was blind, and that he was put to death, Nero, 27. *Lateranus* suffered death, like Seneca, as being implicated in the conspiracy of Piso against Nero, viii 212, note. He was *Consul designatus*. Tacitus, in speaking of Seneca's arrest, says, *Illo propinqua vespera tribunus venit et villam globis militum saepsit*, Ann. xv 60. The change in tense in *clausit* and *obsidet* should be observed, i 155, note. 18: *rarus . . . miles*, "tyrants' soldiers are seldom sent to fetch people out of garrets." The comparative safety of the poor in times of trouble has always been a common theme, *praedam civibus armis Scit non esse casas*, Luc. v 526 527; Lucian, &c. *coenacula* were the upper parts of the house, let out in lodgings to the poorer citizens, Hor. Epp. i 191; Mart. i 109 3. Compare Juv. iii 201, *Ultimus ardebit quem tegula sola tuerit A pluvia*, and Id. iii 234. Varro gives us the reason for the name, *Posteaquam in superiore parte coenilare cooperunt, superioris domus universa coenacula dicta*. In Plaut. Amphit. iii 1, Amphitryon says, *Ego sum ille Amphitruo . . . In superiore qui habito coenaculo Qui interdum fio Jupiter, quando libet*, where the actor is made to jest at the humble condition of actors in general. They lived, many of them (as now), in garrets. 19: *argenti vascula puri*. We had the same words at ix 141. Ribbeck (who disputes the genuineness of this, the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth Satires) says *puri* is out of place here. But why? "It may be only a few small articles of plain silver." R. goes on to ask, how the robber can distinguish, by night, real silver from false! But the point is not as to what the robber can distinguish, but what the sensations of a traveller are. And *purus* does not mean "pure," but "plain." Juvenal may have had in his eye people taking plate with them on their journeys, in consequence of the bad accommodation at inns. Becker. sc. 6, who quotes Mart. vi 94. 20: *gladium contumque*, sc. of the bandit, footpad. Ribbeck asks why *contus*, a Sarmatian weapon, is put into the hands of a Roman footpad, and,

among other passages, quotes Tac. Ann. vi 35. But why not quote the same author, Hist. i 44 and iii 27, in both of which *contus* is applied to the Roman pike? Really this is criticism run mad. 22 : Compare Sen. Epp. 14, *nudum latro transmittit, etiam in obessa via pauperi pax est*. Ovid had said the same thing before, in lines which were probably in our author's memory, *Sic timet insidias, qui scit se ferre viator Cui timeat; tutum carpit inanis iter, Nux.* 43 44. Compare App. Met. i 11. *An ignoras, inepte, nudum nec a decem palaestris despoliari posse?* οὐδεὶς ἀδικοῦ τίνεται seems to have been a proverb; *cui noceri non potest*, as Seneca renders it, de Tranq. An. 8. 25 : *arca*. Wealthy men, it would seem, lodged their strong-boxes in the Forum, probably with the *argentarii* who carried on business there. The remains of what are supposed to have been their offices, *tabernae* (seven in number), are still to be seen in the forum at Pompeii. Compare xiv 259, sqq. 26 : *Fictilibus*, "common earthenware," iii 168. *Scelera non intrant casas Tutusque mensa capitur angusta cibus, Venenum in auro bibitur*, Sen. Thyest. 451, sqq. One author clearly copies from the other. *pocula gemmata*, v 43. What has preceded is, in a great measure, an amplification of Seneca, Oct. 895, *bene paupertas Humili tecto contenta latet; Quatiunt altas saepe procellae Aut evertit Fortuna domos.* 27 : *quis puer ocius Restinguet ardantis Falerni Pocula praeterente lympha?* Hor. Od. ii 11 19. Maclean says *ardere* refers to the brightness of the wine, not its spirit. It certainly refers to its strength in this passage of Horace, and, I think, it does here. Compare Eurip. Alc. 758, φλὸξ οἶνον. *Setinum*, v 34, note. Strabo speaks of it as being one of the most expensive of wines in his time, τὸν τολυτόλων (οἰνον) ἵπα, v 10. 28 : sqq. *de sapientibus alter*, Democritus, of Abdera, the laughing philosopher. *contrarius auctor*, Heracleitus, of Ephesus, the weeping philosopher. *auctor* is preferable to *alter*, another reading which is very tame. Seneca has two passages in which these two philosophers are introduced, de Ira. ii 10, and de Tr. An. 15, which our author may have had in view, though Seneca there is merely giving the popular tradition, as Juvenal here.

34, 35 : *urbibus illis*, in Abdera and Ephesus and the cities of those days. The *trabea* and *fascies* were mentioned

in viii 259 260. The former was a toga ornamented with purple horizontal stripes, worn by the consuls on certain public occasions, and by the equites in their annual procession. It had been originally a royal robe. There were also other kinds, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Toga." *tribunal*. Though there were no praetextae, &c., in the cities with which Democritus was acquainted, there must have been tribunals, and I do not think the introduction of the word very happy here. "No such corrupt tribunals as ours," must be the meaning. That of the praetor is intended. 36 : sqq. The praetor presiding over the games, viii 194, is introduced as an object which might have excited the laughter of Democritus. But the poet soon goes off into the description of a triumph, and the praetor becomes a consul. The praetor in his chariot at the games, and the triumphing consul, would present a certain resemblance to the eye of the satirist, and would induce him to class them together, with the view of inserting fresh touches, and heightening the effect ; compare xi 194 195, where, at the Megalesian games, *similisque triumpho . . . Praetor sedet. tunica Jovis*, otherwise *tunica palmata*, Mart. vii 2, was a flowered tunic worn by the triumpher, and taken for the occasion from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. An embroidered toga, *toga picta*, was worn with it. *Sarrana* is Tyrian, i.e., of purple, from *Sarra*, or *Sara*, the ancient name of Tyre, *purpuram ex Sara tibi Attuli*, Plaut. Truc. ii 6 58. *aulaea*, "like curtains," in ridicule of their great size. 39 : sqq. *magnae coronae*, &c. One of the public slaves is in the same chariot as the victor, to keep down his pride ; this slave holds a crown. Plin., H. N. xxxiii 1, speaks of the slave holding this crown, which he describes as being of gold ; and in H. N. xxviii 2, there is another passage which, in conjunction with this one, may have given rise to the statement of later writers (*ex gr.* Tertullian), that it was the slave's business to whisper to the victor the words *respice post te, hominem memento te*. The words of Pliny, according to the best reading, are *similis medicina linguae, ut sit exorata a tergo Fortuna gloriae carnifex*,—"Equally salutary is the medicine administered to him by the tongue, in order that Fortune the destroyer of glory may

be appeased behind his back." 45 : *officia*, "the clients," the thing for the person, viii 205, note. *niveos*, "albatos," iii 178, note; and compare Mart. viii 65 (to Domitian), *Hic lauro redimita comas, et candida cultu Roma salutavit voce manuque ducem.* ad fr. Quir., comp. Eurip. Hipp. 1196, πέλας χαλ-νῶν ἵπτεισθα δισπότη. 46 : *Defossa*, "hidden," "buried deep;" *Defodiet (aetas) condetque nitentia*, Hor. Epp. i 6 25; *defodit se et abdidit*, Sen. Cons. ad Marc. 2; *Condit avarus opes, defossumque invenit aurum*, Petron. 104. *loculis*, small boxes with compartments, made of ivory, wood, &c., i 89. This being a special occasion, the clients would of course receive a handsome gratuity, *sportula*, to attend and make a show. 50 : *Abdera*, in Thrace, the birthplace of Democritus, was proverbial for the stupidity of its inhabitants. *Abderitanæ pectora plebis habes*, Mart. x 25, i.e., "you are a blockhead." *vervez*, "a wether," seems to have been used for "a stupid fellow." Several examples are given in Forcell. Horace has something not unlike these lines, *Multos saepe viros nullis majoribus ortos Et vicisse probos, amplis et honoribus auctos*, Sat. i 6 10 11; and line 50 seems to be imitated from Horace, Epp. ii 1 244 (quoted by Macleane). Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii 16 speaks of the mental inferiority of those *qui utuntur crasso coelo atque concreto*. See the whole passage. 53 : *medium . . . unguem*, "the middle finger," which was the finger of scorn, *infamis digitus*, Pers. ii 33. Why, it is impossible to say. Forcell. says, "propter penis similitudinem." *In hunc intende digitum: hic leno est*, Plaut. Pseud. iv 7 47; Mart. vi 70 5.

54 : Observe the hiatus after *supervacula*; compare i 151, ii 26, &c. *Ad supervacula sudatur*, Sen. Epp. 4. 55 : *fas* is a singular expression, and so it is at 257, as Ribbeck has not failed to notice. *incerare genua* is "to inscribe one's prayer on waxen tables and affix them to the images of the gods." Compare Hor. Od. i 5 13, sqq. θίαν ἐν γούρασι, Hom. Madvig suggested a longer stop after *peluntur*, and *incerate* for *incerare*. I do not altogether see, that "the abruptness of the verse with this reading would be enough to condemn it;" but there are other objections, and it is best to adhere to *incerare*, the reading of all the MSS. 57 : *mergit*. Mr. Evans renders "sinks into the dust," and quotes, Silius viii 287, *mergente*

Consule. This is perhaps better than to give the verb an active sense, as it is certainly harsh to talk of the tablet which records a man's honours "sinking him," as though, says Ribbeck, it were tied round his neck like a mill-stone. 63: Sejanus is introduced as an illustration, the favourite of Tiberius. The story of this man is well known, and is familiar to many English readers through Ben Jonson's tragedy of "Sejanus." When arrived at the height of greatness, and the second man in the Empire, he was put to death in consequence of an ambiguous despatch received by the Senate from Tiberius (then living in retirement at Capreae), and who had begun to suspect his designs, A.D. 31. *ingens* seems to have a double reference to the greatness of Sejanus himself, and the size of his colossal statue. 64: *matellae* seems much more forcible than *patellae* the usual reading, and I have very little doubt that it is the word Juvenal really used. Dio says the people threw down and broke up all the statues of Sejanus. His fall naturally caused a profound impression (Seneca says it was accompanied by a portent in the heavens, N. Q. i 1, a not unusual accompaniment of that sort of affairs), and Dio, writing more than a century and a half after the event, speaks of it as a signal warning against arrogance, lviii 11. Velleius Paterculus, in a panegyrical passage on this same Sejanus, speaks of him as *semper infra aliorum aestimationes se metientem*, ii 127; but this was written before his fall. The habit of demolishing the statues of deposed popular idols was common in Rome, Suet. Domit. 23; as it has been in all ages and countries, *viz.* lately in the case of the First and Third Napoleons.

65: "Ornament the house as for a festive occasion," vi 51, ix 85. A white ox was preferred for sacrificing, Ov. Pont. iv 9 50, and if there were any dark spots about him it would seem that they were chalked. Some old poet (called Lucretius by the scholiast, but the line does not occur in what we have by him) appears to have had the line, *Crelatumque bovem duci ad Capitilia magna*. 66: For *uncus*, cf. Hor. Od. i 35 20; Propert. iv 1 141; Ovid Ibis. 168, and Lucan. vi 637, where the manner in which it was used is explained, *trajecto gutture corpus Dicit et inserto laqueis feralibus unco. ducere* is common for, "to lead off the condemned." Pliny, in his cele-

brated letter to Trajan on the Christians, writes *perseverantes duci jussi*, i.e., "to be led to execution." *Conscendit tribunal Piso ac jubet duci utrumque*, Sen. de Ira. Here, it is the body of Sejanus which is drawn along. Sen., de Tr. An. 11, says, the people tore his body to pieces, and that nothing was left for the executioner to drag along. So, after the assassination of Commodus, the cry was *unco trahatur!* Lamprid. Comm. 17 and 19. 67: A conversation follows between two citizens. 70: *quibus indicis*, &c., vi 220. 71: *verbosa . . . a Capreis*, from Capreae, where Tiberius was living, 93. This letter is described by Dio., lviii 10, who, in that and the following chapter, gives an interesting account of the fall of Sejanus. 73: *turba Remi*. The poets often used *Remus* for *Romulus*, for a change, or "when it suited their metre," as Macleane says. Catullus, speaking of his former mistress, Lesbia, says, *Nunc in quadrivis et angportis Glubit magnanimos Remi nepotes*, 58. *cumminibus Remi vagantes*, Stat. Silv. ii 7 60. 74: *Nurtia*, an Etruscan goddess, Livy vii 3. *Tusco*. Sejanus was born at Vulsinii in Etruria. "If the deity of his country had favoured her son." 75: *opprimere* is common for "to catch any one off his guard," *inscios inopinantesque Menapios oppresserunt*, Caes. B.G. iv 4. 77: "since we left off selling our votes;" a satirical way of saying, "since we have ceased to have any votes to sell," "since we have been deprived of the suffrage," viii 211. Tiberius was the author of this change, Tac. Ann. i 15. 78, 79: *qui dabat imperium*, &c., compare Hor. Epp. i 6 7, *amici dona Quiritis. fasces, consulships, &c.* From 72 to 81, *sed quid . . . Circenses*, are taken by some as the poet's reflections, others put them into the mouth of one or other of the speakers, see 88 89, note. *Circenses*, iii 223, xi 194, sqq. *plebs sordida et circu ac theatris sueta*, Tac. Hist. i 4. *panem*, "bread," generally. All that the people care for is bread to eat, and public shows to amuse them. Friedländer, bk. vi, expresses the opinion that *panem et Circenses* was a proverbial expression. He points out that much the same expression is found in two other writers of the second century, Dion. Chrysostom and Fronto.

83: *Brutidius*. A Brutidius Niger, aedile in A.D. 22, is mentioned by Tacitus and quoted by Seneca. This may be

the man. The altar of Mars was in the Campus Martius. **84**: *victus*. Ribbeck objects to this epithet. Tiberius (Ajax) was not *victus*. There is certainly force in this objection. But the poet has in his mind the legend of Ajax conquered by Ulysses, and the mad rage which seized on him after his defeat, when he butchered the sheep, thinking they were his enemies. So the speaker is represented as fearing that a similar butchering frenzy will seize Tiberius, whom he compares to Ajax, and, as Ajax was conquered, he affixes the epithet *victus* to *him*, without seeming to notice that it does not fit Tiberius. "I am afraid that we are going to have a repetition of the story of conquered Ajax—an indiscriminate massacre." There is something not unlike this in ii 109, where *moesta* is applied to Cleopatra, because the epithet suits her generally, while it does not suit her at the particular moment to which it is made to refer. **88, 89**: *hi sermones . . . vulgi*. Such was the sort of talk held on the subject of Sejanus, and such also were the mutterings of the vulgar, i.e., the vulgar talked in the same way. *secreta murmura vulgi* cannot be held to apply to the specimen of conversation given above: (1) it is that of people who are afraid of being involved in the fall of Sejanus, which could not affect the herd; (2) they talk of their slaves; (3) if, as is best, we throw from 72 to 81 into the conversation, it is obviously far above the level indicated by *murmura vulgi*. *Turba Remi, idem populus, &c.*, are conclusive. Some give 73-81: *Sequitur fortunam—Circenses* to the poet; but *hac ipsa hora* is against this.

90: *salutari*, "to have a crowd of people at your morning levee," iii 184. **91**: *illi*. Ribbeck says this ought to be *huic*. But *ille, ille* are used in this way, *Quia enim in illis fructus est; in illis opera luditur*, Ter. Phorm. ii 2 18. *ille vel ille*, Mart. vii 10 2. *Hic* and *hic* occur at vi 610. **93**: *angusta*, another reading is *augusta*. There is a similar MSS. variation between *angusta* and *augusta* in Virg. Georg. iv 228, and in both cases *augusta* would stand, with a dash of irony. **94**: *Cum grege Chaldaeo*, vi 553. The small island of Capreae (Capri) was the favourite abode of Tiberius, who was nicknamed "Caprineus," as Suetonius tells us, from that circumstance and his goatish propensities. Both Sueton. and Dio.

mention his addiction to astrology. *pila*, the position of *primipilus centurio*, who had charge of the eagle of the legion, xiv 197; cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Exercitus," p. 505 of the second edition. *cohortes*. There were ten cohorts to a legion. *egregios equites*. There is great doubt as to the meaning of these words. Heinrich and Maclean, following Lipsius on Tac. Ann. xi 4, take them to refer to the knights who were allowed to wear the "latus clavus" of Senators. But the poet is speaking about the army. *castra domestica*, "the praetorians." The meaning of "you would like to have centurionships, cohorts," &c., is, "You would like to have them in your gift,—you would like to have the right to appoint to companies and battalions, to have a picked body of cavalry at your disposal, and the command of the guards." 96, 97: *qui nolunt occidere quemquam Posse volunt*. Compare with this Ovid, Her. xii 75. *Perdere posse sat est, si quem juvat (juvet) ipsa potestas. Etiamsi non sit molestus dominus, tamen est miserrimum posse si velit*, Cic. Phil. viii 4. 97: *tanti*. This is much better than *tantum*, which Heinrich and Maclean read, and which gives a feebler sense. The meaning is, "What fortune can be so brilliant as to be worth expiating by a corresponding measure of disaster?"—a common use of *tanti*, cf. xiii 96. In xiv 314, we have Alexander spoken of as one *qui totum sibi posceret orbem, Passurus gestis aequanda pericula rebus*. 99: *trahitur*, the present tense, i 155, note. 102: *Ulubris*. Ulubrae is derived as a type for a small place, from Horace, as we have already observed, vi 56, note, was the case with Fidenae and Gabii, *quod petis, hic est, Est Ulubris animus si te non deficit aequus*, Epp. i 11 30. Yet Fidenae must have been a place of some slight importance as late as the reign of Tiberius, if we are to believe that more than fifty thousand persons could have been collected together to see the games in the amphitheatre, Tac. Ann. iv 62 63; Sueton. Tib. 40. I do not think the poet intended to repeat *mensura* at 101 after using the word at 98. It seems to have lingered in his ear and found its way in again, as will often happen in composition. Another instance of the same kind will be found in vi 49 50, *contigerit*, with *contingere* in the next line, which certainly was not an intentional repetition. Compare vi 264 266. These

are indications which support the view I have always held that these Satires never received a final revision. See note to 103 104. *pannosus aedilis*, "ragged country Podestas," iii 179, and Pers. i 129 130. The poet may have had in his mind a passage in Cicero's letters (*Antium*) *ubi ego quidem mallem Duumvirum quam Romae me fuisse*, ad Att. ii 6.

103, 104: *optandum, optabat*. Here *optare* seems to be purposely repeated. This kind of repetition is a trick of our author's, and is sometimes forcibly employed; compare vii 10, *Et vendas potius commissa quod auctio vendit*. viii 29 30, *Exclamare libet populus quod clamat Osiri Invento*. viii 93 94, *damnante Senatu . . . sed quid damnatio confert?* viii 159 160, *Syrophoenix . . . Syrophoenix* (if the second line be genuine). viii 189, *populo: populi*. viii 192 193, *vendant . . . vendunt* (not to speak of 194). ix 18 19, *deprendas . . . prendendas*, below, 118, *uterque . . . utrumque*. 119 120, *ingenii . . . ingenio*. 191 192, *deformem . . . deformem*. vii 145 146 147, x 359 361, *labores, labores*. vi 146 147; 157 158; 34 35, 56 57, 208 209, 483 484, *nimios nimias*, here, i 3 4, vii 50 51, vii 135 136 222 225 and 223; xiv 90 91; xvi 60; vii 176; viii 112 114; x 115. The sentiment is a very common one with the Latin poets, *celsae graviore casu Decidunt turre*s, Hor. Od. ii 10. *Cur plus, ardua, casibus patetis?* Stat. Silv. ii 7 91. *summisque negatum Stare diu*, Lucan.; and is constantly to be found among the Greeks, πολλῶσι γάρ δὴ ὑπόδεξας ἀλβοὶ ἐτίς προβηγοὺς ἀνέρεψι, Herod. i 32, Soph. Aj. 758, sqq. But the particular passage which Juvenal had in his eye may, I think, have been Sen. Oct. 379, sqq., *Quid me . . . Fortuna . . . Alle extulisti, gravius ut ruerem edita Receptus arce?* *praeceps* is here a substantive, as often, ex. gr., *exanimantur quoties despezerunt in illud magnitudinis suae praeceps*, Sen. Epp. 94. *subiti praeceps juvenile pericli*, Stat. Silv. i 4 51. **108, 109:** He instances the three who are generally known as the first Triumvirate, Crassus, Pompey, and Caesar. *Crassos* and *Pompeios* each refer to one person only, viii 11, note. Plutarch uses a very similar expression in reference to Caesar, διδρυμίοις τοι καλλιεῖ (the Romans). **110:** sqq., *summus locus*. Ribbeck here has one of his criticisms. How, he asks, could a lofty position overthrow any one? The effort to gain it might. To which

it might be sufficient to answer that *summus locus petitus* might be translated "seeking after the highest place," cf. i 163, note. These men were *feliciores antequam felicissimi fierent*, to use Pliny's happy expression, Epp. v 18. *nulla non arte petitus*. The poet here certainly had in his mind Seneca, who speaks of *illos quos honores, nulla non arte atque opera petiti, discruciant*, Epp. 95; and in the next line there is probably a reminiscence of another passage of the same author, *maligni dii qui nos exaudierunt, &c., exaudita* is the French "exaucés." *generum Cereris, Pluto*. So *Veneris marito* for Vulcan.

115 : *Quinquatrus*. A festival of Minerva held in March, properly of one day (the 19th), but to which four days came to be added, so that it amounted to five in all, Ov. Fast. iii 809, sqq., though the name is not derived from that circumstance, but from its commencing on the fifth day after the Ides of March, Aul. Gell. ii 21; cf. Diet. G. and R. Ant. It would seem from this passage and Hor. Epp. ii 2 197, *Ac potius puer ut festis quinquatribus olim Exiguo gratoque fruaris tempore raptim*, that schoolboys had a holiday during this period, Symmach. Epp. 5 85, quoted by Orell.

116 : *adhuc uno asse* must be taken together. Every boy who has just gone to school for the first time; who has made a single payment to his teacher; the "entrance-fee," *minerval*, Becker, "Gallus," scene 1, exc. 2.

117 : The little boy is accompanied by a little slave, *capsarius*, who carries a box of books, &c. Naturally, a home-born slave, *vernula*, would be selected for such a purpose. In the seventh satire, the boy's *custos* apparently accompanied him to school, on the occasion of payment being made to the tutor, vii 218. Compare Hor. Sat. i 6 74 75.

118 : *perit*, vi 559.

119 : *ing. fons*. Cic. has *flumen ingenii pro Marcell. 2.*

120 : *ingenio* I prefer taking as the dative, and not the instrumental ablative. "It was precisely this *genius* that had its hands and head cut off." Valer. Max. uses the word much in the same way when speaking of Euripides, *Crudelitas fati tanto ingenio non debita*, ix 12 ext., or it may be for "the man of genius," abstract for concrete, of which we have had many examples, *ex gr.*, *officia*, 45. Cicero's head and hands, after being cut off, were fixed on the rostra.

122 : This was a line of Cicero's which Quintilian tells us

was much ridiculed, *non desierunt carpere maligni*, Inst. Or. xi 1. Turnebus, ad Quint. Inst. Or. ix 4, where the line is also quoted, tells us that Cicero wrote it in jest ("lusit"), but I am afraid this won't do. Martial has a fling at Cicero's poetry, *Carmina quod scribis Musis et Apolline nullo, Laudari debes; hoc Ciceronis habes*, ii 89, and Seneca implies that his verses were laughed at, de Ira. iii 37. Similar jingles occur in *res mihi invisae visae sunt Brute*, quoted by Quint. from Cicero, but the epistle referred to is lost, *Id cum studiisti, isti formae ut mores consimiles forent*, Ter. Heaut. Tim. ii 4 2, and in the well-known *Taedet quotidianarum harum formarum*, of the same poet, Eun. ii 3 6, where, however, the repetition is a great beauty. 123: Cf. Cic. Phil. ii 46, *Contempsi Catilinae gladios, non pertimescam tuos*. The sledge-hammer style of the second and other Philippics would naturally be to Juvenal's taste. 126: *volveris*, in reference to the form of Roman books. *proximus a primo* is the second (*proximus primo* is also used), *a prima proxima segnis erit*, Ov. Rem. Am. 404, in reference to which the first would be *proximus prior*. *proximus superior* and *inferior* are similar expressions, Tac. Ann. i 77, and Ernesti's note.. 126: sqq. relate to Demosthenes. In reality, his father was an opulent sword-manufacturer, who left a considerable property. But it suited the poet's present purpose to represent him as a working smith. A much worse fault is to be found in the moral which is deduced from all this about Cicero and Demosthenes. The ridiculous poems of the former were not to be preferred to the Philippics, even though these may have cost their author his life. Nor would it have been better, either for himself or the world, for Demosthenes to have remained a sword-maker all his life. Juvenal did not mean to discourage a laudable ambition, but he does it here. *Vulcano* is "the fire," as *Veneris marito*, at vii 25.

133: sqq. look like a description of bas-reliefs on a triumphal arch. *Bellorum exuviae*, "the spoils of war," and what follows is merely an amplification of this. In other words, "military glory," or, as Horace puts it, *Res gerere et captos ostendere ciribus hostes Attingit solium Jovis et coelestia tentat*, Epp. i 17 33 34. *tropaeis*, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant.,

where an engraving is given. *aplustre* is shown under "Navis," of the same publication. It was a flag in the stern of the ship. *tristis captivus*, "the figures of sorrowing captives sculptured on the arch." There are five of these triumphal arches left in Rome. *causas*, "incentives," "motives," viii 84. 139: *Humanis majora bonis*, i.e., "than all others," of which construction we have had examples before. 145: *caprificus*. The wild fig-tree was planted about the tombs, and by insinuating its roots into their crevices, would, no doubt, often destroy them, *Marmora Messalae findit caprificus*, Mart. x 2; Hor. Epod. 5 17; Propert. iv 5 73. 146: Compare Mart. i 89, *Accipe non Phario nudantia pondera saxo Quae cineri vanus dat ruitura labor*, and Auson. Epigr. 35 10, *Mors etiam saxis nominibusque venit*, Propert. iii 2 19. Lucretius has *non lapides quoque vinci cernis ab aeo?* v 307. Heinrich condemns this line, as well as 187 below, *Has toties optata exegit gloria poenas*, as well as a host of other lines of the same character: that is to say, lines which have a complete meaning in themselves, which might be omitted without the passages in which they stand becoming less intelligible, and which have something of an explanatory character, as it were summing up what has preceded in a kind of *apophthegma*, or "saw," *ex gr.*, i 14, v 66 140. The reader will decide for himself the question, whether it is more likely that these lines are interpolations by another hand, or that they form one of the characteristic features of the poet's style. Juvenal, it must be remembered, is always highly didactic when he finds the opportunity. We have strong reason to suppose the tradition correct which represents him as having begun by declaiming; and, to me at least, these *sententiae* or apophthegms are exactly in his manner, and harmonise with the tone of his declamatory poetry.

147: Put Hannibal in the scales, how many pounds' weight will you find remaining? Not "weigh the case of Hannibal," which is nonsense. Hannibal is not a very happy illustration of what has preceded. He fought, not for glory merely; the struggle in which his life was spent was a struggle for life and death, for national existence, between his own country and a foreign foe. Carthage went to war with

Rome, as Mommsen truly says, bk. iii, chap. 4, "in order to secure for herself an existence that should not be dependent on the good-will of the enemy," and Hannibal was her general. **149** : *Niloque teperi*. *tepidique toreumata Nili*, Mart. xi 11. **151** : *imperiis*, "to his empire," poetically, i.e., to the empire of Carthage. **153** : sqq. *aceto*. The story of the vinegar is told by Livy. The particular pass by which Hannibal crossed the Alps has been made the subject of animated discussions, like those as to the points of embarkation in Gaul and landing in Britain of Julius Caesar. The better opinion seems to be that he went over the little St. Bernard. **155** : *Nil actum credens cum quid superesset agendum*, Lucan, ii 657. **156** : *fregimus* might stand here if there were MS. authority. *Subura*, iii 5. **158** : *bellua*, properly, a large beast (we had it used of a fish, in iv 127), is often used *χαρ' ιξεχής*, of an elephant, xii 104; Ter. Eun. iii 1 25. *lucus*, because he lost one of his eyes from ophthalmia, Livy, xxii 2. **160** : *Nempe* is a favourite word of Juyenal's. It might mean here, and at 185, "assuredly," in the sense of "as we know;" "as you see." Hannibal fled to the court of Prusias, King of Bithynia, and the poet represents him here as a client of that prince, humbly waiting till his Majesty should wake and condescend to grant him an audience. Hannibal took poison concealed in a ring, to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans, who would, of course, have put him to death, after the fashion of the times, and in the same way as they murdered conquered chieftains in cold blood on the occasion of a triumph. In *annulus vindex Cannarum* there is an allusion to the bushels of rings picked up after Cannae, one "modius," according to Livy, two modii in Florus, and three in Pliny. **166, 167** : are familiar to most readers in the English dress which they assume in Dr. Johnson's imitation, "He left a name at which the world grew pale, To point a moral or adorn a tale." As to *pueris placeas*, &c., cf. vii 150; Pers. iii 45, sqq.

168 : sqq. *Pellaeo juveni*, Alexander, a native of Pella. Martial applies the epithet to Alexandria, xiii 85. *non sufficit orbis*, Lucan, v 356. *Alexandro orbis angustus est*, M. Sen. Suas, where we have also *Imperium tuum claudit Oceanus*. These were rhetorical common-places. **170** : *Gyarus*, i 73; *Seriphus*, vi

564, small islands in the Cyclades, used as places of banishment; wretched places, inhabited by a few fishermen and destitute of cultivation. 171: *a figulis munitam urbem*, Babylon, which is said to have been built of brick, *latere cocto quo Semiramis longam Babylona cinxit*, Mart. ix 76. *dicitur altam Coccilibus muris cinzisse Semiramis urbem*, Ov. Met. iv 57. Alexander died here. 173: sqq. *creditur olim Velificatus Athos*. This is an allusion to the canal cut by Xerxes through the promontory of Acte, or Athos (at one end of which stood Mount Athos), for the passage of his fleet. Though Juvenal laughs at this (and Niebuhr has done the same), traces of it have been discovered, Dict. G. and R. Geog., "Athos;" Penny Cyclopaedia, *ad voc.*, thus confirming, as in many other cases he has been similarly confirmed, the statements of Herodotus. Compare Catull. 66 45. *Cum Medi peperere novum mare, cumque juventus Per medium classi barbara navit Atho*, Stat. Silv. iv 3 56, sqq.; Lucan, ii 676. 175: refers to the bridge of boats across the Hellespont, and what follows is another allusion to the narrative of Herodotus, who says that certain rivers were dried up by the hosts of Xerxes. This, as Macleane well observes, is easily explained. "These rivers were not perennial streams. The army could only find water-holes in many of them, and these they may have exhausted." Trebell. Poll. has *epotata flumina* (speaking of the same event) Claud. 6. 178: *madidis alis*. Ov., Met. i 264, has *madidis Notus evolut alis*. Here it may mean "in his drunken flights." It would be quite after the manner of Juvenal to speak of "drunken wings," vi 657, note. Ovid has *bibulae Cupidinis alae*, A. A. i 233. Sostratus is unknown. 180: *Corus, Eurus*, "the north-west and south-east winds," for any winds. 181: *Aeolio in carcere*, cf. i 8 and v 101. The story of Xerxes' extravagances and of his punishing and chaining the Hellespont for breaking down his bridge is well known. Whether true or false, it had become a common-place theme for moralists. *Xerxes cuius in nomine superbia et impotentia habitat*, Valer. Max. ix 5 (who also introduces Hannibal), *Ennosigaeum, invicivator*, the Homeric epithet. 183, 184: A very kind thing of him not to brand Neptune, as well as chain him, Herod. vii 35. Runaway slaves were branded. 187: I

prefer taking *toties* with *exegit* and not with *optata*. "So many examples does history afford of," &c.

188: sqq. When the poet says that people in health and sickness pray only for old age, he means, of course, that one of their principal prayers is for old age. Compare Senec. Epp. 101, where some well-known lines by Maecenas are quoted, ending *Vita dum superest, bene est. Hanc mili vel acuta Si sedeam cruce sustine*, which Seneca justly calls *turpis-simum votum*, and Epp. 22 ad fin. 191: *ante omnia* might go with *tetrum*, "offensive above all things." 192: *dissimilemque sui. Fots mea . . . sui longe dissimilis advenit*, Appul. Met. iii 51. Ov. Met. xi 273. 193: *pendentes genas*. Plin. Epp. iii 6. 194: Tabraca, still called Tabarka, a town of Numidia. The woods about, no doubt, abounded in monkeys. 196, 197: *pul-chrior . . . alio*, the expression here resembles a line of Ovid, *Pulchrior hac illa est; haec est quoque pulchrior illa*, Am. ii 10 7. 199: *madidi . . . nasi*, cf. vi 148. Sueton. speaks of the Emperor Claudius when angry as *ira turpior, spumante ridu, humentibus naribus*, Claud. 30. 200: *gingiva*, the word has survived in the French "gencive." 201: *Usque adeo*, as often before, "so utterly." *gravis* "disagreeable," as vi 147. 204: sqq. *si coneris*, "if you attempt to arouse him." *ramex*, "hernia," vi 326. Lucilius makes his old man *deformis, arthriticus podagrosus, mancus, miser, exilis, ramice magno*, Fr. ix 13. 208, 209: *quid quod*, "why add that?" *quid quod . . . viribus*. That is to say (as Heinrich correctly explains) that an old man who affects this kind of thing, when his day is past, lays himself open to the suspicion that he is obliged to have recourse to filthy practices and filthy stimulants. *affectare* here (as often) seems to be our "affects," not "aims at." 211: Seleucus, unknown; some eminent musician. 212: Cicero speaks of a *citharoedus palla inaurata indutus*, ad Heren. iv 47. These would doubtless be the leading performers. 216: *nunciet horas*. Compare Mart. viii 67, *Horas quinque puer nondum tibi nunciat, et tu Jam conciva mihi Caeciliane venis*. From this passage, and Petron. 26, *Trimalchio, lautissimus homo, horologium in triclinio et buccinatorem habet subornatum, ut subinde sciatis quantum de vita perdidierit*, it would appear that it was the custom of some to have the hours announced to them

by their slaves. Wealthy men would, of course, have their private *horologium* (like Trimalchio above; and we read that Cicero had one, at one, and probably all of his houses. Valer. Max. i 4 5; Cic. ad Fam. 16 18), and this consisted of a sun-dial out of doors, *solarium*, or a water-clock in doors, *clypsedra*, to both of which the term *horologium* applied; these being the instruments for measuring time in use among the Romans. The public *horologia* were of course sun-dials. Cf. Becker's "Gallus" sc. ii, exc. 5 for full details.

217: *gelido jam corpore*. Maclean says the Latin requires *in* before *corpore*. I think not. The sense is "his body being chilled with age," as *torpente palato*, 203. 218: *Febre calet sola*, "it requires a fever to make him warm." Martial addressing an old woman, says *Cum bruma mensem sit tibi per Augustum, Regelare nec te pestilentia possit*, iii 93 16 17; and Seneca, Epp. 68, *Jam aetas mea contenta est suo frigore, vix media regelatur aestate*. The lines 219–226 are not much to be commended, as Ribbeck has not failed to point out. Possibly they are a burlesque imitation of such passages as Virg. Georg. ii 103, sqq.; Ov. Epist. ex Pont. ii 27 25, sqq. 220: Translate *amaverit* has loved, *occiderit* has killed, &c., for living persons, or imaginary persons supposed to be living are intended by *Hippia*, &c. As for her, we had her at vi 82, sqq. There was a celebrated physician named *Themison* mentioned by Pliny, and Seneca, Epp. 95. He must have lived before Juvenal's time; and the name is probably put for any great physician. *Basilus*. The name occurred in vii 145–147, as a poor lawyer. *socios*, "partners." *Socii putandi sunt quos inter res communicata est*, Cicero, Verr. ii 3 20; and compare Cic. pro. Sex. Rosc. Am. 40. Horace couples *socius* and *pupillus* together, Epp. ii 1 122 123. At 254 below, it means "friend." *circumscribere*, *circumscriptor* are used in the same sense at xiv 237, and xv 136; compare Pliny, Epp. viii 18, *circumscripto testamento*, literally "the will being cheated," i.e., "the testator's intentions being frustrated." *exsorbeat*, vi 126. *Maura*, vi 307. *inclinet*, ix 26. *Hamillus*, like *Hirrus* above, unknown.

226: has occurred before at i 25, where see note. 227: *debilis* means "ailing." 231: *hiat tantum*, &c. "This," says Maclean, "is prettily introduced, and serves to relieve

the picture." I think it is intended to be comic. **236**, **237**: cf. G. and R. Ant., "Heres" and "Testamentum." Suffice it to say here that to disinherit one's children was not so easy a matter in Rome as in England. We must suppose this man to have gone through all the necessary forms, or (as is extremely probable) that the poet did not know the law, i 55, note. **238**: Hor. Epod. 8 19 20, and many epigrams of Martial might be quoted in illustration of this line, if the subject admitted of being illustrated. The early fathers have stigmatised these and other filthy practices, cf. the Epist. of Barnabas, c. 10. *carcere*, "the vault or cell," at the door of which prostitutes stood for hire, vi 121, note. *artificis*; compare iv 18.

246: *Rex Pylius*. Nestor. His age is referred to in Hom. Il. A. 250, and was fabulously extended by later writers. The crow was supposed to be very long-lived by the ancients, Greeks as well as Romans, *ινία τοι ζώει γητάς λακίγυρχα χορών Αὐδρῶν ηβώτων*, Hesiod. Fragm., referred to by Plin. H. N. vii 48. *annosa cornix*, Hor. Od. iii 17 13; and Martial addresses an old woman as *cornicibus omnibus supersiles*, x 67 5. *dextra computat annos*. The ancients counted on the left hand up to a hundred, and then went on with the right hand; cf. Sueton. Claud. 21, *ut oblatos victoribus aureos, prolata sinistra, pariter cum vulgo, voce digitisque numeraret*: Appul. Met. x 229, *magna dextrae suae tropaea numerabat*, where *dextra sua* may be the reading: and so on, the odd hundreds on the left, the even on the right. The meaning is that he was more than a century old. **253**: *barbam Antilochi ardensem*, "the body of his bearded (full-grown) son, Antilochus, burning on the funeral pile." So *ardentes spectant socios*, Virg. Æn. xi 200, and comp. with next line *spatiolum que increpat aerum* of a father mourning his son, Ov. Met. viii 529. Antilochus was slain by Memnon. Mr. Evans seems to have gone curiously wrong in 252; he renders *stamine* "powers of life." Juvenal may here have had in view a passage of Propertius, which very closely resembles this, ii 13 42-50. **256**, **257**: look to me like a feeble insertion and amplification of the text. *alius*, i 10, is Laertes. *Ithacum*, his son, Ulysses. *sas* is very awkward here. See 55, note. Meinertz in his "Vindiciae Juve-

nalianae" (a reply to Ribbeck), takes *cui fas* here to mean "whose fate it was," quoting Virg. Aen. xii 27. He might also have quoted Pers. i 61, *vos O patricius sanguis quos vivere fas est Occipiti caeco*. I have so rendered it in this edition, and so at 55. Some take the meaning to be "who had the right, who was entitled, to mourn Ulysses as dead, while he was so long tempest-tost and absent from home." 262 : *scissa Discordia palla*, Virg. Aen. viii 702. 264 : *audaces carinas*, vi 657-659, note, below 270 283. Seneca has the same expression, *quisquis audacis tetigit carinae nobiles remos*, Med. 607. 267 : sqq. The poet refers to the death of Priam as related by Virg. Aen. ii ; and, in all probability, had before his eyes a passage in Cicero, *Priamum tanta progenie orbatum cum in aram confugisset, hostilis manus interemit. Hic si vivis filiis, incolumi regno occidisset . . . utrum tandem a bonis an a malis discessisset? tum profecto videretur a bonis. At certe ei melius evenisset, nec tam flebiliter illa canerentur: Haec omnia vidi inflammari*, etc., Tusc. Quaest. i 35. *ut vetulus bos* seems to be a reminiscence of Homer, Odyss. iv 535, *αὐτὸς τοι τὰ καρίκταντα βοῦς ἵπποι πάρην*. *tiara* is taken from Virg. vii 247. 270 : *ab ingratō fastiditus aratro*, another example of Juvenal's habit of giving life to inanimate objects. *provida Campania*, below. *jam* may mean "at last," *rupi jam vincula*, Pers. v 158. *jam securus liberque moriturus*, Plin. Epp. i 12, and often elsewhere. 271, 272 : These lines, like 256 257, would, I think, be much better away. They add to the force neither of the poetry nor of the moral.

273 : *Transeo*, as at iii 114 and vi 602, means, "I pass by." *regem Ponti*, Mithridates. 275 : *spatia ultima*, a metaphor from the chariot races in the Circus. What follows relates to Marius. 278 : *hinc*, i.e., "from prolonged life." 281 : *animam opimam* is a curious expression. There seems to be a reference to the "spolia opima," though Marius did not gain the "spolia opima" on the occasion referred to—his victory over the Cimbri and Teutones, viii 249, which is what is alluded to by the epithet *Teutonico*, applied to his chariot. Stat. Silv. iv 6 65, has *opimas acies* in the sense of "proelia ex quibus spolia opima (splendida) referuntur," but the expression is less forced than that of Juvenal; and Virg.

has *purpuream animam*, *AEn.* ix 349. 283 : alludes to the fever which attacked Pompey at Naples, B.C. 50 ; cf. *Cic. Tusc. Qu.* i 35, where, after Priam, he introduces Pompey. The poet has followed his argument and inserted a fresh example, that of Marius. 286 : Lentulus was one of Catiline's party. He and Cethegus were strangled in prison. Their chief fell in the field. Pompey's head was cut off and the trunk buried by the sea-shore, so that he fared worse, says the poet, than Catiline and his fellow-conspirators. According to Dio, xxxvii 40, Catiline's head was sent to Rome, and though Dio's account of the circumstances attending the conspiracy is not very clear, the fact would seem probable, *Cic. de Divin.* ii 9, which should be read in conjunction with this, 120, note. The ancients dreaded the mutilation of their bodies, from the idea that they would retain the marks in a future state. Plato taught this; and cf. *Virg. Aen.* vi 494, sqq. So *manesque subivit Integer et nullo temeratus corpora damno*, *Stat. Silv.* ii 1 155. Nero, in his last moments, expressed the greatest anxiety that his head should not be cut off by his enemies, *Suet. Nero*, 49, and so likewise Otho, *Tac. Hist.* ii 49. Compare *Appul. Met.* iii 49, *duplicatur mihi moestitia quod integro saltem mori non licuerit*. This is akin to the belief among many savage tribes that there are modes of death which kill the soul as well as the body.

298 : sqq. Compare *Hor. Epp.* i 4 8 ; *Pers.* ii 31, sqq., and *Seneca Epp.* 60, *Etiannum optas quod tibi optavit nutrix tua aut paedagogus aut mater?* *Nondum intelligis, quantum maii optaverint?* *O quam inimica nobis sunt vota nostrorum.* 290 : *murmure* the right word, *Ov. Met.* vii 251. 291 : *Usque ad delicias votorum.* There is much disputing as to the meaning of these words. Heinrich says they mean *usque ad ineptias*, "to a foolish fondness." I think now that this must be something like the sense. "To the extent of refining in her prayers." She is not satisfied with praying for beauty. She goes into details. 292 : *pulchra . . . Diana*, *Virg. Aen.* i 498, sqq. 295 : *suam*, i.e., *faciem*. Virginia would be happy to change faces and to take the hump into the bargain, or *gibbus* may be a wen, as at vi 109. *Rutila* is any one with a hump. *autem*, "besides," as at

314. 295, 296: comp. Plin. Epp. iii 3. 298: *prudicitiae*, vi 1, note. Ovid represents the union of beauty and chastity as impossible, *Non possunt ullis ista coire modis*, Am. iii 4 42. 299: We have had the Sabines before, iii 169, note. *tradere* is "to teach," vi 239. *horrida domus* is much the same as *casta domus luxuque carens*, of Lucret. 303: Ov. Met. ix 757. 304: *viros* is the reading of all the best MSS. Others have *viris*. Either will do. The poets, it is true, generally have the dative after *licet* (Heinsius ad Ov. Her. i 4 64, has collected many examples from Horace, Ovid, and Martial, to which others might be added, from Lucan, &c.), but the accusative is admissible, Cic. in Verr. iii 96, and elsewhere. In some of the above passages, the MSS. vary between the dative and accusative, as here. So also in a passage of Appul. Apolog. 4. Where the pronoun is omitted, the construction in prose would generally be with the accusative, in verse with the dative for preference, but optional; as, *licet esse beatos*, prose; *licet esse beatis*, poetical, most usual. But we have got *viros* here, and must leave it alone. Jahn and Ribbeck have invented *viro*, without the slightest necessity, vi 464, note. There is the poet's usual strain of exaggeration in all this. Free-born young Romans were not, at any time, so commonly castrated that the probability of such a thing happening to one of them, if handsome, could be held up as a reason for not praying that he should have good looks. Moreover, there is a confusion. Though the parents are persons of antique virtue in 298 299, they suffer themselves to be bought, 304 305. Unless *domus* be taken to be the forefathers, to the exclusion of the parents themselves. But this does not improve the passage much. *vultum modesto sanguine ferventem*, a happy expression, something like the *purpureus pudor*, of Ovid, and the *purpureo suffusus sanguine candor*, of Statius. *facies liberalis multo sanguine multo rubore suffusa*, Plin. Epp. i 14. 311: sqq. *adulter publicus*, "a professional adulterer." The Julian law was very severe on this offence, both parties being liable to heavy fines, banishment, and civil incapacities. It seems, however, that in some cases the irate husbands took the law into their

own hands. Compare, Hor. Sat. i 2 37, sqq., and Valer. Max. vi i 13. 313: an allusion to the story of Mars caught in adultery with Venus by her husband Vulcan, and enclosed in a net, Ov. Met. iv 170, sqq. 314, 315: *exigit autem ille dolor*. Sen. de Tr. An. 15, *id agere te oportet ut dolori tantum des quantum poscit, non quantum consuetudo*. Valer. Max., loc. cit., says the outraged husbands, *in vindicanda pudicitia dolore suo pro lege publica usi sunt*. 317: *mugilis*. This punishment of the "mullet" is alluded to by Catullus, 15, *Ah! tum te miserum malique fati, Quem attractis pedibus, patente porta, Percurrent raphanique mugilesque*. The reason of this fish being selected is, perhaps, to be found in Plin. H. N. ix 17, who speaks of their *salacitas*, and Aristotle, Hist. An. v 4, makes a similar observation. The *ραφαίς*, "radish," was used among the Greeks for driving into the same part of the adulterer's person, *τῷ πρώτῳ*, Aristoph. Nub. 1066. 318: But your Endymion, you flatter yourself, will prove more lucky, "and serve a beauteous mistress all for love," Gifford. Oh, no! he won't stop there. *exuet*, "she will strip herself," is better than "he will strip her." Compare vi 236, *Advocat Archigenem*, and note. Cf. Mart. iv 28. *udis*, Mart. xi 16 8. *Catulla* has occurred at ii 49. Jahn and Ribbeck join *Catulla* with *deterior*, which does not improve the sense. The meaning is that an abandoned woman has all her character in that part, sc. *inguinibus*; as we say of a glutton, that his soul is in his belly.

324: sqq. Hippolytus, son of Theseus, resisted the advances of his step-mother Phaedra, daughter of Minos, king of Crete, who thereupon accused him to his father, who caused him to be killed by the agency of Poseidon. The story of Bellerophon is similar. Anteia, and not Stheneboea, is generally given as the name of the woman who tempted him. 326: *haec*. 10, note. But I have always thought the reading should be *hac repulsa*. 329-345: The poet here refers to the well-known story of C. Silius and the Empress Messalina. He was a handsome youth whom the empress fell in love with and married publicly, during the absence from Rome of her husband Claudius. The latter remained ignorant of the whole affair till it was revealed to him by his

freedman Narcissus, whereupon Silius and Messalina with many others were put to death. Juvenal says, "Look at the consequences of personal beauty in the case of Silius. If he resists Messalina's advances, instant death awaits him. If he gives in, he will have a slightly longer lease of life, it is true, till such time as the emperor hears of the affair. In either case, a speedy and violent end is his portion." *flammeolo*, "the bridal veil," Petron. 26. *lectus genialis*, "the marriage-bed;" *versae sunt in exequias nuptiae, genialisque lectus mutatus in funebrem*, Senec. Controv. 335 : *et ritu, &c.*, and a dowry will be given after the old custom; a dowry amounting to a million sesterces. This seems to have been the usual dowry among the upper classes, like £10,000 with us. *Caesar, quamvis posthabitam, decies sestertii dote solatus est*, Tac. Ann. ii 87, cf. Sen. Consol. ad Helv. 12. 336 : cf. Tac. Ann. xi 27, and Suet. Claud. 26, *Cum comperisset . . . C. Silio etiam nupsisse, dote inter auspices consignata*. The *auspices* attended at weddings, though the practice of taking *auspicia* seems to have been given up by this time. *Apud antiquos non solum publice sed etiam privatim nihil gerebatur, nisi auspicio prius sumpto; quo ex more nuptiis etiamnum auspices interponuntur. Qui quamvis auspicia petere desierint, ipso tamen nomine veteris consuetudinis vestigia usurpant*, Valer. Max. ii 11. Cf. Becker's "Gallus," sc. i, exc. i. *signatoribus*, iii 82. 339 : *pereundum-lucernas*. There may be an allusion here to executions taking place by daylight. *Quid tam inauditum quam nocturnum supplicium?* Sen. de Ira iii 19. Note of Lipsius. 341 : *Nota urbi et populo. Matrimonium Silii vidit populus et Senatus et miles*, Tac. Ann. xi 30. Seneca has the same term, *Urbibus notus et populis*, Epp. 66. 342 : *Dedecus ille domus sciit ultimus*. So Dio, of this transaction, says *ταῦτ' οὖν καὶ ὑπὸ τάρταρον ἀκούσμενα καὶ δογματικὰ τίς γεῖν, Κλαύδιος ἡλάθαντι*, lx 31. *si tanti* is the common reading, and I think it far preferable to *sit tanti* (an ironical command), which Heinrich and Ruperti, followed by Maclean, take from P.

346 : *Permitte*. So Horace, *Permitte Divis caetera*, Od. i 9 9; and *teque totum coelestium arbitrio permitte*, Valer. Max. vii 2, extern. 1, in a passage which our author has copied, *Socrates . . . nihil ultra petendum a Diis immortalibus arli-*

trabatur, quam ut bona tribuerent. Quia ii demum scirent quid unicuique esset utile: nos autem plerumque id votis expetere quod non impetrasse melius foret, &c. 355: *tomacula* (from *τίμων*) were some sort of mince-meat made of the intestines of the pig. They may have been like our sausages. They are mentioned by Mart. i 42 9 10, *fumania qui tomacula rancus Circumfert tepidis coquus popinis*, and Petron. 31 (according to one reading), and 49. 356: *roga bonam mentem, bonam valetudinem animi, deinde corporis*, Sen. Epp. 10. 357: *mortis terrore*, the principal cause of man's unhappiness, according to Epicurus. 358: I have given in the translation the sense usually attached to these words; upon which Ribbeck has an extraordinary criticism, to the effect that the real Juvenal never would have spoken of *extremum vitae spatium* as a blessing, because every one, even if he die in infancy, must have "a last stage" of his life. Surely it is unnecessary to reply to this. I am by no means sure, however, that the line does not mean, "who reckons mere length of life the smallest of nature's boons." At 188 *spatium vitae* is used expressly for "long life," and as equivalent to *multos annos*; and precisely in this sense does Seneca use the word Epp. 49, *doce non esse positum bonum vitae in spatio ejus, sed in usu*. There could be no objection to the expression *extremum inter munera* (as was once suggested to me by a scholar), any more than to *primus inter pares, orator unus inter omnes*, &c. 360: *Nesciat irasci*, in our idiom, "is incapable of anger," as at xi 100, *Tunc rudis et Graias mirari nescius artes . . . miles*. Macrobius has quoted part of this line, as Gronovius noticed, *Fortitudinis passiones ignorare, non vincere, ut nesciat irasci, cupiat nihil*, In. Somn. Scip. i ch. 8. *labores* at the end of 359 and 361, with *potiores* at the end of 360 (cf. 103 104, note), is certainly not suggestive of the "limae labor." *pluma*, properly, "a feather-bed," is here used for luxury, vi 88. 365: *habes* is the reading of most MSS. P. reads **abest*. Lactantius, in bk. iii of his Institutes, "de Falsa Sapientia," quotes these lines as follows, *Nullum numen abest, si sit prudenter, sed nos Te facimus fortuna deam coeloque locamus*; at least they are so printed in the early editions of Lact. He may have quoted from memory; at any rate his authority is not decisive.

Scholars need not be informed how often Servius, &c., mis-quote lines; and there are cases where even a wrong author is cited. To give but one instance, Seneca, Nat. Quaest. iv 2, quotes part of a pentameter from Ovid, which is to be found in Tibullus. I see no difficulty at all in *habes*, though Macleane says, "I can make nothing satisfactory of it." We must put a comma after *prudentia*, and then the poet turns to Fortune and addresses her directly (compare iv 123 124, xiii 80 81, vi 466, vi 7, the commonest possible trick with the poets), "You have no divine power over us if we are only gifted with prudence. It is we men who make a goddess of you, O Fortune." *numen* for "divine authority" is very common, *at credo mea numina tandem Fessa jacent*, Virg. Aen. vii 297, &c.; *numen historiae*, "the divine power of history," Plin. Epp. ix 27; *formaque numen habet*, Ov. Am. iii 3 12. *numen Senatus* in Cic. These lines are repeated, in part, in Sat. xiv. Virgil has something not altogether unlike the second clause in its boldness, *an sua cuique Deus fit dira cupido?* May not a man's own desires become a god to him? Compare Juv. xiii 86; Plin. H. N. ii 7; and very much the idea of the first clause is conveyed in Cic. Balb. 4, *in quo uno ita summa fortuna cum summa virtute certarit, ut omnium judicio plus homini quam deae tribueretur.*



INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE XI.

AN invitation to his friend Persicus to dine with him during the festival of the Megalesia. After censuring the gluttony of men who could not afford the delicacies to which they treated themselves, and whom their belly often reduced to beggary, the poet dwells on the necessity of “cutting one’s coat to the size of one’s cloth,” as we say. He then describes the dinner which he proposes to set before his friend, by way of showing that his practice agrees with his precepts, a young kid, asparagus, eggs, fowls, and fruit. This would have been considered a luxurious dinner in the old times,—the simplicity of which he proceeds to contrast with the luxury of his day. Coming back, after a long digression, to his dinner, he says his friend will find no luxurious commodities, such as ivory, in his house. The handles of the knives are of bone. There will be no carver and house-steward. Two plainly-dressed and well-behaved young slaves will wait at table and serve the wine. There will be no dancing-girls, or tomfoolery of that kind—amusements to be left to the rich. Instead of that, Virgil or Homer will be read aloud. In conclusion, the poet begs his friend to cast off all care when he enters his doors, and to enjoy his holiday, while the silly people outside are all flocking to the Circus and the games.

There is nothing in this Satire to indicate its date, except the allusion to the poet’s age, 201–203. See notes to 64 and 204.

NOTES TO SATIRE XI.

1: *Atticus* is any rich man, and *Rutilus* is a man who has beggared himself. T. Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero, was very wealthy. According to Cornelius Nepos, Life of Atticus, 5 14, he inherited two large fortunes which he greatly increased by judicious investments and speculations. His name may have become proverbial. 3: *Apicius* was mentioned at iv 23. 4: *stationes* are places of public resort, *Plerique in stationibus sedent, tempusque audiendi fabulis conterunt*, Plin. Epp. i 13 and ii 9. 5, 6: While he is of an age for serving in the army, *maturus bello*, viii 169 (compare vii 33), he enlists as a gladiator. *tribuno* is the emperor, according to Ruperti. The emperor does not force Rutilus to be a gladiator, like Nero, "but neither does he prevent him," as he should do. *fertur scripturus* is rendered by Heinrich and Macleane, "it is reported that he means to write out." This is very tame. *Fertur scripturus* is like *raptur extinguendus*, x 332, *feruntur praecipites*, &c. *Is qui ardens fertur*, Cic. pro Sext. Rosc. Amer. 31, the same expression. The man who might be serving his country is impelled by the ardour of his blood—to enlist as a gladiator, and copy out the trainers' rules. Compare Suet. J. Caes. 26, *Tirones . . . per equites Romanos atque etiam per senatores armorum peritos erudiebat . . . enitens . . . ut disciplinam singulorum succiperent, ipsique dictata exercentibus darent*. Mr. Simcox has here one of his extraordinary notes, "fertur,—he has not put down his litter." *ardens = ardet* vi 328, note. 8: *lanista* seems to have been an Etruscan word, originally signifying "butcher." Isid. Or. x quoted by Friedl. 11: *viv. cau. viii 84.* 13: *perlucente ruina*, a metaphor from the daylight shining through the cracks in a ruined house. *gustus (gustatio)*, or *promulsis*, formed the commencement of the *coena*, and consisted of dishes calculated

to excite the appetite. In Petron. 21, the guests are *gustatione mirifica initiati*. Mart. x 48 13. Here it means "dainties," "relishes." 15: *animo*, "their fancy," "inclination."

16: *magis . . . emuntur*. Martial has the same idea. *Rustica sim an perdix quid refert si sapor idem est Carior et perdix sic sapit illa magis*, xiii 76. *Quidquid quaeritur, optimum videtur*, Petron. 93. 17: *peritum*. *pereo* has often occurred in this sense. *periturae chartae*, i 18, &c. If they have made up their minds to ruin themselves, it is easy to get one last sumptuous repast by selling the remains of their plate, &c., and to consume the dainty on earthenware dishes, the only ones left them, *una comedunt patrimonia mensa*, i 13&. *gulosum fictile*, vi 657, note. *miscellanea*, "the mixtures," messes served up to gladiators. 21: *paret*, "provides," "furnishes." *Ventidius*, any wealthy man. Another Ventidius was mentioned at vii 199. There was a Ventidius Cumanus, joint procurator with Felix (before whom Paul preached) in the government of Judaea, who plundered, and enriched himself as usual, and was deposed. It is hardly probable that he is alluded to. The subject to *est, sumit, trahit*, is *haec eadem parare* got from *haec eadem paret*. 25: *Omnibus sc. ceteris*, as often, below 42. *cuncia patrimonia*, x 13. 27: *Sacculus* is a little money-bag. Catullus says his *sacculus* was *plenus aranearum*, "full of spiders," i.e., empty, 13. *yr̄abī sisavor*, the well-known precept attributed to various sages. 28: *figendum*, "to be deeply implanted," as *primo fige loco*, v 12. 31: Not even Thersites with all his impudence. We have had him before, viii 269 271. *traducebat*, viii 17, note. 32: *magno discrimine*, not so much "great nicety," as "great moment;" a cause requiring a great orator, such as an appearance on behalf of provincials against a governor, &c. 34: *Matho* has been mentioned in i 32, and vii 129. Curtius must have been another spouting causidicus of the same stamp. *buccae*; compare iii 35, *notaeque per oppida buccae*; and the word is used for persons in Mart. xi 61 2. Here it means "wind-bags," mere puffers out of their cheeks. *bucco* occurs in the same sense in Plaut. Bacch. v i. 35: *spectanda*, means more than "to be kept in view," Evans. It means "that it must be carefully tried and examined," cf. vi

371, note. The sentiment here expressed is a poetical rendering of Seneca, whom Juvenal seems to have studied carefully, as we have so often had occasion to notice, *Aestimanda sunt deinde ipsa quae aggredimur, et vires nostrae cum rebus quas tentaturi sumus comparandae*, de Tr. An. 5. 38: Compare Hor. Sat. ii 2 95, sqq. He has *deficiente crumena* in Epp. i 4 11. 40: *rebus mersis in ventrem*, just like *demissio in viscera censu*, Ov. Met. viii 846. 41: *Pollio*, perhaps the Crepereius Pollio of ix 6 7, who parts at last with his ring, the badge of equestrian or senatorial rank. Indeed it would not be of much use to retain it. Martial says of a pretender *Oppigneravit Claudi modo ad mensam Vix octo nummis annulum unde coenaret*, ii 57 7 8.

44, 45: Mr. Evans appears to have mistaken the sense. "It is not the funeral pile, or the grave, that is luxury's horror." But *acerbum* goes with *funus* (ἀώρας θάρατος). *Abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo*, in the well-known passage, Vir. Aen. vi); and *praematuri cineres, funus acerbum* and *senectus* are, all three, the subjects to *metuenda*. 46: *conductus* is very rarely used of money. Hor., Sat. i 2 9, has *Omnia conductis coemens opsonia nummis*. 49: *vertere solum* is explained by Cicero (who often uses the term), *qui volunt poenam aliquam subterfugere aut calamitatem eo solum vertunt hoc est sedem ac locum mutant*, pro Caec. 34; and the expression may be used in the same sense in Petron. 81, *libidinis suae solum vertit*, "runs off to fresh amours," where all the commentators give another meaning. *ostrea* is far better than *Ostia*, another reading. The very little (*paulum nescio quid*) still remaining they intend to devote to gormandising. 50: *foro*, where the money-changers had their offices, x 25, note. 51: *Esquiliae*, &c., "to change his abode from one part of the town to another." *Subura*, iii 5, note, v 106, x 156, and 141 of this Satire. The Esquiliae were called *gelidae*, at v 77. *ferventi* here seems to mean "hot." It might also mean "busy." 53: *cariusse anno Circensisibus anno*, a terrible privation for the Romans, iii 223, x 81, &c. 54: *sanguinis . . . gutta*, "not the shadow of a blush is to be seen on their faces." Compare x 301. *fugientem morantur*, "detain her in her flight."

55: Here, says Ribbeck, the genuine satire begins, and

he rejects all that has preceded, as he rejected the beginning of Satire iv 1-36. No doubt both these Satires would be improved by losing their prologues. I think, however, that the preface to this Satire is not so objectionable as the corresponding lines 1-36 of Satire iv, which have absolutely nothing to do with the subject. The talk about gluttons and spendthrifts might very well precede the friendly invitation to a frugal meal. It does not seem to me unlikely, that the poet had both these passages ready written by him, and tacked them on. If the Satire begins at *Experiere*, there is an awkwardness about the words *pulcherrima dictu*, which seem to refer to something which has gone before. 56 : *Persice*. This name has occurred before, as *orborum lautissimus*, iii 221, but there can be no connection between the two. 59 : *dictem*. Some commentators take this to be when they are out marketing together. "The master goes out marketing with his slave and sends him back with orders for dinner," Simcox, or, it may be, gives him orders in public to go and buy one thing, and secretly, another; which the poet says he does not do. Certainly *dictem* cannot mean at the tête-à-tête supper, where it would be impossible for the host to deceive his guest in this way. *placentas* are "honey cakes." Cato R. R. 76, gives a minute receipt for them. 60 : "You shall find in me an Evander, and you shall come like a Hercules or an Aeneas, and be as hospitably received by me as they were by him." Evander, though hospitable, was poor, and that explains the comparison here, *tum res inopes Erandrus habebat*, Virg. Aen. viii 100, viii 359-365. *Tirynthius*, Aen. viii 228, from Tiryns, a town of Argolis. Aeneas was the son of Venus, and his father Anchises traced his origin to Zeus. *contingere* (or *attингere*, Plin. Epp. vii 24) *sanguine aliquem* is "to be connected by blood-relationship with any one," Galba . . . *nullo gradu contingens Caesarum domum*, Suet. Galb. 2. So *contingere* simply. *quos contingo*, "my relations," Sen. de Cons. ad Helv. 4 Aeneas was drowned in the river Numicius, Hercules burnt on Mount Oeta. Line 63 seems to come in feebly; Heinrich rejects it. It looks like a gloss. 64 : sqq. Gifford says, Martial has imitated this bill of fare, in x 48. I doubt whether there

be any imitation at all, but if so, it is more likely to have been the other way. Martial's tenth book was published in A.D. 99, in its present form, but there had been a previous edition as he informs us, x 2, in which this epigram may have appeared. Supposing it, however, to have appeared for the first time in the second edition, I am inclined to think that this Satire is of later date. In 203 the poet seems to speak of himself as an old man. Not, however, that too much weight should be attached to this, especially in the case of a satirist. The late Mr. Thackeray in some of his writings speaks of himself as an old man at a time when he was about forty years of age, and Persius in his prologue certainly hints at poverty being the cause of his writing, which we know was not the case, and again speaks of his old age, i 9, *canities* (though some choose to give it a different sense). Any number of such instances might be adduced, yet if we are to indulge in conjecture, I think it would be safer to conjecture that Juvenal copied from or parodied his friend Martial than the converse. Compare Mart. v 78. 64 : *fercula*, i 94. *nullis ornata macellis*, as *nullus tota nitor in cute*, ix 14 ; *nullo gemit hic tibicina cornu*, ii 90 ; *nullo cogente Nerone*, viii 193, vi 589. *ornare* is used in the same way by Hor., *tum penialis uva secundas Et nux ornabat mensas cum duplice fico*, Sat. ii 2 121 ; *ornare pulvinar Deorum dapibus*, Id. ; *ornare pecunia*, Plin. Epp. iii 21. 65 : It would seem from this that the poet had a farm near Tibur. Martial had a farm, too, from which he sent a present to his friend Juvenal, vii 91. 67 : *toto grege mollior*, cf. ii 164, note. 69 : *posito* for *deposito*, as often, 76 below. 69, 70 : They are wrapped up in hay-bands to keep them warm. The pears of Signia in Latium, and of Syria, and the apples and pears from Picenum were celebrated, as the commentators quote numerous passages to show. 72 : *parte anni*. Mr. Simcox renders this, "by the season," "preserved by the cold of late autumn and early winter," and adds, "It is as well to keep to the common instrumental sense of the ablative; as the ablative is seldom used of duration, though instances are found, as Cic. N.D. ii 130." But the ablative of duration is constantly found in writers of this period; *ex. gr.*, in Pliny the younger, *paucis diebus aegre refocillatus*, Epp. iii 14, iv 9,

&c., &c.; in Tac. and Sueton. (cf. Zumpt. § 396), and Mart., *viginti litigat annis*. Later on, this use of the ablative perpetually occurs.

77: *jam*. Here you have already a luxurious supper, even for the senate of old days. Maclean renders, “for our senate when it had grown to be luxurious,” which is not, I think, the sense. Juvenal’s respect for the senate has been shown at 29. 78: *Curius*, ii 3, note. The poet may have had in his mind Seneca de Cons. ad Helv. 10, *Scilicet minus beate vivebat dictator noster, qui Samnitum legatos audit, cum vilissimum cibum in foco ipse manu sua versaret?* But the story was a common one, and is told by Seneca again, de Provid. 3, and with variations by Valer. Maxim. iv 3 5, as well as by Plutarch, Cicero, and others. The diminutives should be observed here, *parvo, brevibus, oluscula*. Compare iii 226 227. 80: *squalidus fossor*, a slave working in chains at the *ergastula*, vi 150, note, and viii 180. It would seem that vast estates were cultivated by gangs of slaves working in chains, Sen. de Ben. vii 10. 81: who remembers the dainties of a cookshop at Rome. Horace says to his slave, *fornix tibi et uncta popina Incutient urbis desiderium video*, Epp. i 14 21 22. *vulva*. The womb of a sow that had just littered was considered a great delicacy. It was still better if she had slipped her young, at least, so Pliny tells us, H. N. xi 37; Hor. Epp. i 15 41. 82: sqq. Compare Hor. Sat. ii 2 116 117, *Non ego . . . temere edi luce profesta Quicquam praeter olus, formosae cum pede pernae*; and Ov. Met. viii 648, which seems to be imitated, *Sordida terga suis, nigro pendentia tigno*. 86: sqq. The picture of the good ex-Dictator trudging back from work, his spade on his shoulder, “a little earlier than usual,” to such a dinner, is in the poet’s best manner. Compare Hor. Od. iii 6 37, sqq., *rusticorum mascula militum Proles Sabellis docta ligonibus Versare glebas*, and Ov. Fast. iii 781 2. 89: *domare terram*, for, “to dig,” “to plough,” is common, *ex aratro domefacta tellus*, Petron. 99; Stat. Theb. vii 333. 90: *autem*, “moreover,” as in x 295 314, &c. *Fabios*, etc., censors of the old time. The next allusion is to Claudius Nero and Livius Salinator, colleagues in the censorship, B.C. 204. The story is told in Livy xxix

37, and Valer. Max. ii 9 6. 94: *testudo*, vi 80, note. 95: *Trojungenis*, i 100, note. The figure of an ass's head, sacred to Bacchus and garlanded, was sometimes to be seen, he says, cast in bronze on the small old-fashioned bedsteads of the day, devoid of every other ornament; and the boys used to poke fun at it. In the Kirsch. Museum at Rome, there is a bronze seat found near Osimo, inlaid with the figures of Silenus and an ass. Asses were also crowned in honour of Vesta, *Vesta coronatis pauper gaudebat asellis*, Propert. iv 1 21, but this was with bread, by the bakers who employed them to turn their mills, Ov. Fast. vi 311, Vesta (*ioria*) being the goddess of the hearth.

100: *mirari nescius*. Compare x 360. *nescius irasci*. Horace has *rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor*, Sat. i 10 66. There may be an allusion here to the destruction of Corinth by Mummius B.C. 146, when the Roman soldiers signalised themselves by their acts of Vandalism. Mummius, says Strabo, was more brave and generous than an admirer of the arts, and presented the choicest objects without hesitation to any one who asked for them; and he relates, on the authority of Polybius, how valuable pictures were thrown on the ground and soldiers played at draughts upon them, &c., Strabo, viii p. 381. Comp. Sall. Bell. Catil. ii. 103: *Ut phaleris gauderet equus*. The first prize which Aeneas bestows at the foot-race is *equum phaleris insignem*, Aen. v 310. 104: The Romulean wild beast is the she-wolf that suckled Romulus and Remus, "the twin Quirini;" and the god who comes down with shield and spear, and hangs in mid-air, is Mars (*Bellice depositis clypeo paulisper et hastu Mars ades*, Ov. Fast. iii 1 2), descending to visit Ilia, according to the scholiast. There were medals representing Mars in this position. Juvenal, by a poetical license, supposes the soldier to have these devices embossed on his helmet, as Aeneas carried various incidents of Roman history on his shield. At 106, *fulgentis* is the reading of many MSS. for *venientis*, and it would be no argument against it that *fulgebat* occurs in the next line but one, x 103 104, note. Hildebr. App. Met. suggests *frendentis*. *Clip. ven. et hasta*. The construction is like that of *venit et agresti capitis Silvanus honore*, Virg. Ecl. x 24,

as pointed out by Coningt. ad loc. 109 : *Tusco catino*, which was very common, Pers. ii 60. 110 : is ironical. 111 : *praesentior*, iii 18. In these lines allusion is made to the story related by Livy, v 32, how M. Caedicius told the tribunes, *se vocem noctis silentio audisse clariorem humana, quae magistris dici juberet Gallos adventare*. This was about B.C. 390, and consequently in the old time. Comp. Virg. Georg. i 476. 116 : *fictilis Jupiter*. In the days when, as Pliny relates, Tarquinius Priscus sent for an artist to Rome, and commissioned him to make a statue of Jupiter for the Capitol, *fictilem cum fuisse*, H. N. xxxv 12 ; but in those days all the statues of the gods were *ligneal* or *fictilia*, H. N. xxxiv 7 ; *Fictilibus crevere Deis haec aurea templa*, Propert. iv 1 5 ; Livy, iii 27 ; Virg. viii 178 ; Plin. Epp. ix 39. The sentiment in the text is reproduced from Seneca. Epp. 31, *Cogita illos (Deos) cum propitiis essent, fictiles fuisse. Tunc melius tenuere fidem cum paupere cultu Stabat in exigua ligneus aede Deus*, Tibull. i 10 19 20 ; Ov. Fast. i 202.

117 : *domi natas*, "home-made." 118 : *stabat* as *exstebat*. 120 : sqq. Compare Lucan i 163, *mensaque priores Aspernata fames*. 122 : sqq. Compare Mart. ii 43 9 10, *Tu Libycos Indis suspendis dentibus orbis, Fulcitur testa fagina mensa mihi*, and Juv. i 137. The wealthy Romans were very fond of choice tables, and had a great number of them. At banquets, there were sometimes more tables than guests, as appears from Plin. H. N. xxviii 5. *violatus*, cf. iii 20. 124 : *porta Syenes*. In Catullus, 36 15, Durrachium is called *Adriae tabernam*, i.e., the emporium to which dealers congregated, as here Syene is the "gate" through which the traffic passed, cf. viii 160. Tacitus speaks of Syene as *clastra olim Romani imperii*, Tac. Ann. ii 61. All this about the elephant shedding his tusks, when too large, is fable. 125 : *Mauri celeres*. They are described by Tacitus as *per latrocinia et raptus apta bello manus*, Hist. ii 58. 128, 129 : a silver pedestal would be quite common in their estimation. 130 : *res* of articles of food. *bonisque rebus agil laetum convivam*. Hor. Sat. ii 6 110. Boot on Cic. ad Att. iv 10. 131 : *adeo nulla*, so literally, "not an ounce;" "so far from having an ounce that not even have I," &c., *adeo*, with a negative, gene-

rally bears this sense. *nullius repentinae honoris, adeo non principatus appetens*, Tac. Hist. iii 39, i.e., so far from being ambitious of the throne, that he wished for no kind of sudden honour to be thrust upon him. *structor* we had at v 120. It would seem that professors in this art taught their pupils to practise carving on wooden models, and the clatter they made, says the poet, sounded all over the Suburra, iii 5, note. *sumen* was a great delicacy with the Romans, Mart. xii 44, Pers. i 53, &c. It was the breast of a sow, before she had been suckled. The *pygargus* and *oryx* are both mentioned by Plin. H. N. viii 53. The former must be some sort of a deer with a white rump.

139 : *Scythicae volucres* are pheasants, “*phasianae aves*,” from the river Phasis, on the confines of Scythia, Mart. xiii 72, and Petron. 93; *Ales Phasiacis petita Colchis*, Id. 119. *phoenicopterus*, Mart. iii 58 14 and xiii 71. Its tongue was a great delicacy, according to Pliny. *linguae phoenicopterorum, et alia portenta luxuriae*, Sen. Epp. 110. *Afra avis* occurs in Hor. Epod. 2 53. *Non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum*. In Petronius 93, they are called *Afiae volucres*. *Atque Afiae volucres placent palato, quod non sunt faciles*, because they are not easily procurable, cf. 16 of this Satire. They are probably the same as the *Numidicae*, of Pliny, H. N. x 48, a variety of the guinea-fowl. **144** : *ofella*, the diminutive of *offa*, as *mamilla* from *mamma*, &c., is “a scrap or slice of meat,” *Parva tibi curva craticula sudet ofella*, “let it be cooked on the gridiron,” Mart. xiv 221, x 48 15, and xii 48. What the poet means is that his youthful attendant has not the chance of making off with the remains of costly delicacies. He knows nothing of the dainties served up at great houses and the ways of the servants there. At most, his peccadilloes consist in clearing off some scraps of steaks or chops. **146** : *a frigore tutus*, warmly clad, protected from the cold; not dressed up like the Oriental slaves in great houses. **147, 148** : *mangone*. *Millia pro puerō centum me mangō poposcit*, Mart. i 59. Compare with this passage, Statius Silv. ii 1 72, sqq. **149–151** : Compare Mart. x 98. **150** : *Idem habitus cunctis*. There is no favourite among them. *tonsi rectique capilli*, not lads with flowing locks, a Bromius, vi 378, note, an Acersecomes,

viii 128, note. Their hair is straight, not curled. Curled hair would be a sign of effeminacy, *puer crispus, mollis, formosus*, Petron. 97. *propter convivia*. Compare i 141, *apros animal propter convivia natum*. 152: sqq. It is impossible not to contrast the manner in which Juvenal speaks of his slaves with the brutal language of Horace, Sat. i 2 116, sqq. But even in these lines, 152 153, which have been described as "true and touching," "the best sort of poetry," there is a chord which vibrates harshly to the modern ear. The idea of the boy regretting his mother, and torn from the scenes of his infancy, does not add to the cheerfulness of the supper. 152, 153: *matrem et casulam et notos haedos*, cf. ix 60 61, *rusticus infans Cum matre et casulis et collusore catello, &c.*, which Naevolus wishes to have. 154: "There is a play upon *ingenuus*. His was an honest face, and a frank modesty, such as boys who are born of free parents (*ingenui*) should have," Maclean. There is the same play on the word in Mart. iii 33, *Ingenuam malo, sed si tamen illa negetur Libertina mili proxima conditio est, Extremo est ancilla loco, sed vincit ultramque Si facie nobis haec erit ingenua. Est illi facies liberalis . . . ingenua totius corporis pulchritudo*. Plin. Epp. i 14. 155: *quos . . . vestit*, "those who wear the toga praetexta." There is a dash of satire in this. The poet has alluded to *praetextatos mores* in no favourable terms, at ii 170. 156: *pugillares*. This is apparently a false quantity, the *u* being elsewhere short. 156-158: Mart. i 24. 158: *vellendas . . . alas*. It would seem, from a passage in Seneca, that in his time it was not considered effeminate to have the arm-pits plucked, *Alter se justo plus colit, alter se justo plus negligit, ille et crura, hic nec alas quidem vellit*, Epp. 114. 161: *patria* is often used to designate the part of the Empire of which a person was a native. So "patrie" in French. A Breton or Auvergnat, in Paris, will speak of Bretagne or Auvergne as "la patrie." Pliny calls Comum his *patria*, Epp. iv 30.

162: *Gaditana*. The city of *Gades* (Cadiz), remarkable for its luxury, seems to have sent to Rome many of the female singers and dancers who were engaged to appear at the banquets of the rich, *nec de Gadibus improbis puellae Vibrabunt sine fine prurientes Lascivos docili tremore lumbos*, Mart. v 78;

and cf. Mart. iii 63, vi 71, xiv 203; Stat. Silv. i 6 71. Compare with this passage and lower down (177-180), the epistle of Pliny on the subject of his modest dinner invitation, *Audisses comoedum vel lectorem vel lyristen . . . at tu apud neacio quem ostrea, vulvas, echinos, Gaditana maluisti*, Epp. i 15. 164: *dunis* is feminine in Horace, *pulchrae clunes*, Sat. i 2 89. 165, 166: These verses are omitted in some MSS. In others they stand after 202, and in other places. Compare Mart. iii 86, to a matron, *Sed si Panniculum si specias casta Latinum Non sunt haec mimis improbiora, lege.* 168, 169: *major voluptas, &c., quantula nostra voluptas*, vi 254. 170: *urina movetur. Tuccia vesicae non imperat*, vi 64. *non capit*, "has not room for." 171, 172: *nudum olio stans, &c.*, vi 122, note, *tunc nuda papillis Constituit auratis*. Horace describes a prostitute in nearly the same words, *olente in fornice stantem*, Sat. i 2 30. *stans* is "standing for hire." 175: *Lacedaemonium orbem*. "The pavement which was formed of small pieces, round or oval, of marble (from Laconia)," Macleane. Appuleius exactly describes a pavement of this kind, *Enimvero pavimenta ipsa lapide pretioso caesim diminuto in varia picturae genera discriminantur*, Met. v 89. Salm. ad Spartan. Pesenn. Nig. 6, says that tables are meant. *pytismate*, cf. Hor. Od. ii 14 26. *pytisare* was "to take the wine in the mouth as if to taste it, and then to spit it out." The process is described very closely in Terence, Heaut. Tim. iii 1 48, *Nam ut alia omitam, pytisando modo mihi Quid vini absumpsit, sic hoc dicens; asperum Pater hoc est, aliud lenius sodes vide, Relevi dolia omnia, omnes serias*, I had to uncork all my wine. Cf. Vitruv. vii 4, *Ita conviviis eorum et quod poculis et pytismatis (or sputismatis) effunditur, simul atque cadit, succedit*. It may be this practice that is alluded to in Petron. 38, *plus vini sub mensa effundebatur quam aliquis in cella habet*. The Greek word is πυτίζειν. καὶ τὸ μὲν δέντρον ικτυρίζουσι, Athen. Deip. iii. The poet says, "Let those fine people who amuse themselves with spitting out wine on their marble floors, delight in these things; they don't suit my condition." 176: sqq. *alea . . . vocantur*. See i 2 of this Satire, and viii 182, note. 180-182: *dubiam facientia palmam*, as the Romans and critics of the middle ages

thought. Cf. vi 434, sqq., where the lady at dinner weighs Homer and Virgil in the scales. Quintilian, Inst. Or. x 1, quotes with approval a saying of Domitius Afer, *Secundus (Homero) est Virgilius, propior tamen primo quam tertio*, "a good second." On the practice of listening to a reader at meals, cf. Epp. i 15 of Pliny, quoted on 162, Mart. v 78 25, and Pers. i 30, sqq. It is probable that a kind of "recitative" is meant. Cornelius Nepos says of Atticus, c. 14, *Neque umquam sine aliqua lectione apud eum coenatum est, ut non minus animo quam ventre convivae delectarentur*. One would think that if the *Gaditanæ* could have been made to dance without indecency, they would have been preferable to this.

186 : sqq. A modern author could not indulge in such an allusion as this even in joke. *rexatas comas auremque calentem*. Compare Sueton. Aug. 69. *M. Antonius (Augusto) objecit feminam consularē e triclinio, viro coram, in cubiculum abductam rursus in convivium, rubentibus auriculis, incomptiore capillo, reductam*. 192 : *perit*, "is wasted," i 18, note.

193 : *Megalesiacae*, vi 69, note. *mappae*. A napkin was thrown by the praetor who presided, as a signal for commencing the games, *Cretatam prætor cum vellet mittere mappam*, Mart. xii 29 9. Tertullian says it was not a napkin at all, but an image of the devouring devil, which was projected, *mappam putant, sed est diaboli ab alto præcipitati gula*. From the popularity of the Circus, *missa mappa* came to be used metaphorically, "the signal being given." Pliny speaks of the games which he gave when he was praetor, when it seems that a friend presided for him, Epp. vii 11. 194 : *Idaeum solemne*, because the Megalesia were held in honour of Cybele, "the great Idaean mother of the gods." *similisque triumpho*, x 36, note, i.e., *similis triumphanti*. Meinertz Vind. Juven. p. 30, quotes Liv. xxviii 9, *uno equo per urbem triumphum vehi*. It may also mean "like one who is led in triumph," a possible sense which has not, I think, been noticed, and which the neighbouring words, *praeda caballorum*, might seem to favour. Lucan has *triumphus* in this sense, *omnes redeant in castra triumphi*, ii 644. But the former is better. *praeda caballorum*, because he had to spend so much money in providing the horses. *praeda*, "a victim," is common; *tua sum*

nova praeda Cupido, Ov. Am. i 2 19. *nec latronem oportet esse nec praedam*, Sen. de Ira. ii 17. **195** : *fragor*, for the noise of the circus and amphitheatre, Sen. de Tran. An. 2. **198** : *panni, favent panno, pannum amant*. “The colours it is that they are fond of,” Plin. Epp. ix 6. He adds that he himself, as might be expected, cared not a rush for the public games. We have heard of the fondness of the Romans in general for them, several times, iii 223, &c. For full information regarding the “colours of the drivers,” cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant., “Circus,” vii 113 114, note. **200** : *pulvere*. According to Livy, at the battle of Cannae, a great wind arose and blew dust in the faces of the Romans, *ventus . . . adversus Romanis coortus, multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit*, xxii 46. **202** : *sponsio*; compare Ovid, A. A. i 167, *Dum loquitur, tangitque manum, poscitque libellum Et quaerit positio pignore vincat uter*, where *libellus* is our “card of the races,” Mart. xi 1 15. *cultae*, Macleane says, is equivalent to *amatae*. I think not. At iii 189, he objects to Ruperti giving that sense to *cultis servis*. It would be just as appropriate there as here. Tertullian de Spectac. 25, speaks of *omni spectaculo . . . mulierum et virorum accuratiō cultus*, their “get up,” which is the exact sense here, cf. Juv. iii 94 95. *culta* for *ornata* is constantly found in Ovid, *visuraque fratrem Culta venit*, Met. ix 460, &c. In the Circus, men and women sat together. In the amphitheatres they were separated. Some (as Ruperti) put 165 166 here, where they were quite out of place. How can *quod pudeat-ipsis* refer to the games of the Circus? **203** : *vernū solem*. The Megalesia were celebrated in April. The fondness of the Romans for sunning themselves is well known. In this respect they resembled the modern Lazzaroni, *toto avida cute combibe soles*, Mart. x 12. *sole uititur Charinus et tamen pallet*, Id. i 78 4; Pers. iv 18. For this purpose they had *solaria*, or terraces on the tops of their houses. Pliny, describing his uncle, writes *Post cibum saepe . . . aestate, si quid otii, jacebat in sole*, Epp. iii 5. **204** : *efugiatque togam*. They would not wear their togas indoors, at a tête-à-tête dinner, i 96, note; but they would have had to wear them, if they had gone to the Circus. There was an express order of Augustus on this point,

Sueton. Aug. 40, *jam nunc in balnea*, etc., i 49, note. *jam nunc*, "at once," "without delay." This was a holiday, so it would be allowable to bathe earlier than usual. According to Spartianus (quoted by Becker), Hadrian would not allow any one, except invalids, to bathe in public before the eighth hour, Hadr. 22. If this were to be depended upon, we should have an indication of the date after which this Satire could not have been written. This, however, is an appropriate place for remarking that indications of date drawn from what was forbidden by edicts or laws are often worthless. They were constantly evaded, or the edicts of one Emperor fell into desuetude in the reign of his successor. 206, 207: *quinque diebus continuis*. The festival lasted six days. 208: *commendat*, "enhances." So *Rara juvant*, Mart. iv 29 3; and he uses *commendat* in the same sense of "enhances the value of" in the next line but one, *Sic spoliatrixem commendat fastus amicam. Cujus (liberalitatis) pulchritudinem usus ipse commendat*, Plin. Epp. v 12, v 17. *utor*, *usus* in the sense of "to enjoy," "enjoyment," are common.

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE XII.

THE poet, addressing one Corvinus, informs him that he is going to celebrate a sacrifice in honour of the safe return of a friend (Catullus) who had very nearly been shipwrecked. The poet then describes the storm : not without a few satirical thrusts at his friend, who would seem to have been in a terrible fright, and to have gone so far as to throw overboard silver cups, and even thin dresses, to lighten the ship : and then, returning for a moment to the sacrifice, goes off into a long digression about fortune-hunters, prompted by a statement which he makes, to the effect that this Catullus has three children, and that, consequently, he (the poet) has nothing to look for from him. These fellows, he says, would sacrifice, in honour of a sick friend, a hecatomb, an elephant, their slaves, their own children, if they were allowed to do so, in order to get a legacy. Well! may they succeed, and much good may their genius do them.

Line 75 of this Satire (see note) would seem to show that it was written in or after Trajan's reign. We have no other indication of its date.

NOTES TO SATIRE XII.

1 : Horace says of Maecenas's birthday, *Jure solennis mihi sanctiorque Paene natali proprio*, Od. iv 11 18, and cf. 84 of the last Satire, and ix 51, v 37. The Romans used to offer sacrifices to their protecting genius on these occasions, and to entertain their friends. 2 : *cespes*, "a turf altar," Hor. Od. iii 8 4.

3 : *niveam agnam*. White victims were offered to the gods above; black, to the infernals. Each god had his favourite animal for sacrifice. In Aul. Gell. iv 3, we read of an old law of Numa compelling a prostitute, if she had touched the altar of Juno, to sacrifice a female lamb to her, as here; and a female lamb and a pig were also offered to her on the kalends of every month by the wife of the Rex Sacrorum.

reginae. Juno, the queen of the gods, *Ast ego quae Divum incedo regina*, Virg. Aen. i 46. *ducimus*, "we are leading to the sacrifice," 112 and x 66. 4 : Minerva carried the head of the Gorgon on her aegis. The story of this head of Medusa, and how it turned people into stone, is well known, cf. Ov. Met. iv ad fin. *vellus*, the fleece for the lamb. so *vellus* for a sheep, Ov. Met. vii 244; and *ebur* for elephant below 112. "Another white lamb." *meritae cadet agna Minervae.. Non facit ad nostras hostia major opes*, says Ovid (in the event of a ship reaching shore), Trist. i 10 43 44. 5 : The meaning is, that the animal goes willingly to the sacrifice, shaking the long and loose rope. If he had to be dragged there, it would be a bad omen. Pliny says that calves which had to be carried to the altar on men's shoulders, or which were lame, or struggled to get away, were not acceptable to the gods, H. N. viii 45. The same held good of other animals. If the victim got away altogether, it was a still worse omen, Suet. Tit. 10, where the Emperor is *tristior quod sacrificanti hostia ausfugerat*. Cf. Tac. Hist. iii. 56, and the note of Lipsius. This is

what Martial has in view when he writes, *Ipsæ suas anser properavit laetus ad aras* (quoted at iv 69, where see note), a ludicrous expression, which I think it probable that Juvenal parodies there. Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva were often worshipped together. In the temple of Capitoline Jupiter, on the Capitoline (or Tarpeian) hill, there were three compartments or *cellæ*, the middle one for Juno and Minerva. 8 : *spargendusque mero*. Wine and incense were poured upon the flesh while it was burning on the altar, and it would seem that wine was also poured on the head of the victim before it was killed, *dum vota sacerdos Concipit et fundit purum inter cornua vinum Haud exspectato ceciderunt vulnere tauri*, Ov. Met. vii 593, sqq.; Aen. iv 60, vi 243. 10 : *affectibus*. *Haec dabit affectus*, vi 214. 11 : *Hispulla*, vi 74, note. The poet says, if his means equalled his inclinations, he would sacrifice in place of a young steer, a prize ox, and one of the very choicest kind, an animal from the banks of the river Clitumnus in Umbria, where the pastures were celebrated for producing a white breed of great value, generally reserved to be sacrificed at triumphs, &c. Allusions to them are frequent in the poets, Virg. Georg. ii 146. Compare Sil. viii 452; Stat. Silv. i 4 127, sqq. 13 : *ostendens . . . sanguis. sanguis*, "the blood," for the high-bred one. 14 : The victim was generally killed, not by the priest, but by an attendant called the *popa*, Propert. iv 3 62, aided by a subordinate, the *culturarius*, who, perhaps, cut the throat of the larger victims when the *popa* had felled them with an axe. Juvenal says the ox should have been one that required a good strong fellow to knock it down. *cervix* is put by Ovid, in something of the same way, for the whole animal, *Apta jugo cervix non est ferienda securi, Vivat et in dura saepe labore humo*, Fast. iv 415, where I take *cervix*, and not *bos* (from a preceding line), as the subject of *vivat*. 16 : *incolumem sese mirantis*, "astonished at finding himself safe, or alive." *Incolumis* has the sense of "alive," in Horace, *virtutem incolumem odimus Sublatam ex oculis Quærimus invidi*, i.e., we hate it in its life-time. And in Virg. Aen. xii 38 39, *Si Turno extincto socios sum adscire paratus Cur non incolumi potius certamina tollo?* while he is still alive. Similarly, Pliny uses

the word in this sense, and contrasts it directly with *defunctus*,—*Nolo tamen quemquam opinari (libros) defuncto demum inchoatos, quos incolumi eo peregisti*, Epp. ix 1; and again in Epp. vi 8, he seems to translate ἐμοῦ ζῶντας by *me incolumi*; and Suetonius of Otho, *Denique magna pars hominum, incolumem gravissime detestata, mortuum laudibus tulit*, c. 12; Tac. Hist. i 46, and often elsewhere; and this may be the sense of the word in Pers. vi 37, *Tune bona incolumis minus*? “during your life time.” This sense is probably post-Aug. Cic. has *vivus et incolumis*.

22 : *velis ardentibus*, i.e., “with a burning ship.” The fire which strikes the yard-arms may mean what is called the fire of St. Elmo, an electrical phenomenon common in the Mediterranean. Pliny describes these flashes, H. N. ii 37, *antennis navigantium aliisque navium partibus seu vocali quodam sono insistunt*. He attributes them, according to the belief of his day, to Castor and Pollux. Cf. Hor. Od. i 3 2, *Sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera*. (St. Elmo is probably a reminiscence of Helena.) They are referred to by Seneca, Nat. Quaest. i 1. 23 : *si quando*. Heinrich, and others, would read *quam quando*, and so spoil the passage. The meaning is, “just the same incidents occur, when a storm gets up in poetry.” There is a dash of humour in this, which exactly suits the tone of the whole satire, in which humorous touches constantly mingle with serious descriptions. But Heinrich says, “This would have been bestowing praise on the poetical storm, which Juvenal could not have intended.” There is no question about “bestowing praise,” and it is strange how this able commentator sometimes flounders where there is no sort of difficulty. 27, 28 : an allusion to the votive paintings hung up at the shrine of some god, by those who had escaped shipwreck, similar to the offerings dedicated to the Virgin, &c., in Roman Catholic countries. *Nonne animadvertis, ex tot tabulis pictis, quam multi votis vim tempestatis effugerint?* Cic. de Nat. Deor. iii 37. One would have expected to find Neptune the deity selected, as in Hor. Od. i 5 13, sqq. (*Faunus* is introduced in this capacity by Virg. Aen. xii 766 sqq., but there would be a reason for this, Faunus being a great local deity; and besides the poet is inventing, at his

pleasure, about mythological times); but Isis had now become one of the most popular divinities in Rome, Juv. vi 489 529, ix 22, xiii 93, and as such, would naturally receive a large amount of invocation in all kinds of emergencies, dangers at sea included. That she was similarly appealed to in sickness, is shown by Tibull. i 3 27, *Nunc dea (Isis) nunc succurre mihi, nam posse mederi Picta docet templis multa tabella tuis.* Our poet never neglects the opportunity of having a fling at everything Egyptian. Some commentators cite xiv 302, but that refers to a different practice—that of carrying about a picture of the shipwreck, to excite pity and obtain alms. See note to the passage. Who does not know, says Juvenal, that there are painters who live by the production of these *tabulae*?

31 : *puppis*, must mean “the stern,” poop of the ship, where the pilot was posted. It “rolled,” as we should say, so as to prevent him from steering. Heinrich says that *puppis* cannot possibly mean the stern of the ship, because this would be true of the whole ship. I cannot see the difficulty. The poet’s attention is fixed at the moment on the pilot and the particular part of the vessel where he was placed, cf. 69 note. The man at the helm in the poop of the now crazy log was so knocked about by the waves that he found he could no longer steer. *arbor* is used for a ship in Ovid, Her. 12 8, *Phryxeam petit Pelias arbor ovm*, and *pinus*, in Hor. Epop. 16 57, and in Virgil and Ovid. *incertae* seems to refer to the uncertainty of the ship’s course, now that she no longer obeyed the helm. So *dubius. dubiam rege navita pinum*, Ov. Fast. ii 101. 33 : *decidere* is a law term. Cf. Long’s note to Cic. Verr. ii 1 48. 34 : This fable about the beaver is told by Pliny in books viii 30 and xxxvii 6 of his H.N. and by Appuleius, Met. i 7, *ea bestia captivitatis metuens se ab insequentibus praecisione genitalium liberat*, and elsewhere. Pliny, in xxxii 3, seems to have misgivings about its truth. There is this foundation for the myth that the substance known as “castor” is secreted by a gland near the prepuce of the animal. Pliny tells us, also, that elephants, when pursued, break off their teeth against trees, H.N. viii 3. Juvenal draws the illustrations which he wants in natural history from the natural history of his time, as he finds it, *ex gr.*, here, and the sheep of Baetica

below 40-42. **38, 39**: There is an undercurrent of satire here, which must not be lost sight of. Catullus has, it seems, among his luggage fashionable dresses, and *chefs-d'œuvre* of plate, 43, sqq. **40-42**: *Baetis* was the Guadalquivir, the neighbourhood of which (Baetica) was famed for its sheep and the quality of their wool. The colour seems to have been yellow, and was popularly supposed to have been derived from the waters of the river, *Corduba Baetin amat, Vellera nativo pallent ubi flava metallo, Et linit Hesperium bractea viva pecus*, Mart. ix 62. Pliny speaks of them as red, viii 48; cf. Mart. xii 99. The same notion prevailed as to other rivers, *ex gr.*, the Galesus in Calabria, from the pastures near which came the celebrated Tarentine wool, Mart. ii 43, iv 28, xii 63. **43**: The scholiast says, Parthenius was a *caelator*, which any one could have told. Heinrich thinks it means a Samian, from Parthenia, the ancient name of Samos. *urnae cratera capacem*, vi 426, *oenophorum plena quod tenditur urna*. **45**: *Pholus* was one of the centaurs, Virg. Georg. ii 456; Valer. Flacc. i 337 338, *cum signifero cratere minantem . . . Pholum*. Stat. Theb. ii 563 564, *in adversos Lapithas erexit inanem Magnanimus cratera Pholus*. The centaurs were generally represented as given to wine and women, Ov. Met. xii 220, *quam vino pectus tam virgine visa Ardet et ebrietas geminata libidine regnat*. *crater* was the vessel in which the wine was mixed with water, and from which the cups were filled. *con-juge Fusci*. There are two Fusci mentioned (different persons), one at iv 112, the other at xvi 46. This *may* be the wife of the latter, or the widow of the former. We have been told in Satire vi, and learn from a multitude of other sources, how kindly some of the Roman ladies took to drink, cf. ix 117. **46**: *bascaudae* came from Britain, and were the originals of our baskets. *Barbara de pictis veni bascauda Britannis Sed me jam mavult dicere Roma suam*, Mart. xiv 99. It will be observed that, in this passage of Juvenal, the word occurs in an enumeration of articles of plate; and similarly in Martial it figures among objects for the table—dishes, cups, &c., from which it may be conjectured that the delicate (and in Rome, no doubt, costly) workmanship of our ancestors may have assumed such forms as “vessels surrounded with basket or

rush work," as suggested by Mr. Evans; perhaps also table-mats for dishes, &c. *mille* (iii 8) is an indefinite number like *centum*, i 120, iii 229. 47: *empor Olynthi*, Philip, of Macedonia, who obtained possession of Olynthus by the treachery of two of its inhabitants, B.C. 347; and of many other cities in the same way. *Difidit urgium Portas vir Macedo et subruit aemulos Reges muneribus*, Hor. Od. iii 16 13; Sen. Epp. 94. Pliny says he slept with a gold cup under his pillow, H.N. xxxiii 3. We have here a valuable cup, described as one out of which Philip had drunk; as at vi 156, we had a valuable diamond that had been worn by Berenice, and (according to most commentators) at ii 99, the looking-glass that Otho had used, and at v 44, the jewels which had belonged to Aeneas. quo. Ribbeck objects to the absence of a preposition; but we have *gemma bibere* in Virgil, Georg. ii 506, and *fictilibus bibere* in our author, x 25 26. So *fictilibus coenare*, iii 168. 48, 49: There is a strong dash of satire in these lines, as applied to Catullus, who was flinging overboard his choicest valuables to save his life, and especially in *audet*. And observe also, *utilium*, below, "his necessaries." Ribbeck has altogether misunderstood this. 50, 51: Bentley pronounces these verses spurious, objecting, *inter alia*, to the expression *facere patrimonia* and *vitio caeci*. But Cicero has *facere manum* "to collect a band of men together," several times, and once *facere rasa aurea*, "to get together." Cic. Verr. ii 4 25. The great objection to the verses seems to me to be that they jar with the context.

52, 53: *sed nec Damna levant*. It is not likely that the throwing over of dresses, and cups, and bowls, &c., would produce much effect; but Catullus was terribly frightened. There is still a vein of mock seriousness about this. Mr. Escott renders "relieve their sufferings," which is quite wrong. 54: *ac se*. Heinrich (whom Maclean follows) has *hac re*, on the strength of one MS., and renders "relieves himself from the strait." He says that *explicare bellum*, *fugam*, *periculum*, etc., are common in this sense, *ex gr.*, *explica aestum meum*, "relieve me from my difficulty," Plin. Epp. ix 34. No doubt; but the question is whether our text will stand, supported as it is by almost the whole weight of

MS. authority. I think it will; and that *ac se* is just as likely to have been changed into *hac re* by an emendator, as the converse. *hac re* is certainly very tame. *explicat*. Observe the changes in tense here and elsewhere, and cf. i 155, note. **58** : *digitus*, the sixteenth part of a foot. This mode of dividing the foot was usually adopted by architects, land-surveyors, &c., *ex gr.*, Vitruv. vii 1, and would be appropriate in speaking of timber. One of the supposed sayings of Anacharsis preserved by Diogenes Laertius (cited by Heinrich) may have been in the poet's mind, *μαδάν τίταρας δακρύλους εἶαι τὸ τάχος τῆς νίνης, τοσοῦτον, ἵψη, τῷ θαράρευ τοὺς πλιόντας ἀτέχην*, i 103; cf. Juv. xiv 289, and Virg. Aen. ix 143. Seneca philosophises on this idea, *Erras si in navigatione tantum existimas minimum esse, quo a morte vita diducitur: in omni loco aequae tenue intervallum est*, Epp. 49 and compare Seneca, Medea, *Potuit tenui fidere ligno Inter mortes vitaque vias Nimium gracili limite ducto*, and M. Sen. Controv. iii 16, *parva materia sejungit fato* (of a ship.) When Captain Cook's ship, the *Endeavour*, was docked on her return from the South Seas in 1771, it was found that her planks were in some places only an eighth of an inch thick. The crew had traversed thousands of miles, with little more than the substance of an egg-shell between them and the ocean. *taeda* is pine-wood. **61** : *sumendas in tempestate*, "to be used in cases of a storm," not "to be taken on board in view of a storm," which would require in *tempestatem*.

64 : sqq. *Parcae*, iii 27, x 252, xiv 249. Their spinning white threads would show that they were favourable. On the other hand, *stamina pulla*, Mart. vi 58, or, *atra*, as Horace calls them, Od. ii 3 16, would be a bad sign. *nigrae sorores*, Stat. Theb. vi 376. **68** : *Vestibus extensis*. The people on board put up their clothes to act as sails. Ruperti quotes Tacitus, Ann. ii 24, where ships come back after a storm, *intentis vestibus*, and again Hist. v 23. **69** : *prora* is here spoken of as *puppis*, at 31, where see note. Of course the prow could not run on without the whole ship doing the same, but the poet speaks of it as the part of the vessel to which he is drawing attention; and it does not stand for the whole ship, any more than *puppis* in the above line, as is clear from the words *velo*

suo, its sail, i.e., the prow's sail, the foresail, *quod superaverat unum*, the only one that remained. The Romans had one, two, and three masted ships. This ship would seem to have had but one mast, 54, with a small foresail, capable of being set on the prow, *dolo*, Livy xxxvi 44 45, cf. Forcell. We need not, however, inquire too closely into the rig of the vessel, which may be an imaginary one; and even if it were real, the poet very likely was not much of an authority on such matters. 70: sqq. Iulus left Lavinium to his step-mother Lavinia, and founded Alba Longa. To this spot he was guided by a white sow with thirty young pigs, as had been predicted, Virg. Aen. iii 388, sqq., viii 42, sqq. *Alba potens albae suis omne nata*, Propert. iv 1 35. The legend which these writers, and Juvenal after them, followed, was a very old one. Varro, R. R. ii 4, says that at the time of his writing (circ. B.C. 36), there were statues in bronze of the sow and the pigs at Lavinium, and the body of the original sow (pickled) was shown by the priests. "Mons Albanus" (Monte Cavo) is a conspicuous landmark. 74: *numquam visis*, ix 34, note.

75: sqq. The harbour at Ostia was constructed by Claudius, Suet. Claud. 20, Dio lx 11, and was connected with the river by means of a canal. The port was protected by two moles running into the sea, so as to enclose an extensive space (*positas inclusa per aequora moles*). In the interval was a breakwater, or artificial island, with a lighthouse on it, in imitation of the Pharos at Alexandria, which was thus reproduced on the Italian coast (*Tyrrhenam pharon*). Beyond this breakwater, it seems that the arms or moles projected still further into the sea, with a curve (*porrectaque brachia rursum, &c.*). All this the poet conceives as the port, and he says the ship enters it, *intrat*. He reaches the moles and the lighthouse, &c. The harbour is more wonderful than any natural one. To this port Trajan added an inner basin or dock (*interrora . . . tuti stagna sinus*), for which the master makes. Consult for fuller details, Dict. G. and R. Geog., under "Ostia," where a plan of the harbour, &c., is given. This passage is of importance, as showing that this Satire was not written till the time of Trajan, if the scholiast can be trusted, which says *Trajanus portum Augusti* (which was the name it

bore, though constructed by Claudius), *restauravit in melius et interius tutorem sui nominis fecit*. In confirmation of this, it appears that the inner basin, the form of which can still be traced, is known at this day as "Il Trajano." Trajan, moreover, appears to have turned his attention to harbours and constructed a magnificent port at Centumcellae (*Civita Vecchia*), the works at which are described by Pliny, Epp vi 31. *orrecta brachia rursum*. After passing the breakwater, the moles swept out into the sea, and bent inwards again behind it in the form of a horse-shoe, *circumducto dextra sinistraque brachio*, Sueton. loc. cit. *Baianae cymbae*, "a small fishing-boat from Baiae." *vertice raso*. They had vowed their hair to some god, if they escaped the peril, or offered it as a thank-offering, a common practice. *naufragorum ultimum votum*, Petron. 103, 104, 105. *garrula pericula*, vi 657-659, note.

83 : *pueri*, "the slaves," *animis linguisque faventes*, keeping tongues and thoughts in a reverential mood. *favete linguis* Hor., *εὐφημίᾳ*. Ovid has the same expression as Juvenal, *linguisque animisque favete*, Fast. i 71, and Virgil, *ore favete*, Aen. 5 71, where the words precede a sacrifice, as here. 84 : *farra imponite cultris*. Meal was sprinkled on the forehead, and on the burning flesh, of the victim (*mola salsa*,—hence called *mica crepitans*, Hor. and Ov.,—"crackling" in the fire) and, it would seem, on the knife. According to Plin. H.N. xviii 2, it was Numa who first introduced the practice of offering corn to the gods. *molles focos glebamque videntem*, refer to the turf altars. 86 : sqq. After the sacrifice (the principal thing) is over, he will come back and put chaplets on the heads of his Lares, which were either made of wax, or "rubbed with wax and polished." Heinrich says the former must be wrong, because the Lares were at the hearth, and *waxen* images could not stand in such a position. It is most likely that in the modest abode of our poet, the *Lares* would still be at the hearth, though in the houses of the great they had a chapel of their own, *lararium*, *sacrarium*, *sacellum*, *aedicula*, Beck. "Gallus," scene, ii, exc. 1. These Lares appear to have been made of different materials. Propertius speaks of those of primitive times as *fictiles*; in Petronius 29, we have them of silver, *Lares argentei*. A pas-

sage in Suetonius, Vitell. 2, seems to imply that those of Vitellius were made of gold. These images were crowned on festive occasions, cf. Plautus, prolog. to Aulularia 23, where *Lar* speaks in person, *Huic filia una est; ea mihi quotidie Aut thure aut vino aut aliqui semper supplicat; Dat mihi coronas.* 89: *nostrum Jovem* is like *parvi nostrique Lares*, ix 137. The image of Jupiter would be among his Penates. 90: *Thura*. See passage of Plautus quoted above. *omnes violae jactabo colores*. So at the sacrifice, Aen. v 79, *purpureosque jacit flores*. Under *violae* are included other flowers besides that known to us as the violet; *ex gr.*, the pansy, and, perhaps, the campanula and the cheiranthus (Messrs. White and Riddle say "wall-flowers"). 91: *longos erexit janua ramos*. The author has decorated his door for this festive occasion, cf. vi 51 52; ib 78 79 228, ix 85. Lipsius, Elect. i 3, has a learned discussion on these decorations. 92: *operatur*, "takes its part in the sacred rites." It is better to take *festa* with *janua*, and *operatur* stands alone, as in Propert. ii 33 2, *Cynthia jam noctes est operata decem;* and *justis operata Divis*, Hor. Od. iii 14 6; *certis operata diebus*, Ov. Am. ii 13 17; *vidit se operatum*, Tac. Ann. ii 14, where other examples are quoted by Lipsius.

96, 97: *impendat . . . impensa*. See x 103 104, note. *coturnix*. Pliny says that quails were not eaten, because they fed on a venomous plant and were subject to epilepsy, H.N. x 23. Lucretius makes the first syllable in *coturn* long, iv 641. 98: *sentire calorem*, "to feel a touch of fever." The poet now plunges into a digression about fortune-hunters, and leaves Catullus and the shipwreck behind. He must attack some class of persons, some abuse of his times, he must point a moral, before he concludes. *legitime*, "in the approved way," x 338. 100: *tabellae* are the tablets on which the people inscribe their prayers for the patient's recovery. *porticus*, either of some temple, or of the house of the person who puts them up. For the *porticus* of a house, vi 163, iv 6, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Domus." 102: The fortune-hunters would be prepared to offer up elephants, if they could get them. But they are not to be procured, here, at least. *furia gente* are the Indians, xi 125, and the Africans. Pliny, H.N. viii, has a great deal about the elephant, of which he tells many

extraordinary stories, after his fashion. It would seem that the emperor kept a herd of them (for the shows) in the territory of the Rutulians, of which Turnus was the mythical king. Elephants were first seen in Italy in the war with Pyrrhus, *Molosso regi*, B.C. 280. 107: *privato*, vi 114, note. According to Vopisc. Aur. 5, Aurelian was the only Roman who ever owned an elephant, while a *privatus*. 111: *Novius* and *Hister Pacuvius*, two fortune-hunters. *ebur*, for the elephant which furnishes it, like *vellus* above—rather a bold expression. *nulla mora per*, vi 333. *tantis deis*, “these great people,” Gallita and Paccius. *enim*, “nay, indeed.” These people would not stick at an elephant; they would be ready to sacrifice the cream of their slaves, and their own daughter into the bargain, if they thought it would pay; they are prepared to imitate Agamemnon and lead their Iphigenia to the altar, although they can’t expect to see a hind substituted for her, as the tragic writers tell us was the case with the original one. Divested of rhetoric, they will do anything to get a legacy. 122: *Libitina*, the goddess of funerals, here used for death, as in Hor. Od. iii 30, *multaque pars mei Vitabit Libitinam*. 123: *Delebit tabulas*, “his will.” At ix 75, we had *ruperat tabulas*, of marriage tablets. *nassa* was an osier-basket, sunk in the sea by a line, which a fish, when it was once in, could not get out of; like our “crabbing-pots,” which are usually made of willow-branches. 125: *breviter* means “in a few words,” a complete and unconditional bequest of his entire fortune. 126: *incedet*, in the sense of “to crow over,” as in Hor. Epod. 15 17, *meo nunc Superbus incedis malo. rivalibus* is here “rivals,” generally, and not “rivals in love,” a late sense, vi 115, note. The original meaning is to be found in Ulp. *qui per eundem rivum aquam ducunt jugulata Mycenis* may be rendered “the slaughter of the Mycenian maid,” i 163, note. 128: *Nestora totum*, “a whole Nestor,” i.e., “the whole of a Nestor,” a Greek form. Nestor had become a synonym for longevity, x 246; Mart. ii 64, x 24, &c.

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE XIII.

THE poet sets to work to try and console one Calvinus, who has been robbed of a sum of money by a faithless friend to whom he had entrusted it. He tells the victim that all who know him sympathise with him, that the case is a common one, and that his fortune is such that he can very well bear with the loss. Excessive grief, in such a case, is out of place: the experience of life ought to help us, just as much as philosophy, to bear these things. The world is full of rogues. We are no longer living in the age of Saturn, when probity and reverence for age, and the other virtues, were practised. Now-a-days an honest man is a *lusus naturae*. And then, again, others have sustained losses far more severe than yours; and see how the swindling villains swear to their innocence by all the gods of heaven. Some of these people don't believe in gods at all, and so they swear with impunity; others do believe in them, but rob you all the same and risk their anger; and, therefore, they are quite ready to take any oath, and Jupiter makes no sign when they perjure themselves, and you begin to think his statue no better than a dummy.

Now, listen to the consolations of one who does not pretend to know much about philosophy. Your case is a very plain one, and requires no skilled physician. If there were no other example of similar villainy on record, you might be permitted to indulge in wailing. But look at the law-courts, look at the thieves and incendiaries that we hear of, the sacrileges that are committed, the poisoners and parricides! Ah, if you could only spend a few days in the office of the chief of the police, and hear all that he hears, you would cease to think yourself so wretched. You would no more wonder at people in Rome

being criminal than pygmies wonder at each other for being so small.

“ Shall guilt then meet with no punishment ? ” you ask. Yes, and a far more terrible one than you could inflict. You could only kill the man, and thereby gratify your revenge,— a mean and ignoble passion repudiated by the great teachers of philosophy. His own evil conscience will be his punishment. After describing, in eloquent terms, the fearful effects of an evil conscience, the poet concludes by telling Calvinus that the rogue is sure to come to a bad end at last, and to prove by his example that the gods are neither deaf nor blind.

As to the date of this Satire, see notes to 17 and 157.

NOTES TO SATIRE XIII.

1 : *exemplo malo*, "so as to be a bad pattern for imitation." Heinrich renders "malo modo, male." *exemplum* is not uncommon in this sense. *Si istoc exemplo tu omnibus qui quaerunt respondebis*, Plaut. Asin. ii 3 9, sc. *isto modo*; and often in Plautus, and elsewhere. But here something more is conveyed; as in Phaedr. i 26, *sua quisque exempla debet aequo animo pati*, "treatment of which he has himself set the example." *ipxi displicet auctori*. Compare Sen. Epp. 42, *nec ulla major poena nequitiae est quam quod sibi ac suis displicet*.

4 : *Praetoris urna*, either the urn from which the names of the judices were taken, or that in which they deposited the tablets containing their verdicts. We cannot tell how far the praetor, who presided in criminal cases, may have had special opportunities for tampering with one of these urns more than the other. He may have been able to "pack a jury," as we term it; or at the close of the trial—in which the judices pronounced on the guilt or innocence of the prisoner, by a majority—he may have given out a false return of the ballot, though we can scarcely suppose the latter proceeding to have been easy or common. In either case the meaning is, "Though the guilty man may be acquitted in a court of law by corrupt influence, he is not acquitted by his own conscience."

5 : sqq. The sense is, "Don't you know that all your friends sympathise with you? And, moreover, you can afford the loss." *crimine* is translated by Mr. Evans, "the charge you bring." It is better to render "crime," as at 24, below.

8 : *jactura*, iii 125, note. The introduction of the word here certainly produces a very confused metaphor, as Ribbeck does not fail to notice.

14, 15 : *spumantibus ardens visceribus*. So i 45, *siccum jecur ardeat ira*; and vi 648, *rabie jecur incendite*. Seneca

has *exaestuante ab imis praecordii sanguine* among the effects of anger, de Ira, i 1. The poet here and elsewhere in the Satire alludes to his friend's grief, in terms which do not give us a much higher opinion of his fortitude than that which we gathered of the courage of Catullus, in Sat. xii. 15 : *Debitor usuram pariter sortemque negabit*, Mart. v 42 3. It will perhaps be recollected that Pliny, in his celebrated letter to Trajan "de Christianis," mentions how they (the Christians) took an oath, among other things, *ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent*, Epp. x 97. 16, 17 : *qui jam post terga, &c.*, or, as Martial expresses it, *Condita cum tibi sit jam sexagesima messis*, iv 79 1. Sixty, *sexagesimus annus*, xiv 197, was an epoch in the life of the Romans, and the words imply that Calvinus had passed that age, not necessarily that he was in his sixty-first year, as Ruperti takes it. This is what Mr. Merivale, in his History of the Roman Empire, calls "the cardinal date," as to Juvenal's Satires; and, no doubt, if we knew what Fonteius is intended, we should also know, within a few years, the year when these lines were written, though not, as Mr. Merivale strangely supposes, that of the poet's birth. There were four men named Fonteius Capito, who bore the office of consul. (1) C. Fonteius Capito, consul suffectus, B.C. 33, who is clearly out of the question. (2) C. Fonteius Capito, consul, A.D. 12, who *may* be the man. If so this Satire may have been written in the reign of Vespasian; and this is not violently improbable, especially if we lean to the conjecture that, like the others, the genuineness of which has been questioned by Ribbeck, it is an early effort of the poet, composed before he had shaken off the "declamator," and discovered the direction in which his real powers lay. Martial, whom we know to have been his friend, was at this time thirty years of age; and there is no very strong reason for supposing that he was younger than Martial. And Rutilius Gallicus, 157, was certainly praefectus urbi in the reign of Domitian, and we are told by Pomponius, in that of Vespasian, iv 77, note. *Per contra*, as Heinrich well remarks, Germanicus was the other consul, in A.D. 12, and surely the year would be known as his year, and not that of Fonteius, who was utterly obscure. (3) C. Fonteius Capito, consul, A.D. 59. If he be

meant, we shall get A.D. 120, or thereabouts, which certainly corresponds with what we should judge to be the date of publication of some of the other satires. (4) L. Fonteius Capito, consul, A.D. 67. On the whole, number three is the most probable. 18 : *proficis usu*. Other readings are *proficit usu*, and *proficit usus*. Between the first and second there is not much choice; though I think the change of person in *proficis*, upon the whole, livelier. The third would also stand; but then nearly all the MSS. have *usu*.

19-22 : *sapientia* is opposed to *vita*. No doubt philosophy, with its precepts, is very sublime, but the experience of life might have taught you, as it has taught many others, to bear the ills of life. Others take *magna* with *praecepta*. 25 : *gladio* means "by assassination," x 20. *pyxide*, the (poison) box, for the poison which it contains. 27 : Boeotian Thebes was represented as having seven gates; Egyptian Thebes, xv 6, a hundred. The Nile was held to have seven principal outlets, or channels. *divitis*, in allusion to its fertilising powers. 28 : *Nona* is much better than *Nunc*, the reading of P. We have got very low indeed; this must be the ninth age, with no metal worthless enough to designate it. If *nunc* be retained, the meaning will be, "Now we are in a worse age and a worse epoch," &c., as if it were *peior aetas*; cf. ii 122, *Scilicet horrees majoraque monstra putares*, and note. One MS. has *Non alias agitur*, which Mr. Simcox pronounces to be "a very pretty conjecture." It would not, otherwise, be necessary to notice it. 31 : *pro deum atque hominum fidem* was a common mode of expression. *fidem* is here "assistance." So in Catull. 63, Ariadne says, *Coelestum-que fidem supra- comprecep hora*. The expression may have been sometimes used in other senses; and often, perhaps, like many of our expressions, with no very clear sense attached to it. See Long. note ad Cic. Div. in Q. Caec. 3. 32 : This Faesidius is a man who gets his clients to come and applaud him when he pleads. The practice is referred to by Plin. Epp. ii 14. *Sportula*, i 95, the thing for the person, as in our poet, passim. 33 : *bulla dignissime*, "in your second childhood." For *bulla*, cf. v 164, note. 36 : *Exigis*, the Fr. "vous exigez." 37 : *rubenti*, from the blood of the victims.

41 : *privatus*. He had not yet attained supreme power, vi 114, note. At vi 15 16, we have *Jove nondum barbato*, as *virguncula Juno*, here. The whole of this passage brings out strongly two marked characteristics of the author: his love "temporis acti," and the delight with which he ridicules the mythology of his country. **43** : *puer Iliacus*, Ganymede. *Herculis uxor*, Hebe. *ad cyathos* means "as cup-bearer." *Puer quis ex aula capillis Ad cyathum statuetur unctis?* Hor. Od. i 29 7 8. **44** : sqq. Vulcan comes in thirsty from his forge, and, after a drain of nectar, wipes off the sweat from his sooty arms. *jam siccato nectare*, "now that he has done with his nectar." **46** : sqq. *prandebat*. *prandium* was a plain, early meal. *nec turba Deorum*, &c. In those days, all sorts of foreign deities, deified heroes, Caesars, &c., &c., had not been added to the heavenly roll. *Augusto crescit sub principe coelum*, says Manilius, iv 928. **48** : *Atlanta*. This would be an anachronism, according to the commonly received account of Atlas, who was condemned by Zeus to bear heaven, after the contest with the Titans, in which he took part. Ovid, Metam. iv, tells another story. **49** : *triste imperium profundi* is the sea, and Neptune is meant. Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, the three sons of Saturn, divided his empire between them. **50** : *Sicula conjugi*. Pluto carried off Proserpine from Sicily. **51** : The wheel of Ixion, the stone of Sisyphus, the vulture that preyed on the liver of Tityos, did not yet exist.

54 : sqq. The reverence paid to age in the olden times has been celebrated, and no doubt exaggerated, by many writers. *Magna fuit quondam capitis reverentia cani*, says Ovid. This is one of the passages which Ribbeck points attention to, as showing that this Satire cannot be from the pen of the "real" Juvenal. The exaggeration, he says, is too great. Yet the language of Aulus Gellius, a very prosaic writer and no satirist, is nearly as strong, *Apud antiquissimos Romanorum neque generi neque pecuniae praestantior honos tribui quam aetati solitus: majoresque natu a minoribus colebantur ad Deum prope et parentum vicem; alique omni in loco, inque omni specie honoris, priores potioresque habiti*, N. A. ii 15. **54-59** come in rather strangely. **57** : *plura domi fraga*, &c., though he belonged to a wealthier family. The stores of primitive food were

their only wealth. So in Lucret. a primitive woman is won over by a gift of some acorns, &c., v 965. 60: Cf. Ter. Phorm. i 2 5 6, *Praesertim ut nunc sunt mores; adeo res reddit,* *Si quis quid reddit, magna habenda est gratia.* 62: *Tuscis digna libellis,* "worthy of being recorded in the Etrurian books," i.e., the books kept by the Etrurian soothsayers, in which, among other things, connected with religious observances, various wonderful portents were set down. Pliny speaks of one which he says he found in *Etruscae disciplinae voluminibus*, H.N. ii 83. Cicero speaks of the *libri Etruscorum*, de Divin. ii 23, and i 33; and cf. de Div. i 41. *Tyrrhenica carmina*, Lucret. vi 381. From Etruria, as is well known, came a large portion of the Roman religious creed and ritual, especially what related to divination, sacrifices, &c. 63: The ill which prodigies were supposed to threaten had to be averted by sacrifices, Cic., de Div. i 2, who adds, *omnem hanc ex Etruria scientiam adhibebant.* Livy tells us a sacrifice was offered, on a mule with three feet, being born, xl 2; so also when an ox spoke and it rained milk, and other wonderful events occurred. *bimembri* must mean "half man half beast." Such a boy is mentioned by Livy among his prodigies, *cum elephanti capite puerum natum.* The word is usually applied to centaurs. A mule with foal would be a prodigy, something like that which the poet supposes at ii 123, *Si mulier vitulum vel si bos ederet agnum.* Suetonius mentions one case of a mule having a foal, a prodigy which encouraged Galba in aiming at the Empire, cf. Sueton. Galb. 4. Showers of stones are common, Livy, Valerius Maximus, &c.; cf. Tibull. ii 5 72. The "wondering" plough is exactly in the poet's style, as we noticed at vi 657. We have three examples in close proximity to each other further on, *irato sistro, locupletem podagram, esuriens ramus.* Valer. Flacc. has *insons aratrum*, i 103. Another reading, *mirandis*, is adopted by Jahn. It is very tame, and has no better authority than the other. *uva* is "a cluster of bees." Compare Plin. H. N. xi 17, *Tunc (apes) ostenta faciunt privata ac publica, uva dependente in domibus templisve, saepe expiata magnis eventibus.* Virg. Aen. vii 67. *lactis vertice torrens.* Virgil has *torto vertice torrens*, Aen. vii 567. Showers of milk we have just cited from Livy, and Pliny

speaks of the atmosphere raining blood and milk, as not unfrequent, H. N. ii 56, where he also mentions showers of flesh, iron, wool, and baked tiles.

72 : *decem sestertia*, $10 \times \text{£}7$, 16s. 3d. (the value of the sestertium after the time of Augustus), i.e., about £78. Not a very heavy loss for a man of considerable property, £7, above. *bis centum* would be twenty times as much, about £1560. 74 : *angulus arcae*, the corner of the chest for the chest itself; as we should say, "the sides of the chest," or "its circumference," if it were round. 75 : *Tam facile et proum est*, cf. ix 43, *An facile et proum est.* *pronus* has the same meaning as *facilis*. *Prona tibi vinci cupientem vincere palma est*, Ov. Am. iii 14 47. 79 : *frameam* is "a lance," or "pike," as Tacitus expressly tells us, *hastas, vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas, gerunt*, Germ. 6. And in xi 106, we had the image of the same god, *clipeo venientis et hasta*; at xi 130, *nec terram cuspide pulsat*; all names for the same weapon. At x 20, Ribbeck is not satisfied with a Sarmatian *contus* in the hand of a Roman footpad (see note). He has more reason to be dissatisfied with a German *framea* in the hand of a Roman god. *Cirrhaei ratis*, Apollo. vii 64. The virgin-huntress is Diana. 81 : *pater Aegaei Neptune*. The Greek Poseidon, all of whose attributes came to be transferred to the Roman Neptunus, had his palace in the depths of the sea near Aegae, in Euboea. 84 : For examples of fathers swearing by their sons' heads cf. Plin. Epp. ii 20, Virg. Aen. 300. 85 : *Phario aceto*, "Egyptian vinegar," which the scholiast says was strong. Martial says it was better than the wine it was made from, xiii 122.

86 : sqq. Juvenal may here allude to the Epicureans, but he may also have in view the great mass of unthinking people who charged everything upon fortune. *Toto quippe mundo et locis omnibus, omnibus horis, omnium vocibus, Fortuna sola invocatur; una nominatur, una accusatur, una agitur rea, una cogitatur, sola laudatur, sola arguitur et cum conviciis colitur . . . Huic omnia expensa, huic omnia feruntur accepta . . . adeoque obnoxii sumus sorti ut sors ipsa pro Deo sit*, Plin. H. N. ii 7. 93 : *Isis*, xii 28, note. The *sistrum* (from *etren*, to shake) was a kind of rattle, used by the ancient Egyptians, and particularly in the worship of Isis. There is an engraving

of one in G. and R. Ant., art. "Sistrum." Martial speaks of the worshippers of Isis as *linigeri calvi, sistrataque turba*, xii 29 19. *abnego*, "repudiate,"—as we say, of a debt. 95: *dimidium crus*, "a leg reduced to half its natural size," i.e., a shrunken leg. Heinrich renders, "a broken leg," and quotes viii 4, and xv 5, and 57. I think, taking the context, *phthisis* and *vomicae putres*, the former is the meaning. Seneca speaks of *contracti cruris aridos nervos*, and, a little further on, of *vomica*, Epp. 68. '96: *tanti*. Some put a note of interrogation here. "Are consumption, &c., of so much consequence?" but with a full stop, the sense is more forcible. "Consumption, &c., are worth the price." This is an amplification of what has preceded, *Dummodo tel caecus teneam quos abnego nummos*. For this sense of *tanti*, which is very common, cf. iii 54, *tanti tibi non sit opaci Omnis arena Tagi*; vi 137, *tanti vocat ille pudicam*; x 97. Pliny says, *magno mihi seu ratio haec, seu facilitas stetit: sed fuit tanti*, i.e., it was worth the expenditure, Epp. viii 2; and the beautiful line of Tibullus, *Non ego sum tanti, ploret ut illa semel*, ii 6 42. 97: i.e., let him rather pray for the gout than fail to keep the money. *Ladas*. There were two well-known runners of this name; but the more celebrated was a native of Laconia. His name had become proverbial. *Non si Pegaseo ferar volatu, Non Ladas si ego pennipesve Perscus*, says Catull. 55 24 25. Sen. Epp. 85. *Si non eget Anticyra nec Archigene*, if he is not out of his senses. *Anticyra* was a town in Phocis, celebrated for producing the best hellebore, which was the supposed remedy for insanity. Hence the proverb Ἀριξίδης οὐ δῆ applied to a person who acted in a foolish way, which the poet has rendered here, by *eget Anticyra*, cf. Pers. iv 16. Erasmus (quoted by Maclean) mentions a Greek proverb, Ἄσκληπιοῦ δέσθαι, corresponding to *Archigene eget*. The latter was a well-known physician, who has already appeared in vi 236. 99: The Olympic games were celebrated near Pisa, in Elis, which originally held the presidency of the Olympic festivals. Hence *Pisaeae ramus olivae*. It is called *esuriens*, as a contrast to *locuples podagra*. 100: The slowness, and yet the certainty, of divine vengeance was a very common topic both in Greek and Roman writers. Plutarch has a treatise on it. *Lento quidem gradu ad vindictam sui divina*

procedit ira tarditatemque supplicis gravitate compensat, Valer. Max. i 1, extern. 3; *Sera quidem (Dei) manet ira tamen*, Stat. Theb. v 689; *dii immortales, lenti quidem sed certi vindices generis humani*, M. Sen. Controv. v 29. Here the offender is represented as thinking of its tardy pace only. *pede poena cludo*, Hor.; *tarda Poena*, Tibull. Perhaps it may never come up with him; or, the gods may prove forgiving. They must indeed have had a good many cases to attend to, if one of Plautus's characters speaks truly, *Siquidem incubare (Jovi) velint, qui perjuraverint, Locus non praebeti potis est in Capitolio*, Curc. ii 2 18 19. *Quod nemo novit paene non fit*, says the woman in Appuleius, Met. x. *seruat multos Fortuna nocentes*, Lucan, iii 448. *sed* is "moreover," "more than this."

107: *confirmant*. We have here the plural, the singular preceding and following, "So these people go on," &c. This change is not uncommon in the Latin authors. A good instance occurs in Catull. 64, where Ariadne, speaking of the male sex, says, *Jam jam nulla viro juranti femina credat, Nulla viri speret sermones esse fideles Qui dum aliquid cupiens animus praegetis apisci Nil metuunt jurare, nihil promittere parcunt*. *formidine* is the apprehension caused by a consciousness of guilt. *ad delubra vocantem*, sc., "to swear." He will go there before you and perjure himself of his own accord. 109: *superest*. Ribbeck has given the right sense of this, and Mr. Evans has it correctly rendered, "when a wicked cause is backed by impudence." *superesse alicui*, in this sense, is to assist a man with one's advocacy. It is so used by Augustus in Sueton. Aug. 56. Aulus Gellius, i 22, censures this employment of the word; but he admits that it was general and accepted. *adesse* is the usual word. 110, 111: The allusion is to some farce of Catullus, the playwright, who has been spoken of at viii 186, note. *urbani*, "of the town," hence "smart," "witty." *salibus vehemens intra pomeria natis*, Juv. ix 11. *nonnulli urbanorum*, "some of the town wits," Suet. J. Caes. 20; Hor. Sat. i 10 13; Quint. vi 3, &c. So *urbanitas* in our sense of "cockney-jokes, tricks," Tac. Hist. ii 88. And so, on the other hand, the country is spoken of as heavy, devoid of wit, *Idem infaceto est infacetior rure*, Catull. 22 14. *rustice*, awkwardly, Cic. 112, 113: The commentators quote from

Homer, Il. v 785 and 859, which doubtless Juvenal had in view. Stentor shouts like fifty men; but Mars like ten thousand. *Gradivus*, ii 128. 119: *Vagellius* is unknown. He occurs again at xvi 23, as a *declamator*. He was probably some frothy spouter, who put up a statue of himself, as we saw, in Satire vii, that lawyers sometimes did.

120: *Accipe* is either, Hear what consolations he can give, or accept the consolations, &c. The poet says, I can put you in the way of obtaining some comfort, though I don't profess to be acquainted with the doctrines of the various philosophical schools, Cynic, Stoic, or Epicurean. Those who wish to be better informed than Juvenal on the leading doctrines of these various sects under the Empire should consult Lecky's "European Morals," vol. i. The Cynics were called *ἀχερτοί*, which explains *tunica distantia*. Seneca says of Demetrius, one of them, *Demetrium virorum optimum mecum circumfero et relictis conchyliatis cum illo seminudo loquor, illum admiror*, Epp. 62. Epicurus and his garden occur again at xiv 319. Pliny says, he was the first to lay out a garden at Athens, H. N. xix 4. *suscipit*, "looked up to," occurred at ix 57. 124, 125: Your case is such a simple one that it requires no professor in the art to treat you. You may allow a mere novice to bleed you. Bleeding was a universal remedy in the old times, vi 46, as bleeding and calomel have been up to our day. *Philippus* must be some obscure practitioner. *dubius aeger* is a sick man in doubtful case. So *dubius* simply. *Cur modo te dubiam pavidi flevere parentes?* Ov. Her. 20 199. 126: sqq. *Si nullum in terris, &c.* The case is no exceptional one. The world is full of bad men. This is what the poet said at starting. This Satire seems to me a very undigested work. 129: *claudenda est janua*, as in the case of a death in the house; and the loss of money, he goes on to say, is held to be something still more dreadful. Beating the breast, &c., and rending the garments, were familiar signs of grief, *scissaque Polyxena palla*, x 262. *diducere*, another reading is *deducere*; and these two words, like others prefixed with *di* and *de*, are perpetually interchanged in the MSS. Macleane, who reads the former, says, in his off-hand way, "*deducere* has no meaning here." On the contrary, it would

be quite correct. Ovid has *tunicam summa deducere turpiter ora Ad medium*, Am. i 7 47, where the MSS. present no variation, and Calpurnius (the best MS. reading, and so Glaiser edits), *Deduxi tunicas, et pectora nuda cecidi*, iii 30. However, *diducere* has a shade better MS. authority. 133: *hum. coact. lacrimis coactis*. Virg. Aen. ii 196. 134: is, of course, objected to by some critics. 135: *cuncta fora*, ii 52. There were three principal *fora* in Rome, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant., ad verb. 136: *decies*, "a score of times," as we should say. *diversa parte lectis*, i. e., after the documents have been carefully gone over ever so many times, and settled between the parties, so that there can be no doubt whatever as to the identity of the instrument. So Heinrich takes it, and I think he is right. Hodgson, in his translation, gives the same sense, "though ten times o'er perused by careful witnesses before." 137: This line is repeated, with the variation of *dicens* for *dicunt* at xvi 41. *ligni*, the tablets were of wood, waxed. 138: *gemmaque princeps Sardonychum*. Though these fellows deny their debt, they are rolling in wealth. The signet-rings with which they have sealed the repudiated deeds are of costly sardonyx. The sardonyx has been mentioned at vi 382, and vii 144, and cf. Pers. i 16, *natalitia tandem cum sardonyhce albus*, i.e., in his holiday attire, of which a ring of this stone formed a part. Pliny has a good deal about the sardonyx and the estimation in which it was held by the Romans, H. N. xxxvii 6, and in c. 1 of the same book he says that the famous ring that Polycrates threw into the sea was of this stone. Herodotus and the other writers speak of it as an emerald. 140: *delicias*, cf. vi 47. *delicias hominis*. 141: *gallinae filius albæ*. Columella (cited by Heinrich and Ruperti) says that white hens were not prolific, Re Rust. viii 2 7, which explains this passage. "Why should you have come into the world under exceptional circumstances?" There is also, no doubt, a reference to white as a lucky colour. If Juvenal had read, or remembered, the above passage in Columella, he might perhaps have given a different illustration, since that writer represents white hens as being particularly liable to be pounced upon by "hawks" and birds of prey, from being more easily seen.

145 : inc. sulf. coepit. ξιφη τε και στυπα και θεον εις την Κιθηνην φιροντες οικιαν, Plut. Cic. 146 : primos cum janua colligit ignes. Compare ix 98, candelam apponere vulvis. 148 : robigo seems to be rust, as applied to any metal. ferrugo is properly the rust of iron, and aerugo, of brass. Pliny, H. N., applies robigo to both, *aes ac ferrum robigo corripit*, and in another passage to gold; see Forcellini. Horace applies it to corn, apparently in the sense of blight or mildew, *nec pestilentem sentiet Africum Fecunda nitis nec sterilem seges Robiginem*, Od. iii 23 5 7, and so Virgil and Ovid. We speak of corn rusting. 150 : minor, "ready to commit sacrilege on a smaller scale," "ready to turn a dishonest penny in any way." The man who before now has melted down a full-length statue of Jupiter, won't hesitate, if there is nothing better to be done in his line, to scrape the gold off the thighs of a Neptune, &c. (In the next satire, 261, we hear of the helmet of Mars being stolen.) This is the only way in which we can give a clear sense to this passage, but even thus it must be confessed that 153 does not come in very well. It would be better away. 154 : mercatorem, "the purchaser," xiv 143. 155 : deducendum, a metaphor from a ship. Cf. viii 213, note. 157 : quota pars, scelerum. *Et quota pars ista scelerum est?* Sen. de Ir. ii 8. *quota portio faecis Achaei?* Juv. iii 61. *Rutilius Gallicus* was praefectus urbi, iv 77, under Domitian, and possibly under Vespasian, and the friend of Statius, the poet, Silv. i 4. Either, therefore, the first draft of this Satire dates from Vespasian, 17 note, or Gallicus is used for the prefect of the day; why, it is difficult to say, for Gallicus was not a well-known man. The *praefectus urbi*, after the time of Augustus, was a sort of magistrate, and chief of the police with very extended powers, cf. Dict. G. and R. Ant. 162 : goitre is still common in the Alps. *Quis tumidum gultur miratur in Alpibus?* is very much in the style of *Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?* at ii 24. 164, 165 : Martial has an epigram on the *flava caesaries* of the northern nations. *Arctea de gente comam tibi Lesbia misi, Ut scires quanto sit tua flava magis*, v 68. Tacitus speaks of the Germans' *truces et coerulei oculi*. The swelled breasts of Meroe are otherwise unknown to us. This passage seems a remi-

niscence of Sen. de Ira. iii 26. 172: *assidue*, "continually." Often as these sights occur, no one laughs. Heinrich renders "attentively." This illustration is not very happily introduced. In the country of the pygmies, certainly no one who looked on at their combats with the cranes (and who could look on except pygmies?) would be likely to laugh; but this would be not on account of the commonness of the sight, but of its peril.

176, 177: *nostro necari arbitrio* is "to be put to death in any way we choose." *Thraseae Soranoque et Serviliae datur mortis arbitrium*, are allowed to choose their own mode of death, Tac. Ann. xvi 33; Sueton. Domit. 8. 178-180: Some take from *sed* to *ipsa* as the speech of the objector. The sense will then be, "But the slightest quantity of blood will afford an enviable consolation." In that case, it is said that *at* should be *et*; but the real objection is that the sense is far inferior. 181: *indoctus*, as Macleane observes, is commonly used of those who have not been made acquainted with the doctrines of the philosophers. It is so used at ii 4, and perhaps at iii 87, but not at viii 49. Generally, it implies want of skill in any particular art, Virg. Ecl. iii 26, Coningt. 184, 185: Great philosophers like Chrysippus or Thales or Socrates won't say so. 189: sqq. *quippe minuti, &c.* The contempt for women, real or affected, of the author which forms the key-note of the sixth satire, breaks out here. 193-195: *quos diri conscientia facti . . . flagellum*. This is certainly a reminiscence of Lucretius. *at mens sibi conscientia factis Praemetuens adhibet stimulos terretque flagellis*, iii 1018 1019. Ov. Met. viii 530 has almost the same words. 194: *sordo*, "noiseless," "mute," as at vii 71. *surdus*, however, like the French "sourd," its derivative, sometimes has a meaning which is not exactly "noiseless," or "dumb." The French say "un bruit sourd," a dull noise. 196: *Poena autem vehemens*, without a verb. This is very much in the same style as *Poena autem praesens cum tu deponis amictus*, in Satire i. *dumque ardens sanguine*, xi. 197: *Caedicius*, a cruel courtier of Nero, according to the scholiast. As Heinrich remarks, this might have been gathered from the text, and the same observation will apply, as we have already noticed, to many

of these scholia. There is a man of the name mentioned at xvi 46.

199: sqq. The Spartan was one Glaucus. His story is told in Herodotus, vi 86. He was a man with a great reputation for honesty, on the strength of which a certain Milesian entrusted a sum of money to him. On the sons of the Milesian coming to claim the deposit, Glaucus denied all recollection of it, but told them to come again in four months, and in the meanwhile made a journey to Delphi, to consult the oracle. In obedience to the intimation of the oracle, he paid over the amount confided to him, but as a punishment for his criminal hesitation, his whole family died out; in the third generation not a trace of them was to be found in Sparta. This story (says Mr. Blakesley ad loc.) is not very aptly reproduced here, as regards the subject illustrated, and I think this is clear. 202: *quaerebat*, "he kept inquiring." Glaucus was not satisfied with the first answer, and was then told by the priestess, that *τὸ τιμηθῆνας τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ πεπήσας θεον δύνασθαι*, "to tempt the God was as bad as to commit the act;" which Juvenal has almost literally rendered below, *Nam scelus intra se tacitum qui cogitat ullum Facti crimen habet*. This doctrine, which it has been supposed that Christianity was the first to preach, is found in more than one passage of the heathen authors, *ex gr.*, Senec. de Ben. v 14, *Sic latro est, etiam antequam manus inquinet: quia ad occidendum jam armatus est, et habet spoliandi atque interficiendi voluntatem*. 204: *tamen* refers to *reddidit*. He restored it (from fear, it is true, and not from principle), and yet, &c. 205, 206: *extinctus probavit*; as we should say, "his death, with that of all his relations, proved;" see vi 8, *extinctus passer*, "the death of a sparrow," &c., i 163, note. *quamvis longa deductis gente* means, however remotely they were connected with him. 208, 209: See note 202 above. Such was the punishment of one who merely harboured a guilty intention, &c. But what if he has actually committed the crime (like your false friend)? 213: *dificili crescente cibo*. Seneca has *non in ore crevit cibus, non haesit in faucibus*, in the same sense, Epp. 82. *sed*, "aye, even his wine the wretch spits out," a common use of *sed*. *Boletus domino, sed quales Claudius edit*, v 147, "aye, even such as

Claudius ate," xiv 117. *affer duas clavas. Clavas? Sed probas, propera cito*, Plaut. Rud. iii 5. Some editors, such as Jahn and Ribbeck, have substituted *Setina* for *sed vina*, with no MS. authority and against all probability. For *sed vina* to be changed into *Setina*, would have been natural (though the change does not appear to have been made in the MSS.), but it is not easy to imagine that a transcriber would alter *Setina* into the more difficult *sed vina*. 214 : Alban wine we had at v 33. Falernian wine seems to have been very alcoholic and required keeping. Pliny says it was the only wine that took fire when flame was applied to it. He adds that there were three kinds, one of which he calls *austerum*, and that it had much degenerated in his day, H.N. xiv 6. *Falerni calices amariores*, Catull. 27, Hor. Od. i 27 9, &c., *densissima ruga*, "a crowd of wrinkles," like *densissima lectica*, i 120. 221 : *major imago humana. Offertur ei mulieris figura, humana grandior*, Plin. Epp. vii 27. *majorem humana speciem*, Tac. Hist. i 86, iv 83, and *major humana vox*, v 13. *nota major imago*, Virg., &c.

223 : sqq. The elder Pliny, in his second book, has collected a mass of information, originally worthless, but which the lapse of time has rendered curious, about the thunder and lightning of his day. Here the guilty wretch thinks the storm directed at him. Compare the well-known passage in which King Lear apostrophises the tempest, "Let the great gods, That keep this dreadful pother o'er our heads, Find out their enemies now. Tremble, thou wretch, That hast within thee undivulged crimes Unwhipped of justice," &c. Caligula used to hide under a bed during a thunderstorm, according to Suetonius, Cal. 51. *Me reor infesto cum tonat igne peti*, says Ovid, Trist. i 1 82. 229 : *vigili cum febre*, "with the fever that never goes to sleep;" *vigiles fenestrae*, iii 275, *pervigili toro*, xv 43, *pernox alea*, viii 10, or "with the fever which keeps them awake." So *sterilis*, often, for "causing sterility," Hor. Od. iii 23 6. It will scarcely be believed that *vigili febre* is one of the figures of speech in the so-called "Declamator" which Ribbeck objects to as too violent. 233 : *cristam galli*, the same as *gallum cristatum*. The whole cock was offered, cf. xii 96. A cock (or a goat) was usually vowed to Aesculapius, in case of recovery from illness; here, the Lares are spoken of

as the recipients. 237 : *superest* is used in the same sense as at 109, where see note. 238 : *tandem*, "too late," as at vi 361. 240 : *mutari nescia*, "incapable of change;" *rudis et Graias mirari nescius artes*, xi 100, *nesciat irasci*, x 360 xiv 231. Here the nature of these bad men is spoken of as *fixa* and *mutari nescia*. A few lines above, we are told that it is *mobilitis* and *varia*. And although we may understand the poet's meaning, it is impossible to admire the ambiguous way in which he has expressed it, unless 236 be spurious, as I am inclined to think that it is. 241, 242: *quando . . . ruborem*. Ribbeck asks, How can modesty be thrown out by rubbing? But this is not the sense. *Attritus* here, as *frons durior*, viii 189, means "hardened," "hardened by contact with the world," as we say. *trita frons sub persona* (the same expression, used in a double sense), Sen. Nat. Quaest. vii 32. 245 : *uncus*, the hook by which the bodies of criminals were dragged along to the Tiber, after execution, *Sejanus ducitur unco*, x 66. It was inserted under the chin, *fixus mento*, Prop. iv 1 141, *infixus faucibus*, Ov. Ibis 168, where, however, some read *ossibus*. The man will either be put to death some day, or transported to some island where he will meet with plenty of fashionable company. Macleane says, "*exsilibus magnis* does not mean they were great in anything but wickedness." I think it means simply exiles of quality. 248 : *nominis invisi*, "the hated person;" not a very unusual sense of *nomen* in the poets. *pater O relictum Filiae nomen*, Hor. Od. iii 27 34; Tibull. iii 4 61. 249 : *nec surdum nec Tiresiam*, "neither deaf nor blind." Tiresias was the blind prophet of Thebes.

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE XIV.

THERE are many vices, such as gambling, gluttony, cruelty, incontinence, and the like, which parents teach their children by their own example. Youth is sure to make a pattern of what it sees done at home. It is, therefore, essential that parents should not only themselves abstain from all vicious practices, but should banish from their houses everything of a nature to corrupt the minds of the young. How inconsistent it is to blame your boys for exaggerating your faults, when you yourself have been their instructor!

When a guest is expected, you take very good care that your house and furniture should show to advantage, and be free from dirt. Would that you took the same pains with your household in a moral point of view, that your son might see nothing that marred its purity. It makes all the difference how you bring him up. We see this in the brute creation. Vultures and eagles, when they grow up, take to the same food that the parent bird first brought to them in the nest. Cetronius spent a great part of his fortune in building; his son squandered the remainder in the same way. Some men show a respect for Judaism (Christianity); their sons become proselytes and fall complete victims to the superstition.

Young men, I say, are prone to imitate what is bad, but there is one vice in particular which is actually forced upon them against their inclination. The poet draws a graphic picture of a miser, and exhibits some of the paltry and sordid household economies which he teaches his child. When by these means a fortune is saved, estates are purchased, and their boundaries enlarged, often by violence. But what matters ill-

fame? Money is the grand thing! He then goes on, in his usual style, to contrast all these great possessions with the simplicity and frugality of the ancient inhabitants of Italy. Luxury has brought all these evils upon us. Parents and nurses are always instilling the main chance into their charge's minds as the one great rule of life. Don't be afraid! Your son will assuredly better your instructions. He will commit all sorts of crimes which you may say that you never had in view, but of which you are assuredly the prime cause. Perhaps some day he may come to think that you yourself are living rather too long!

It is better than a play to watch the ways in which these people get money. The poet then describes the perils of the deep (of which he always seems to have a very vivid sense), which are voluntarily run by merchants in quest of wealth. To think of them being tossed about by the waves is as good as to watch an acrobat, or a tight-rope dancer. Some day the ship goes to pieces, and then our poor friend, half naked and starving, has to beg his bread. Then what terrible cares does the guardianship of great wealth involve? What a dreadful fright the millionaire is in lest a fire should consume his house and treasures of art! Diogenes in his tub had no such apprehensions. He was far happier than Alexander pining for a whole world. All that is really requisite is what may be enough to sustain life decently. If that rule seems too rigid for our manners, I give you a knight's or even a senator's fee. If that won't satisfy you, nothing in the world will.

Maclean well remarks upon 90 (see 90 note), that the palace of Hadrian could hardly have been built when Juvenal wrote this Satire. The date of this construction is uncertain, but it could scarcely have been later than A.D. 134. Some see in 196 an allusion to Hadrian's visit to Britain, A.D. 120-121, but this kind of conjecture is worthless. It might as well be said that 99 is an allusion to the order against circumcision issued by that Emperor, which was one of the causes of the Jewish war which broke out in his reign.

NOTES TO SATIRE XIV.

1: Nothing further is known of Fuscinus. 2: *nitidus rebus*. The minds of the children, naturally innocent, are the "bright things." Mr. Simcox, whose Juvenal forms part of a classical and educational series called "Catena Classicorum," has six consecutive notes on the first nine lines of this Satire, which, being very short, may be cited as offering in a small space an almost perfect specimen of what notes for boys ought not to be:—" *nitidus . . . rebus*, as we should say, 'a tidy property.' *monstrant . . . traduntique*, cause and effect. *senem*. *lusimus γερρικῶς*, Suet. Aug. 71. *Bullatus*. He does not begin too late for mischief. *eodem*, as his father. *didicit*, he has learnt to do it himself, for he cannot trust the cook." As far as all this is intelligible, it is either wrong or violently strained. *damnosa alea*. *Alea parva nuces et non-damnosa videntur*, Mart. xiv 18. 5: *fritillo*, the box from which the dice were thrown, called also *turricula*, Mart. xiv. 16; *phimus*, Hor. Sat. ii 7 17, and *pyrgus*, though some have endeavoured to distinguish between them. Martial speaks of *incerti fritilli*, i.e., rendering it uncertain how the dice would fall; and Seneca of *resonante fritillo*, making a rattle. They must have resembled the implements in use now. *arma* are the dice; and in i 91, the steward who carries the gambling apparatus is called *armiger*; *Proelia quanta illic dispensatore videbis Armigero*. *Bullatus*, v 164, note. 6: sqq. Truffles and mushrooms, as delicacies, occurred in Sat. v. *boletus*, for convenience, may be translated "mushrooms;" but what we call mushrooms (*agaricus campestris*) are precisely what the modern Italians do not eat. And it is most likely that the tradition on this subject has remained. *ficedula*, "the beccafico," is similarly mentioned by Martial, xiii 5, and 49, who makes the second syllable long. There is, however, no

necessity for supposing, with Macleane, that it should perhaps be pronounced here as a word of three syllables. There are plenty of examples in which, with regard to syllables of words not in very common use in poetry, and which were probably not strongly marked in pronunciation, the poets pleased themselves about the quantity. *nebulone parentie* had better be taken with *monstranie*; but it could also stand alone, "with a debauchee for his father." *gula*, i 140, v 94, the thing for the person. **10**: sqq. *cum septimus . . . renato*. Seven years of age was an epoch in life with the Romans. Up to that time children were *infantes* in the eye of the law. Pliny speaks of it as the age at which they shed their front teeth and get them replaced by others, H. N. vii 16. **12**: *barbatos magistros*, i.e., teachers of philosophy, Pers. iv 1. Beards were much affected by those who set up as philosophers, Stoics, Cynics, &c. *τι κάγκρος αρπές* was a Greek proverb, which Horace has imitated in *sapientem pascere barbam*, Sat. ii 3 35. *Video barbam et pallium, philosophum nondum video*, Aul. Gell. N. A. ix 2; Appul. Met. xi 244. The Emperor Hadrian reintroduced the general practice of wearing a beard; because he had scars on his face, Plutarch says (if so, much for the same reason that made George IV. take to high stocks); but very likely owing to his affectation of philosophy.

15: *modicis erroribus aequos*. Sen. has the same expression, *err. aeq. de Ira*. ii 10, as *erroribus placabilis*, Plin. Epp. ix 24, "indulgent to small transgressions;" not bursting into a passion, but preserving his equanimity. Cicero has the phrases, *praebere se aequum alicui, aequissimus aestimator et iudex*, &c. Macleane is here quite wide of the mark. He translates "a mild habit that seldom goes wrong." He himself goes very wrong here; which is not usual with him. **16**: sqq. *O demens, ita servus homo est!* exclaimed the lady in vi 222. *Rutilus*. This name occurred at the beginning of Satire xi, where it stood for a man who had run through his property. Here it stands for a tyrannical master. He thinks the sound of the whip more delightful than the song of a Siren. *Antiphates* was King of the Laestrygones, in Sicily, who ate up one of the three men whom Ulysses had sent out as explorers, and sunk all his ships but one. The

story is told by Homer, *Odyss.* x 80-132. *Polyphemus* we had at ix 64. *tortore*, cf. vi 480, *sunt quae tortoribus annua praesent*. Slaves were put to the torture to obtain evidence; but the meaning here seems to be that the poor wretch is branded with hot iron because a couple of towels are missing, perhaps at the bath, *Mart.* xii 70. *Lygdamus uratur, candescat lamina vernae*, *Propert.* iv 7 35. Hence a slave so marked is called *literatus* by *Plautus*, and *trium literarum homo*, i.e., *fus*, *Aul.* ii 4 46; see next note. Of course, there would be a check upon the cruelty of many masters in the fear of vengeance on the part of the slaves. And this vengeance was not unfrequently resorted to. *Seneca* says, *non pauciores servorum ira ecclidisse quam regum*, *Epp.* 4: see the story related in *Plin.* *Epp.* iii 14. 16. 17: Cf. *Sen.* *Epp.* 47, *Vis tu cogilare istum quem servum tuum vocas, ex iisdem seminibus ortum, eodem frui coelo, aequo spirare, aequo vivere, aequo mori?* and, again, *de Clement.* i 18, *eiusdem naturae est, cuius tu*. Compare *Petron.* 71, and *Quinct. Declam.* xiii, for similar sentiments. *Macrobi.*, *Saturn.* ix 11, seems to have copied *Júvenal* as well as *Seneca*, *quasi non ex idem tibi (servi) et constent et alantur elementis, &c.* 24: *inscripta ergastula*, the branded slaves who were lodged in the *ergastula* (vi 151, note), dungeons often built underground, *Colum.* i 6 3. The word is used in the same sense by *Pliny*, *H. N.* xviii 6, *coti rura ab ergastulis pessimum est*. So *carcer* for "one in a prison," *Lucil.* Slaves were, of course, chattels, and the Jurisconsults call them *ruris instrumenta vocalia*, oxen *semivocalia*, "waggons," "ploughs," &c., *muta*. An F on the forehead signified *Fugitivus*. Slaves marked in this and other ways were called *Inscripti*. *Quatuor inscripti portabant vile cadaver*, *Mart.* viii 75 9, *literati* (see last note), and *stigmatici* in *Cicero*. It is to this that *Martial* alludes when he says of an upstart, *Et numerosa linunt stellantem splenia frontem Ignoras quis sit? splenia tolle, leges*, ii 29. Take off the plasters, and you will see that he is an *inscriptus*.

24: *carcer rusticus*. These bridewells were in the country, *Augebis ruri numero genus ferratile*, *Plaut. Most.* i 1 18; *Juv.* viii 180, xi 80 81. Some put a stop after *carcer*, and take *Rusticus* with *exspectas*, on the strength of Horace's well-known

Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis, in which case the sense will be, “are you such a rustic as to suppose?” 25 : sqq. Compare x 220, sqq. 33 : *subeunt*, the reading of P. Most MSS. have *subeant*, when the sense will be, “since they enter the mind.” The indicative is, I think, more in Juvenal’s manner. *auct.* So Cic. calls a man’s father *domesticus auctor*, Cic. Balb. 22. 35 : *Titan* is Prometheus, a son of the Titan Iapetus, the fabled creator of the human race. *Quam satus Iapeto mixtam fluvialibus undis Finxit in effigiem moderantium cuncta Deorum*, Ov. Met. i 82 83. Men were spoken of as *compositi luto* at vi 13. 36 : *reliquos*. Mr. Munro, ad Lucret. i 550, says that Persius, Silius, Statius and Juvenal first used *reliquus* as a trisyllable, and that Virgil and Horace avoided the word. In the older writers it is four-syllabled. 37 : *veteris trahit orbita culpae*. Compare xiii 239 240, *ad mores natura recurrit Damnatos*. *orbita* is properly the track or rut made by a wheel. *hujus* depends upon *potens*. 41 : *Turpibus ac pravis*. Macleane says that both of these words are applied to the human shape, and that they may be translated here “ugly and deformed.” I think not; it is exclusively of mental and moral characteristics that the author is speaking; and besides people are *not* prone to imitate what is physically ugly and deformed. *turpe* is used of a bad action, below 48. Catiline is a favourite illustration of Juvenal’s, ii 27, viii 231, x 288. The uncle of Brutus was Cato of Utica. Plin. Epp. vii 24. 44 : *visu* is illustrated by *puellae*; *dictu* by the parasite’s song. 47 : *reverentia*, “respect for,” as ii 110, *Hic nullus verbis pudor aut reverentia mensae*, v 72. Cic. couples *Brutus* and *avunculus ejus* in the same way, ad Att. v 21. 48 : *ne tu . . . annos*, “don’t look down upon him as if he were too young to take notice.” 56 : *Unde tibi frontem*, &c. So Horace *Unde mihi lapidem? . . . unde sagittas?* Sat. ii 7 116. Sat. ii 5 102. *quo* is similarly used by our poet, viii 9 142, and below 135. *frontem* is the brow of authority; “the front of Jove to threaten and command,” of Shakespeare. *frons paterna* is used as *frons parentis*, here, by Calpurn. *Iudere conantem retuisti fronte paterna*, iv 21. 58 : *ventosa*, “windy.” The cupping-glass is “*ventouse*” in French. In point of fact, as is well known, it is the reverse of windy, a portion of the

air being exhausted in it. This causes the blood to rise. *cucurbita* is properly a gourd, Mart. xi. 31. He says the man is mad and ought long ago to have been cupped. Cupping and bleeding were resorted to in cerebral affections. So at vi 46, *O medici medium pertundite venam*, Bleed him, doctors; he is mad. *quotiescumque cooperis a te exire, sanguinem tibi a capite mittam*, Petron. 90. In this passage Juvenal first makes the son exaggerate his father's sins, 53, and then says the father is all the time committing worse sins, *pejora*, 57, than the son.

59 : sqq. If company is expected none of your servants will be allowed to be idle. There will be a general setting to rights and cleaning up, that the house may appear to the best advantage. The *pavimentum* in rich men's houses would be of costly material, marble, mosaic, &c. *Marmoribus rivi properant*, vi 430. The *atrium* in the house of the tragic poet at Pompeii was paved with white marble. *nitidas ostende columbas*, "show them," i.e., by drawing aside the curtains, such as those which separated the *atrium* from the *tablinum* or munitment-room; or *ostende nitidas* may also be rendered, "show them forth in all their splendour," like *pueros producti asaros*, 228 (and *senibus indulget porcis*, as Heinrich takes it "ita ut senes fiant," vi 160), a common idiom. 62 : *aspera vasa*. Virgil speaks of *aspera signis pocula*. So *stantem extra pocula caprum*, i 76, *inaequa berylo phialas*, v 38, where stones have been let in. With the preceding speech, compare Plautus, Pseud. i 2 28, *Tibi hoc praecipio ut nileant aedes . . . Tu esto lectisterniator. tu argentum elvito; idem exstruio . . . Vorsa, sparsa, terfa strata, laulaque omnia ut sient*, &c. *laret* is another reading for *leve*, in respect to which a critic asks, Who ever has plate washed? I should imagine every one who uses plate. But *leve* seems better; and is the reading of P. 62 : *virga murmur omne (servorum) compescitur* Macrob. Sat. i 11. 66, 67 : *uno, semodio, servulus, unus* repeated, serve to emphasise the meaning, and to show at what a very trifling expense all this which he makes such a fuss about, might be set straight. This is quite in the poet's manner, cf. iii 226 227, note. Saw-dust (which was used in the same way as our tea-leaves) would, of course, be very cheap, *Vilibus in scopis, in mappis, in scobe, quantus Consistit sumptus?* Hor. Sat. ii 4 81. It seems to

have been thrown on the floor, also, at the end of dinner, after which the scraps, fallen crumbs, &c., were swept up. Senec. Controv. 25. At Trimalchio's banquet, it is scented, Petron. 68. The *semodius* would be about one English gallon.

70, 71 : Bentley, speaking of this passage, says, "Vah, quam inficeta et inconcinna repetitio est *patriae, patriae*;" and he proposes *patribus* in the first line, Bentl. ad Hor. Od. iii 6 20. To me, on the contrary, it seems that the repetition is highly forcible (and certainly in Juvenal's manner, x 103 104, note). "We are much obliged to you for giving another citizen to the country, if you take care that he is useful to the country." Compare viii 28, *rarus Civis, et egregius, patriae contingis oranti*. 74 : *instituas*. The Fr. *instituteur* still exhibits this precise sense of the word. With regard to what follows, Pliny informs us that storks were so much esteemed for destroying serpents, that in Thessaly it was a capital offence to kill one of them, H. N. x 23. Virg. Georg. ii 320. 77 : seqq. The vulture hastens back to her young from the carcases of cattle and dogs, and dead bodies hanging on crosses, carrying in her beak some of the carrion. *aves, famulae Jovis, et generosae*, are one subject, "eagles." Eagles are believed to be not much, if at all, more delicate in their food than vultures; but Juvenal here, as elsewhere in his illustrations drawn from natural history, follows popular tradition. Beavers do not mutilate themselves, xii 34. Ants do not lay up stores for winter, vi 361. Cranes have not got talons, xiii 169. Elephants do not shed their tusks when they have grown too heavy, xi 126. Nor is it likely that they were ever found in Arabia. Probably there were no bears in Africa, iv 100. Tigers and boars *do* fight among each other, xv 161; and it may be added that vultures build on rocks, and not in trees, as here represented. Juvenal might, however, plead in excuse, as to the last error, the example of Phaedrus, who makes a similar mistake about eagles, *Aquila in sublimi quercu nidum fecerat*, ii 4; and of Ovid, who also represents vultures as building in trees, Am. i 12 20.

86 : seqq. The poet introduces, as another illustration of his meaning, one Cetronius, who may be either a real or

fictitious personage. This man had the passion for building which was so common among the wealthy Romans, and spent a great part of his fortune in erecting costly villas. See what followed. His son, with his father's bad example before his eyes, and trained to the same tastes, squandered all that was left (and it was no inconsiderable sum) in the same way.

87 : *Gaietae*. The modern Gaeta. *Tibur* and *Praeneste* are coupled at iii 190-192. 89, 90 : Marble for building was imported from various parts of Greece and Africa. *Numidarum fulta columnis . . . coenatio*, vii 182 183. *Montibus aut alle Graiss effulta nitebant Atria*, Stat. Theb. i 145. Pliny, H. N. xxxvi 3, speaks of L. Crassus, the orator, as the first who introduced into Rome pillars of foreign marble. They were from Hymettus, in Attica. 90 : *Fortunae atque Herculis aedem*. There was a celebrated temple of Fortune at Praeneste. The modern town of Palestrina is almost entirely built upon its foundations. It is often alluded to by the poets, *Praenestinae moenia sacra Deae*, Ov. Fast. vi 61. *Fortuna Praenestina*, Lucan, ii 193 194. Tibur was famed for the worship of Hercules, and the epithet "Herculeum" is often applied to it by the poets, *Itur ad Herculei gelidas qua Tiburis arcas*, Mart. i 13 1. Strabo viii 11, speaks of the temple of Hercules at Tibur, and shortly afterwards of the celebrated temple and oracle of Fortune at Praeneste. Macleane well remarks that the enormous buildings erected by Hadrian at the foot of the hills of Tibur, could hardly have been built when Juvenal wrote these verses, or he would probably have alluded to them. They formed the most magnificent cluster of structures in Italy, embracing a circuit of eight miles. 90, 91 : *vincens, vinebat*. So Seneca speaks of *aedificia privata laxitatem urbium magnarum vincentia*, de Benef. vii 10, where, of course, the grounds and gardens must be included. 91 : *Posides* was a freedman and favourite of Claudius. Pliny, xxxi 2, speaks of some baths at Baiae which were called after him. It would seem from this passage that he erected fine structures, as so many others did. 92 : sqq. *Dum habitat . . . imminuit, fregit*, and lower down, *turbavit . . . dum attollit*. The common construction. Tacitus joins *dum* to the present, even in oblique

constructions, with a past tense preceding, Hist. iii. 38, Ernesti's note.

96: sqq. The poet introduces the Jews; see vi 159 160, where the Sabbaths and the pigs have already figured. When he speaks of people turning Jews, through parental example, I cannot but think that he confounds Christians with Jews, as his countrymen were wont to do. The former, who were making many proselytes at this time, were supposed to be a sect of the latter, and even if the hatred which the Jews bore to the Christians were generally noticed, it would prove no bar to this idea being held; on the contrary, it would serve to confirm it, as the hatred existing between religious and even philosophical sects was known, then as now, often to spring from very minute differences. Cf. Sueton. Tiber. 36, where the expression *similia (Judaicis) sectantes* has been held to refer to Christians, though it is not likely that many had penetrated to Rome, at that early period. Cf. Tac. Ann. ii 85. Sueton. Domit. 12, *qui vel improfessi Judaicam viverent vitam vel, dissimulata origine, tributa non pependissent*, may not improbably have reference to Christians, and Jewish converts to Christianity; and another passage, in the same author, Claud. 25, *Judeos, impulsore Christo, assidue tumultuantes, Roma expulit*, shows the confused notion then entertained as to the two religions. Similarly Dion tells us that besides Jews proper, others bear the name who τὰ νόμια αὐτῶν, καὶ τὴν ἀλλοθεῖσ· ὄντες ζηλεῖσι, xxxvii 17; and in lxvii 14, he speaks of people being condemned, including Flavius Clemens, under Domitian, for going over to the Jews. Compare also lxviii 1. In all these cases, he probably refers to Christians, and many other examples might be given of this confusion on the part of pagan writers, during the first two centuries, *ex gr.*, Arrian (ii 9), quoted by Lipsius on Tac. Ann. xv 44, who wrote not much later than Juvenal. Sabbaths were spoken of in Satire vi, loc. cit., as *festa*. Augustus, in Suetonius, Aug. 76, seems to look upon them as fasts, which they were not, *Ne Judaeus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam diligenter Sabbatis jejunium servat, quam ego hodie servavi*. Probably all that Augustus and Juvenal knew of the matter was that the seventh day was, in some way or other, held sacred by the Jews. 96: *metuere* and

metus are the words used for fear of the gods, *metuens divum matertera*, Pers. ii 31. *Deum metum, parentum amorem et cognatum concordiam*, Plaut. Amphit. ii 2 211, which illustrates this very clearly. So *metuunt jus*, 101 below, and *timidus Deorum*, Ov. Met. v 100. 97 : The Jews were supposed to worship the skies, probably from their religion not allowing any image of the deity, Tac. Hist. v 5, who says the same of the Germans, Germ. 9; and Strabo, accordingly, represents Moses as teaching that there was one God, δι καλούμενος εἴρηται καὶ κέρας καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄρων φίλην, xvi, p 761; so also Dion, ἀτεραστική δεδιτα σαρκὶς *Incerti Judaea Dei*, Lucan, ii 592. In the fragment of Petronius quoted on vi 160, it is said of the Jew, *Et coeli summas advocat auriculas*, which Lipsius understands, "quasi putarent coelum aures habere idque invocarent." But the allusion in *auriculas* is to the ass's head which the Jews were supposed to worship, Tac. Hist. v 3 4 (and cf. Plaut. Sympos. iv), a calumny which is refuted by Josephus, Minucius Felix and Tertullian, *Somniastis caput asinimum esse Deum nostrum . . . atque ita inde praesumptum opinor, nos quoque ut Iudaicæ religionis propinquos eidem simulacro initiari*, Tertull. Apol. 16. Hence, the Christians, who were confounded with them, were called "asinarii :" a curious illustration of which was brought to light not many years ago in the shape of a caricature discovered at Rome, and representing the founder of Christianity on a cross with an ass's head.* 98 : vi 160. Compare with the whole of this passage the sketch which Tacitus gives of the Jews in the opening chapters of the fifth book of his History. 103 : *monstrare vias*. To point out the road to a traveller, is commonly instanced as an example of what is due from one man to another, *Præcipiens ut naufrago maxime porrigit, erranti viam monstrat, cum esuriente panem suum dividat*? Sen. Epp. 95. Ennius quoted by Cic. Off. ii : and so among the precepts of Mahomet, "to put a traveller on the right road;" Bosworth Smith, "Mahometanism," p. 20. The unsoci-

* Mr. (now Dean) Merivale disputes this interpretation of the caricature, "History of the Romans," vol. vi. c. 59. However, to go into this question would altogether exceed my scope. Mr. King in his work on antique gems also refers to the subject. See Aubé, *Persecutions de l'Eglise*, ii. 96, for a full discussion of the matter.

able character of the ancient Jews, their hatred of strangers, and their savage inhumanity to their vanquished enemies, are well known, and have been well described by Tacitus, *misericordia in promptu, sed adversus omnes alios hostile odium . . . transgressi in morem eorum idem usurpant, nec quicquam prius imbuuntur quam coniemnere Deos, exuere patriam, parentes, liberos, fratres, vilia habere.* In the latter sentence I think he has the Christians in view. It is idle to say with some that Juvenal misrepresents the Jews, or to quote Solomon, "If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink." This merely shows that Solomon, like other sensible men, could at times rise superior to the creed and practices of his country.

107: All the other vices young men are willing enough to imitate; but they do not take kindly to avarice. So those who have miserly fathers are carefully trained by them to follow in the parental footsteps. **111:** And similarly *mentitur prodigus liberalem*, Sen. Epp. 120, for, as he observes, *sunt virtutibus vicia contraria*. **112:** Horace has *rerum tutela mearum* in a somewhat different sense, Epp. i 1 103; and Valer. Flacc., *rerum tutela suarum*, v 644. **114:** *Hesperidum serpens*, Ladon, killed by Hercules. *Ponticus (serpens)*, the dragon that guarded the golden fleece. Medea put him to sleep. **117:** *sed crescunt*, "aye, they grow," xiii 213, note. It might also mean "at any rate." This is not an uncommon use of *sed*, a good example of which occurs in Plin. Epp. vii 21, where, after speaking of the weakness of his eyes, he adds, *non stilo modo, verum etiam lectionibus, difficuler, sed abstineo*, "I abstain with difficulty, still (at any rate) I do abstain." It is equivalent to *sed tamen*. **119:** *Et pater ergo*, &c., "and so the father too thinks as the people think," &c. **123:** All vices have their beginnings, their elementary practices. The avaricious father commences with these, and, by example and precept, makes his son get them up thoroughly, before instructing him in the full delights of a miser's passion for hoarding. *protinus* means here "at starting." **126:** Slaves had a certain allowance of food, generally grain, measured out to them, either monthly, *menstruum, epomenia*, vii 120, or daily, *diarium*. Four or five modii a

month seems to have been the usual allowance, Sen. Epp. 80. For the modius see 67 above. Here, the master starves his slaves. This is an example of the *minimae sordes*, and so is what follows. Appuleius speaks of a miser as *sordis infimae infamis homo*, Met. i 16. 127 : *sustinet*, "bear," "endure," vi 105. 130 : *Septembri*, even in September, the worst month in the year for keeping anything. Compare vi 517, and iv 59. 131-133 : For *conchem* and *sectivi porri*, cf. iii 293, where they are spoken of as the commonest kind of food. Beans would be tough in the summer. Macleane renders 133, "counts every leek of his rope and shuts them up in the cupboard," taking *fila* as ropes, just as we are in the habit of stringing onions. But *fila* means "shreds," "slices," as may be seen from Mart. xi 52, *porris fila resecta suis*, and xiii 18, *Fila Tarentini graviter redolentia porri Edisti quoties, oscula clausa dato*. In the former epigram, which is an invitation to his modest supper, we have the *laceritus* mentioned also, and *conchis* and *lacertus* are coupled by him, vii 78. It was some kind of coarse salted fish. The same poet says of a miser's arrangements, *Deque decem plures semper servantur olivae*, i 104 7. 132 : *Signatam*. According to Cicero, his mother used to seal up even empty bottles, *lagenas etiam inanes obsignabat, ne dicerentur inanes aliquae fuisse, quae furtim essent exsiccatae*, Ep. xvi 26. 134 : *aliquis de ponte*, iv 116, note, v 8. 135 : *Sed quo divitias*, viii 142, note. *Quo mihi fortunam quae numquam fallere curet*, Ov. Am. ii 19 7; Hor. Epp. i 5 12.

139 : The sentiment contained in this line might be illustrated from many authors ; ἀνήσθμος δὲ οἱ τὸν Ἀργεῖον· αἱ δὲ πλέον ἔχοι τυπούς αὐτόν, Theocr. 16 64. *Eo majora cupimus quo majora venerunt*; Sen., de Ben. ii 27. Ovid, Horace, &c., say the same thing. Another reading is *crescit* for *crevit*, and I am not sure that this is not more in the poet's manner. But the MS. authority seems slightly in favour of *crevit*. 140 : The desire for money on the part of the man who has not got any, is actually less than that felt by these rich people whose bags are full. 140, 141 : *paratur altera villa*. So *parabat culmina villarum*, 88 89. 142, 143 : *majorque . . . seges*. Juvenal may have had a passage of Ovid in his mind,

Fertilior seges est alienis semper in agris Vicinumque pecus grandius uber habet, A. A. i 348 349. 146 : *lasso collo*, "after a hard day's work at the plough, fasting and famished." Macleane thinks such a practice as is spoken of almost incredible; and Ribbeck, of course, falls foul of the passage; but a powerful landowner, who wanted to extend his boundaries, would not stick at a trifile. *Licet agros agris adjiciat, vicinum vel pretio pellat aeris vel injuria*, Sen. Epp. 90. *Quid quod usque proximos Revellis agri terminos et ultra Limites clientium Salis avarus?* Hor. Od. ii 18 23. *Vexat saepe meum Patrobas confinis agellum Contra libertum Caesaris ire times*, Mart. ii 32 3 4. Pliny, H. N. ii 68, speaks of driving away one's weaker neighbours, and enclosing the land thus seized in one's own fence, as if it were a common practice; and Appuleius introduces a story which turns upon this practice, Met. ix 201 202. Cf. also Cic. pro Milon. 26, and Long's Introd. to de Leg. Agr. Orations, vol. ii p. 390.

152 : *qui sermones!* x 88 89. *foede* is the reading of P. It is quite clear that it may stand, and it seems to me better than *foedae*, instead of being "plainly an error of the copyist." *sonabit*, or some such word must be understood. The reader need hardly be reminded how common these ellipses are in our author: *Tunc etiam . . . adhuc Graece*, vi 192 193; and *omnia Graece* just before; *Alea quando Hos animos!* i 88 89, i 52, vi 641, &c.; and, curiously enough, we find this identical word twice in Cic. with an ellipse of the verb. *Marcellus foede de Comensi*, ad Att. v 11, and *Caelius . . . de pantheris foede*, ad Att. vi 1. 153-155: *quid enim salvis infamia nummis?* i 48, is the same sentiment inverted. Money is everything with these people. "I don't value at a beanshell the approbation of the whole neighbourhood, if it is to be given me only on the condition of my owning a trumpery little farm." *Sine me vocari pessimum ut dives vocer*, as the poet has it in Senec. Epp. 115. *tunicam lupini*. So Pers., iv 30, has *tunicatum caepe*. 156 : *Scilicet* is always sarcastic in Juvenal, *Scilicet hoc fuerat propter quod saepe relicta Conjuge*, &c., v 76. *Scilicet exspectas ut tradit mater honestos . . . mores*, vi 239. *carebis*, "you will escape," x 287, vi 564. As Dr. Johnson put it, Wealth guarantees its pos-

sessor against one only of the ills of life—indigence. **159**: sqq. Compare Lucan, i 166, sqq. **160**: *Tatius*, the legendary Sabine King, under whom and Romulus, Romans and Sabines formed one united kingdom. **162**: *gladioque Molossos*. Pyrrhus was called *regi Molosso* at xii 108. **163**: *Tandem*, “at length,” after their campaigns were over. It is possible, even, that there may have been some delay in apportioning the grant, as the case is with our war-medals. Two *jugera* would be about one English acre and a quarter. **164**: *merces sanguinis*, i 42, in a less respectable sense, “the equivalent for.” **169**: *magnis*, “grown up,” 79 above. **173**: *causae*, “incentives,” viii 84, x 139. Very common in this sense, *Quid Nomentani causam mini perdis agelli*, “my incentive for remaining at my farm,” Mart. vii 93, where some commentators have gone quite wrong. **174**: *miscore*, “to mix up in drink,” &c., “to administer,” i 70, v 61, viii 220, not “to compound,” in which sense *componere* is used, 253. *ferro grassatur*. Tacitus has *veneno grassari*, Hist. iii 39. But, as Ribbeck remarks, *Humanae mentis vitium ferro grassatur* is a strange sort of expression. **178**: *properantis* is used like *festinare*, below 212; “making haste to be rich.” **180**: The *Marsi* were of Sabine origin, iii 169. So, in all probability, were the *Hernici*, and the *Vestini*. We have already seen that, with our author, Sabine means “old-fashioned,” and old-fashioned means everything that is virtuous and contented and hardy. **181**: *panem*, “bread,” which is sufficient. The gods have given them corn instead of acorns, the primitive food of man, which they can now afford to despise. Compare the well-known passage at the beginning of the Georgics, *Liber et alma Ceres vestro si munere tellus Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit arista Poculaque inventis Acheloia miscuit uvis*; and Ovid, Fast. iv 401 402, *Prima Ceres homini ad meliora alimenta vocato Mutavit glandes utiliore cibo*, cf. Juv. vi 10. **186**: *pero* was a thick country boot, Pers. v 102. Juvenal may have had a passage of Virgil in his mind, in this description, *Hunc legio late comitatur agrestis . . . quique roscida rivis Hernica saza colunt . . . fulvosque lupi de pelle galeros Tegmen habent capiti: vestigia nuda sinistri Instituere pedis; crudus tegit altera pero*, Aen. vii 681, sqq. *summovet*, i 37;

note; and compare 'Lucan, ii 384, *magnique penates Summo-visse hiernem teclo. pellibus inversis*, "skins turned inside out," that is, with the hair inside. The old Sabine people, like all primitive nations, are represented as great hunters, *Vestina juventus . . . venatu dura ferarum*, Sil. Pun. viii 517. 187 : *ignota*, "previously unknown," ix 34, note. Pliny, H. N. ix 39, says that purple had always been in use at Rome. The best purples came from Tyre, Laconia, and various parts of Africa. The word is here used for foreign luxury and corruption. *Sollicitudo nos in nostra purpura versat*, Sen. Epp. 90.

190 : *Past finem autumni*. In the short, cold winter days. The Roman autumn lasted till the middle of November. Some take the meaning to be "after the holidays." But Heinrich says that these came to an end in October, a month earlier, quoting Mart. x 62, *Ferulae . . . tristes, sceptra paedagogorum. Cessent et Idus dormant in Octobres. media de noct.* is lit. "from and after midnight," "a partir de." 191 : *accipe*. There is force in these words "Here take!" As if the father, in his eagerness, thrust them into his son's hands. 192 : *causas age*, "plead imaginary causes," "practise speaking." *rubras majorum leges*. Inks made of *minium*, vermillion, and *rubrica*, red ochre, were used for the titles and beginnings of books, by way of ornament, as we see printing-ink of that colour similarly used for titles, capitals at the heads of chapters, &c. To this Ovid alludes, Trist. i 17, *Nec titulus minio nec cedro charta noletur*. From the headings of laws being written in this way, *rubrica* came to mean the civil law. Hence our word "rubric." *vitem*, "the vine-switch of the centurion," viii 247, note, i.e., a centurion's commission. *Sed*. But (in addition to your petition) take care that the commander Laelius, to whom it will be referred, sees what a stalwart fellow you are. This no doubt would be a recommendation, centurions being often spoken of as big, burly fellows; *gens hircosa centurionum*, Pers. iii 77; *inter varicosos centuriones*, Id. v 189; Cic. Phil. viii 9. *magni centuriones*, Hor. Sat. i 6 73, where Orell. seems to have mistaken the sense of *magni* in rendering "viri, ut in oppidulo illo, clari atque illustres." It means "big;" see Juv. xvi 14 15. 193 : *libello* is a petition. *vitem poscere* is like *navem poscere*,

Pers. v 102, "to ask for the command of a ship." There was an officer commissioned to receive these petitions to the Emperor, *a libellis homo*, Suet. Pliny, in writing to Trajan, x 107, encloses one of these *libelli* from a centurion, and the Emperor's answer is given, 108. 196 : sqq. Spend your life in campaigning against the savages of Africa and Britain, in the extremes of heat and cold, in order that, when you come to be sixty years of age, you may be at the head of your regiment! The Brigantes were the most considerable tribe in Britain, according to Tacitus, Agric. 17. They occupied the country from the Humber to the Tyne. If the centurions, as seems probable, generally rose by seniority, promotion would necessarily be slow, and a man might have a long time to wait before becoming "centurio primi pili" (x 94, note), "in charge of the eagle." Plin., H. N. xiv 1, speaks of *lentas aquilas* in this sense; but *elatas* is the reading in some MSS.; and Seneca of *castronium laborum tarda manus pretia*, Epp. 101. *sanguine multo Promotus Latiam longo gerit ordine vitam*, Lucan, vi 145. *sexagesimus annus*, xiii 16 17, note. 199 : sqq. *trepidum solvunt tibi cornua ventrem*. A common result of the first sound of cannon in modern actions. *plus dimidio*, "more than half as much again as it cost you;" at more than fifty per cent. profit. 202 : Trades of an offensive kind, such as tanning here, and Mart. vi 93, and cf. Mart. i 42, had to be carried on, on the other side of the Tiber. I believe a similar regulation is in force now. *lucri bonus est odor ex re Qualibet*. This probably alludes, as the commentators have pointed out, to a story told of Vespasian, *reprehendi filio Tito quod etiam urinae vestigial commentus esset, pecuniam ex prima pensione admiror ad nares, sciscitans num odore offendetur : et illo neganti "Atqui" inquit "e lotio est."* Suet. Vesp. 23. 206 : *poeta*, the reading of P., and better than *poetae*, which is tame. There is a line very like 207 quoted by Senec. Epp. 115, from some tragic poet, *Non quare et unde, quid habeas tantum rogant. assae* are "dry-nurses." 208, 209 : are better, thrown into the preceding speech. 210 : *instantem*. So *vox domini instantis* at 63, literally "pressing on with this kind of advice." 212 : *festinare*, 178, above. 215, 216 : *parc. ten.*, from Virg. Georg. ii 363.

With *nondum implevere medullas*, Macleane compares Job, xx 13, "his bones are full of the sin of his youth." **216, 217:** *cum pectere barbam, &c.* "When he has grown up to man's estate," vi 215, iii 186. Here Mr. Simcox has one of his absurd notes, "longi, in contrast to his baby face now." **219:** *tangens aramque pedemque intrepidi quaecumque altaria tangunt*, xiii 89. *Immunis aram si tetigit manus*, Hor. Touching the foot of the statue, as well as the altar, is intelligible to all those who in Roman Catholic countries have seen the kisses bestowed by votaries on the feet of saints' images. **220, 221:** *limina subit*. The bride was carried over the threshold; most likely that she might not stumble on entering, which would have been a bad omen, Becker's "Gallus," sc. i, exc. 1; or as a surviving symbol of the primitive practice of marriage by capture. "Consider your rich daughter-in-law already murdered by her husband!" is a satirical exaggeration, very common in our poet, iv 97, vi 594. Some example of a man strangling his wife for her money may have been familiar about this time. **224:** *nullus . . . labor*. A crime will confer wealth on him, without his having the trouble of crossing the seas to obtain it. **225:** *nec*, "nor even," as at 246. **228:** *producere*, vi 241. Nothing can be made of the next line, in its present place. **231:** *quem*, sc. *jurenem* or *puerum* understood. *nescit*, "is unable," as at x 360, xiii 240, v 60. The metaphor is, of course, taken from a chariot-race.

233: *tantum*, "as much only and no more." **234:** *latius* may be rendered "more freely," as in Hor. Sat. ii 2 113 114, *Integris opibus novi non latius usum Quam nunc accisis*. Statius has *non largius usquam Indulsit natura sibi*, Silv. i 3 16. **237:** *Et*, "at the same time." *spoliare*, i 46. *circumscribere*, x 222. **239:** The Decii have been spoken of at viii 254. The poet next instances Menoeceus, son of Creon, who sacrificed himself to save his country, Thebes, and goes out of his way, not very artistically, to have a fling at the Greeks. *Si Graecia vera* reminds us of *quidquid Graecia mendax Audeat in historia*, x 174 175. *quorum* of the Thebans, who must be understood as included in *Thebas*. Cadmus sowed the dragon's teeth, from which armed men sprung up, who immediately

killed each other, all but five, who were ancestors of the Thebans. **246, 247**: There is an epigram in the de Spect., attributed to Martial, 10, on a lion which had turned upon his keeper and attacked him, which the commentators suppose to be the particular incident which suggested this comparison to the poet. It may be so.

248: *Nola mathematicis genesis tua*. It is all very well to say that the astrologers have calculated your nativity and predict a long life for you. But your son won't wait for the natural course of events. Ruperti takes it, "Your son has consulted the astrologers on the subject of your nativity." They may have promised the old man's death, iii 43 44. Comp. Ov. Met. i 148. *funus promittere patris Nec volo nec possum*. I cannot see, with Maclean, that the latter "does not represent the sense or the grammar" of the original, but the former is perhaps better. Statius speaks of a son who thinks his father's life too short, as a marvel, *celeres genitoris filius annos (Mira fides!) pigrasque putat properasse sorores*, Silv. iii 3 20. **251**: *cerrina senectus*. Pliny, H. N. vii 48, quotes Hesiod as giving a crow (Juv. x 247) nine times the length of life of man, and a stag four times that of a crow, while a raven was to a stag as three to one. These statements are not found in the extant Hesiod. Ausonius, Idyll. 18, says the same thing, with additions. Hence the stag is called *vivax* in the poets. **252**: *Archigenen*, the doctor, vi 236. Mithridates' antidote we had at the end of the same Satire. **253**: *aliam decerpere sicum*, &c., means to see another autumn, or even another spring, i.e., a fresh year, or even a small part of it. Mr. Simcox says, "Lest you should be poisoned in these innocent things," but this seems far-fetched.

256: sqq. The poet says, I will show you an amusement better than any play, if you will just observe these fellows and the dangers they encounter in making money. Compare *quaes comoedia mimus Quis melior plorante gula*, v 167 168. **257**: *Praetoris pulpita*, viii 194 and iii 174. **260**: *Fiscus*, at iv 55, meant the emperor's privy purse; here, any treasure. Originally, a basket, *mulus ferebat fiscos cum pecunia*, Phaedr. ii 7. *Castora*, the temple of Castor, as *Cererem*, ix 24. The temple of Castor and Pollux was in the Forum Romanum,

and the bankers, it seems, used to deposit there their customers' cash-boxes for safety. It was conveniently near their *tabernae*. *Sub veteribus (tabernis) ibi sunt qui dant quique accipiunt focnori Pone aedem Castoris ibi sunt . . . qui ipsi sese venditant*, Plaut. Curc. iv i 19 20. Cic. pro Pub. Quint. 4. This passage of Juvenal would seem to imply that the temple of Mars Ultor had been the favourite place of deposit, till the robbery mentioned in the text. 262, 263: At the *Floralia*, vi 250, the *Megalesia*, vi 69, xi 193, and the *Cerealia*, plays were acted. The latter festival was held in April. 264: *petauro*, a stage-machine, the exact nature of which is not known. The commentators quote a passage from Manilius, which gives the notion of a kind of see-saw. See Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Petaurum." The word itself *κίτραιον*, *κίτραιος*, *κίτραιος*, and doubtless the thing itself, and the performers on it, were all Greek. The *petauristarii* at Trimalchio's supper are exactly our "acrobats," Petron. 53. 265: The dancers on the tight-rope were *σχονοβάται*, which we had, in its Latin form, at iii 77. 266: *Corycus* was a promontory of Cilicia, near which was the "Corycian cave," mentioned by Strabo, xiv 5, as growing the best saffron. Pliny mentions it too, H. N. v 27, and praises the crocus (saffron) in another place. It was largely imported into Rome. *Corycia* must be applied to the ship, from the owner constantly trading to those parts. Cilicia was, however, famous for its forests and ship-timber, and Strabo, immediately after noticing the cave as above, speaks of the country as "supplying timber for ship-building." 267: *Coro*, x 180. *tollendus* is opposed to *ancipiit figens vestigia planta*, below, as *mercator* to *illa mercede*. 271: *Passum*, "raisin-wine," Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Vinum." Martial speaks of the *passum* of Crete. *Gnossia Minoae genuit vinde-mia Cretae Hoc tibi, quod mulsum pauperis esse solet*, xiii 106, and Pliny says it was the most prized, H. N. xiv 9. *municipes Jovis lagenas*. They came from the same country as Jove. So *municipes (Crispini) siluros*, iv 33, *municipes Cadmi lacernas*, Mart. x 87. The legend represented Jupiter as being hidden from his father by Rhea his mother in a cave of Ida in Crete, Juv. xiii 41. The Cretans indeed made out that their country was the birth-place and the burial-place of Jove. It is when

rebuking them for this that Callimachus uses the words Κεῖτρες δει ψύσται, quoted by St. Paul.

272: *Hic* is the rope-dancer, whom he opposes to the merchant. The former exposes himself to peril to avoid starvation. This dancing on the tight-rope must have appeared more dangerous than it really was, *Vides qui per funem in summa nituntur quantos soleant excitare clamores, cum jam jamque casuri videntur*, Plin. Epp. ix 26. It was a favourite spectacle with the Romans. Terence complains that one of these exhibitions drew off the audience from the first representation of his "Hecyra," *Ut neque spectari neque cognosci potuerit Ita populus studio stupidus in funambulo Animum occupat*, Prol. Hecyr. *ancipiūt fūgens vestigia plantā* reminds one of the women on shipboard, *nec tremulis possunt insistere plantis*, vi 96. **273**: *illa mercede*. Comp. Sen. de Ira ii 13, *tam pertinacis studii non digna merces fuit*. His exhibitions are the wares which he offers in exchange for his bread and cheese. **274, 275**: *mille* and *centum* are used for a large number. **276, 277**: *plus hominum est jam in pelago* is a turn of expression very closely resembling *Maximus in vincis ferri modus*, iii 310, and the resemblance should be noticed by those who are interested in Ribbeck's theory. **277, 278**: *Fortuna insidias pontum substravit avaris*, Propert. iii 7 37. **278**: *transsiliet*. *Non tangenda rates transiliunt vada*, Hor. Od. i 3 24. *Calpe*. The modern Gibraltar, one of the two pillars of Hercules (Abyla was the other). Here the sun, in old times, was supposed to set in the Western waters. **283**: *Oceani monstra*. Superstition has always peopled the sea with monsters of various kinds, and sea-serpents and mermaids are still believed in. Horace speaks of *monstra natantia*, Od. i 3; and Tac. Ann. ii 24, of those who *miracula narrabant . . . monstra maris, ambiguas hominum et belluarum formas*, cf. Plin. H. N. ix 5. *juvenes marinos*. Probably the Tritons, or mermen, and Nereids, are meant (the latter being attached to the Mediterranean sea in particular), the Oceanides, &c. *vidisse depends on possit*. **284**: *Ille*. Orestes. *Hic*. Ajax, who in his insanity mistook the herds and flocks of the Greeks for his personal enemies. *Ithacum*. Ulysses. **287**: *parcat . . . lacernis*. Though he may not tear them like some

lunatics. 288 : *curatoris*. *Nec medici credis (me) nec curatoris egere A praetore dati*, Hor. Epp. i 1 102 103 ; and Sat. ii 3 217 218. He was a guardian appointed by the praetor for an insane person, and chosen by him from among the relatives in the male line (*agnati*). The words of the law were, *Si furiosus escit (erit) agnatorum in eo pecuniaque ejus potestas esto*. The idea that a man who loaded his ship with merchandise and sought to make money of it, despising the perils of the deep, was no better than a madman, would not find favour with modern political economists, any more than a variety of other passages in our author. Compare a passage in Sueton. Vesp. 16, where he speaks of buying up goods and selling them at a profit being disgraceful even for a private individual. Economists will also notice another curious passage at the end of c. 18, where the Emperor refuses to employ a machine on the old (but not defunct) plea, that it will be injurious to labour. Juvenal's horror of the sea breaks out here, and notwithstanding the *plus hominum est jam in pelago*, 276, it was shared by most of his countrymen ; compare Prop. iii 7, and a host of similar passages. To them, it was indeed the *triste profundi imperium*. To be parted from the sea by the ship's sides, 289, xii 58, was *malum*, "a serious ill." I think there is very strong reason to conjecture that Juvenal had made a sea-voyage. 290 : *causa*, "the incentive," x 139, viii 84, &c. 291 : a periphrasis for money, coins. *minutas* is a participle, as at xiii 189. 293 : Pepper would be imported from India by way of Syria, cf. viii 160. Pliny speaks with astonishment about the favour with which pepper was viewed, and asks who ever could have first tried it as an article of food. Corn would come from Sicily, Africa, &c. 297 : *zonam*, because it held his purse. So Phaedrus, of a shipwreck, *Hi zonas, illi res pretiosas colligunt*, iv 21. So at viii 120, we have *Cum tenues nuper Marius discinxerit Afros*, i.e., robbed them. Plautus calls a cut-purse *sector zonarius*. 299 : *Tagus*, iii 55. *Pactolus*, a small river of Lydia, was supposed to roll particles of gold-dust in its mud, like the Tagus, with which it is coupled here, the Po, the Ganges, and the Hebrus in Thrace, Plin. H. N. xxxiii 4. The poor wretch will have to go about begging alms, carrying a picture of the shipwreck to excite compas-

sion, Pers. i 89, vi 32, and Phaedr. in the above-quoted fable, *Ceteri tabulam suam Portant, rogantes vicum.* "Shipwrecked mariners," with pictures of this kind, are still to be seen.

303: sqq. *Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam*, Hor. Od. iii 16 17. 304: is an almost literal verse rendering of Seneca, *ipsa magnae felicitatis tutela sollicita est*; Cons. ad Polyb. 28. 305: At x 16 we had Seneca spoken of as *praedives*. I have rendered it here by "millionnaire," which has come, in our language, to signify simply "enormously wealthy." *hamae* were leatheren water-buckets. We sometimes see water-buckets (of wood) hung up, in the same way, in old-fashioned banks, inns, &c. *nullus umquam in publico siphon, nulla hama, nullum denique instrumentum ad incendia compescenda*, Pliny to Trajan, Epp. x 42. Licinus, i 109, who is put for any rich man, is in such a fright about his costly effects being burnt, that he posts a whole regiment of slaves to keep watch over them by night, with the water-buckets all in order. For the Phrygian marble, see above 89 90. 308: *dolia*, the tub of Diogenes. It would not take fire, because it was made of clay. The story of Alexander's conversation with Diogenes is well known. *dolia nudi non ardent Cynici* is a sentiment akin to *Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator—rarus venit in coenacula miles*, &c., "Poverty is free from the cares which beset the rich," which Lucian has worked out in one of his dialogues. Some take *nudi* here to mean "wearing no tunic," xiii 122, and note. 311: *testa in illa*, "in that famous tub." 313: *qui totum sibi posceret orbem*, x 168. 314: *Passurus*, &c., "on the condition of undergoing," x 97 98 note. 315: see x 365. 319: For Epicurus and his garden, cf. xiii 122 123. 322: sqq. "If you think I am too hard upon you, in asking you to conform to the examples of such self-denying sages as Epicurus and Socrates, let us make some allowances for our altered times and manners, let us go as far as the amount which was fixed for a knight's census by the law of Otho, four hundred sestertia (= four hundred thousand sesterces). If that won't satisfy you, take a couple of knights' fees and add a third four hundred sestertia, i.e., make up twelve hundred sestertia (twelve hundred thousand sesterces), a Senator's census. If that won't do, why then, nothing in the world will content you." Our poet may here have had in mind some

lines of Lucilius, which have come down to us, *Nam si quod satis est homini, id satis esse potisset Hoc sat erat, nunc cum hoc non est, qui credimus porro Divitias ullas animum mi explore potuisse?* Fr. v 2. "The fourteen rows" were the front rows in the theatre on which the knights were privileged to sit, cf. iii 154 and 159. 322 : *acribus* is "severe," ii 77. *exemplis*, "patterns for imitation," xiii 1. 325 : *rugam trahere*, "to wrinkle your brow," i.e., to displease you, xiii 215 216. *vis tu remittere aliquid ex rugis?* Plin. Epp. ix 17. *ducere vultum, contrahere frontem*, are similar phrases. Mr. Pretor, on Pers. vi 79, where *ruga* means "a purse," seems to think it may have the same meaning here, which, to me, is quite inconceivable, though this interpretation has the authority of Casaubon and Koenig. Professor Conington, whose posthumous edition of Persius has only just been given to the world (*Dec. 1872*), in a note on the passage, says "*rugam trahit* in the imitation by Juv. xiv 325, looks as if he had misunderstood the meaning here to be 'makes you frown dissatisfaction.'" I should hardly think this likely; or that the introduction of the same word into the two passages, is more than an accident. Professor Conington, in his excellent notes, often refers to difficult passages of Juvenal, *ex gr.*, Juv. i 93, on Pers. i 54; J. v 155, on P. iii 77; J. vii 111 on P. ii 33, as far as I understand, endorsing Mr. Mayor's interpretations of them, which I believe to be, in every case, wrong. 327 : *si panditur ultra*, i.e., "for more." 329 : *Narcissus* was a freedman of Claudius, by whose orders Messalina was put to death after her marriage with Silius in the Emperor's lifetime, x 329-345. His great wealth is spoken of by Dio lx 34, and by Plin., H. N. xxxii 10; who mentions him after Crassus, to whom he assigns about £1,600,000 in landed property. But these figures are no more to be depended on than the numbers of the slaughtered in the ancient battles. On the great influence gained over the Roman Emperors by their freedmen, cf. Friedländer, who, in the first volume of his "Roman Manners from Augustus to the Antonines," has treated the subject exhaustively, after the fashion of his countrymen. Cf. Plin. Paneg. c. 88; and for the expression *paruit imperiis*, comp. Plin. Epp. viii 6. *Imaginare Caesarem liberti precibus, vel potius imperio . . . obtemperantem.*

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE XV.

THIS Satire is directed against the Egyptians. The poet, after expressing his contempt for their superstitions, relates an event which recently occurred in their country. The Ombites were celebrating a festival, when their neighbours, the Tentyrites, surprised them, and, being victorious in the encounter, cut to pieces the only one of the enemy who fell into their hands, and ate him raw.

The poet says that instances have occurred before this of men eating each other, but that has been under compulsion, as in the case of besieged cities. These Egyptians surpass in ferocity the most savage tribes. Some very beautiful reflections on the origin of civil society, and a contrast drawn between man and the lower animals, very much in favour of the latter, conclude the Satire.

Line 27 (like xiii 17) furnishes a crucial date for this Satire and its author. Unfortunately we cannot fix it with certainty. 119 A.D. is, I think, the date of the event referred to, which would bring this Satire to about the same period as xiii.

NOTES TO SATIRE XV.

1 : Who this Volusius the Bithynian was, is unknown. Martial has several epigrams addressed to one whom he calls *Bithynice*. Animal-worship, as is well known, was prevalent in Egypt. *Aegyptiorum morem quis ignorat?* *Quorum imbutae mentes pravitatis erroribus, quamvis carnificinam prius subierint, quam ibim aut aspidem aut felem aut canem aut crocodilum violent,* &c., Cic. Tusc. Q., v 27; Stat. Silv. iii 2 113, &c. Certain animals, such as the ox, dog, cat, ibis, &c., seem to have been generally held sacred, while, with regard to others, *ex. gr.*, the crocodile (Herod. ii 69), different practices prevailed among the various nomes, or cantons, into which the Nile-valley was divided. 2: *crocodilon*. The poet uses the Greek form here. 4: *cercopitheci*. A long-tailed ape, *χίρκος, πίθηκος*. *Callidus emissas eludere simius hastas Si mihi cauda foret, circopithecus eram,* Mart. xiv 202. Every one knows the story of the statue of Memnon and the sounds which it gave forth, Dict. G. and R. Myth. "Memnon." For Thebes and its hundred gates, cf. xiii 27. 7: *aeluros*, "cats," from the Greek *ἀλυρος*, is a suggestion for *caeruleos*, the common reading, which has been adopted by most editors. The latter would mean "fish of the sea." I do not think it any objection to *caeruleos*, that it is uncertain whether the Egyptians worshipped the fish of the sea; for we need not suppose it necessary for Juvenal to have had a more intimate acquaintance with their superstitions than with those of the Jews. On the other hand, if they did not worship sea-fish (as seems likely), the poet may have known this, and *piscem fluminis* would have a distinct meaning—an answer to the objection of Mr. Prior (who reads *caeruleos*), that "some opposition to *piscem fluminis* seems required." P. has here *aeruleos*. *aeluros* would be very likely not to be understood, and to get corrected. One MS. has *pisces* with *caeruleos*. I do

not think that this is a case for dogmatising. 13: The meaning is when Ulysses was relating his wonderful adventures to Alcinous, King of Phaeacia (*Hom. Od. ix.*) very likely he had moved some of the company to wrath, or made them laugh when he had begun to talk about Laestrygones and Cyclopes, who fed on human flesh. "Won't some one pitch this fellow into the sea," we can imagine one of the guests saying, "with his inventions about huge man-eaters? I could sooner swallow the stories about Scylla, Circe, &c., than believe in such an abomination as this. He must think us mad." In short, such a monstrosity would not have been believed even in the days of Ulysses. Well, I will tell you what took place, in open day, quite recently, in the consulship of Junius, among these same Egyptians. I will relate a piece of cannibalism which was the work, not of an individual, but of a whole people. 14: *super coenam.* As in the case of Ulysses, dinner-time, with the wine flowing, would be the natural occasion for producing wonderful stories. Pliny tells a story of a wonderful dolphin which he heard at a dinner-party, where all sorts of prodigies were related, *Incidi autem dum, super coenam, varia miracula hinc inde referuntur*, Epp. ix 33. 16: *areatalogi*, whatever they were, were introduced by Augustus at his dinners, Suet. Aug. 74; cf. Forcellini and Casaubon's note quoted there. They seem to have been a kind of mock-philosophers, who doubtless improvised burlesque discussions on such themes as virtue, &c., and invented stories in illustration of them, for the amusement of their patrons. In putting what follows into the mouth of one of the guests, the poet exaggerates, as he often does; his indignation against the Egyptians causes him to overshoot the mark. Cannibalism has not at any time been so rare and unheard-of a practice as he would imply. And if we realise for a moment such a scene as the supper of Alcinous, we may be sure that the stories about Laestrygones and Cyclopes would not have appeared to the guests at all more wonderful than the rest of Ulysses' narrative. To a modern audience, they would form the least wonderful part of the tale, as being the one most likely to have a background of truth. Cf. Pliny, H. N. vii 2, who exhibits none of the incredulity of

the Phaeacian in the text. 19 : The stories of Scylla and Charybdis, of the skins full of foul winds which Aeolus gave to Ulysses, and which the companions of the latter opened, thereby causing a tempest, and of Circe turning the men into pigs, are probably familiar to all. *concurrentia saxa Cyanæas* (another reading is *Cyanea*) are the Symplegades, *Kvariai*, Herod. iv 85 ; Eurip. Med. 2, rocks at the entrance of the Bosphorus. Ulysses is not represented as having visited them, and the poet seems to have confounded them with some other rocks in the Sicilian Sea, which Circe recommended Ulysses to avoid. 24 : *minimum* is taken adverbially by Macleane, but it seems more simple to take it as a substantive in agreement with *temetum*. The latter is an old word for wine, whence *temulentus*, &c. 25 : *Corcyraea*. The Homeric island Scheria, the seat of the Phaeacians, was identified in later times with Corcyra (Corfu). *urna*, vi 426, xii 44. *canebat*, probably of measured utterance, as Virg. Aen. iv 14, &c. 27 : *Consule Junio*. This must be either (1) Appius Junius Sabinus, consul, A.D. 84, in the reign of Domitian, or (2) Q. Junius Rusticus, consul, A.D. 119, with Hadrian. The latter seems almost certainly to be the man. P. reads Junco, which Jahn, Hermann, and Ribbeck adopt. But there was no *Juncus* consul till A.D. 182, when, supposing our poet to be the *facundus Juvenalis* of Martial (of which there can hardly be a doubt), he must have been, if alive, considerably over a hundred years of age. 28 : *Coptos* (Kouft), on the right bank of the Nile, about a mile from the river, and ten miles N. of Thebes. It was a considerable commercial entrepôt in the time of our author, the Roman imports from India and the East being very large. Plin., H. N. vi 23, traces the route thence to Berenice (Cosseir) on the Red Sea, with which it communicated. 30 : *a Pyrrha*, "from the beginning of the world," i 84. *syrmata*, literally "tragic trains," viii 229. 33 : *Solito inter accolas odio, infensa Judæis Arabum manus*, Tac. Hist. v 1.

35 : *Ombos* is the reading of P. The difficulty is that Ombi was about a hundred miles south of Tentyra, with Thebes between them, and the two can scarcely be called *finitimi*. We may, however, very well suppose that the poet,

even if he had been at some time of his life in Egypt, did not exactly recollect the position of all the towns on the Nile. News reached him, it may be, of an occurrence in Egypt, such as is afterwards described, and thinking it a good subject, he proceeded to versify it, seasoning it with moral reflections, after his manner. The people of Tentyra, as we learn from Strabo xvii 1 19, differed from the rest of the Egyptians, in their hatred of the crocodile, cf. Plin., H. N. viii 25. On the other hand, the Ombites were celebrated for their devotion to it. Mummies of crocodiles are, it is said, still found in the adjacent catacombs, and the Roman coins of the Ombite nome exhibit its effigy and that of the crocodile-headed god, Sevak. Dict. G. and R. Geog. Juvenal may have known this much and named his two parties to the fight accordingly. **38**: *sed here, and again at 51 and 87 may be rendered by our “however.”* **43**: *Pervigili toro*, “lying there all night,” as *pervigiles popinas*, viii 158, *vigiles fenestrae*, iii 275, “open all night.” Appuleius, in speaking of a miller’s shop, where the work went on all night long, has *lucubrabant pervigilem farinam*, Met. ix 183. **44–46**: Martial gives Egypt a bad character, *Nequitas tellus scit dare nulla magis*, iv 42, and other poets repeatedly; *ventosa et insolens natio*, Plin. Paneg. 31, and cf. Tac. Hist. i 11. **45**: *quantum ipse notavi* is the particular expression on the strength of which Juvenal is held to have visited Egypt, and perhaps the foundation of this story in the life ascribed to Suetonius. **46**: *Canopo*. Ribbeck cites this passage as evidence that Juvenal did not write this Satire. The writer, he says, contrasts *Aegyptus* with *Canopus*, and does not seem to know that the latter was in Egypt. Whereas the “real Juvenal” did know the fact, as appears from i 26 and vi 83 84. But, as Macleane observes, “It was no contradiction to speak of the barbarians, as he calls them, of Upper Egypt not yielding to Canopus in profligacy. *Canopus* was at this time full of Romans and other foreigners, and the habits of that place would not represent those of the Egyptians in general.” Strabo speaks of its dissolute manners, xvii p 800, and the crowd of people who resorted to its festivals and their licentiousness, and Stat. Silv. iii 2

111. 51, 52: *jurgia . . . rixae*. *Jurgia primum, mox rixa*, Tac. Hist. i 64. We had *Jurgia proludunt* at v 26. 54: *Saevit nuda manus. saeviente dextra*, Appul. Met. i 5, *palmulis saevientibus*, Id. viii 159, *saevite manus*, Senec. Troad. 113. 57: *Dimidios*, "mutilated," as 5 above, viii 4. *alias facies*. *alius* is common in this sense, *vos quoque, quorum alia nunc ora, alia pectora contineor*, Tac. Ann. i 43, and so alter. *Dices heu quoties te speculo videris alterum*, Hor. Od. iv 10 6. 62: *quo, &c.*, viii 9, note. 63: *per humum* had better be taken with *inclinatis lacertis*. Their arms were bent, inclined along the ground in search of stones. 65: *hunc lapidem* is like *testa illa*, xiv 311, "that noted stone." 65, 66: Ajax and Diomed throw large stones in the Iliad; the latter hits Aeneas with one which two men in Homer's day could not have lifted, Il. v 303, sqq. But it would have taken twelve men of Virgil's day to lift the stone which Turnus throws, Aen. xii 899, so much more feeble had men become. "There were giants in those days," is a common and a baseless superstition: the truth is, without doubt, the other way. 69: *genus hoc* is that class of heroes, such as Turnus, Ajax, &c., who could throw such big stones. *descrescebat* might mean that the race was growing more feeble, or that it was diminishing in number, *Decrevere greges dum cadit agna frequens*, Mart. vii 54. The former is the sense here. The next line is like Lucret. ii 1151, *Jamque adeo fracta est aetas effetaque tellus Vix animalia parva creat*. Aul. Gell. says, iii 10, *quasi mundo senescente rerum atque hominum decrementa sunt*, the same complaint.

75: *Terga . . . palmae*. The whole of the Ombites take to flight, the Tentyrites pursue. 80: *corrosis ossibus*, as we say, "bones and all." 82: *usque adeo*, iii 84, &c. 84: Fire, as is well known, was considered from the earliest times a sacred element. And though Gifford on this passage, says, "The Romans cared little for it," yet abundant traces of the honour in which it had been originally held are to be found in their rites, *ex. gr.*, the Vestal fire, the reception of the bride by the bridegroom with fire and water, and many others. 87: sqq. When once people take to eating human flesh (like these Egyptians), it would seem there is nothing like it. Not only the first man who had a taste of the body, but

the very last, who came in for a few drops of the blood, was delighted. *sustinuit* and *edit* are aerists. 87: *cadaver*. Ribbeck objects here, that all flesh which we eat comes from a *cadaver*. No doubt the word is applied to all dead bodies, yet, I think, more frequently to the corpses of men. "corpus animalis mortuum, et nondum sepultum, sed *praecipue hominis*," Forcell. If in a similar passage in English the word "carcase" (which is, at least, as general) were used, every one would understand what was meant, "He who has once tasted a carcase," &c. (I find that at iii 260, I have myself translated *cadaver* by "carcase." Again at viii 252, *cadaver* must be taken for a human body, to the exclusion of that of such an animal as the ox or horse, which is much larger. See the passage.) 88: *sustinuit*, "could stand tasting," as we should say. *quid vidit propter quod ludia dici Sustinuit?* vi 104 105, xiv 127. 91: *stetit* seems to imply that he stood still, not knowing what to do. The body was all gone. So he draws his fingers along the earth, covered with blood, and licks them.

93: The Vascones (whose name has been preserved in the modern word "Basques") were a people in what is now Navarre. One of their cities Calagurris (Calahorra) was the last that held out in the cause of Sertorius. Rather than yield to the forces of Pompey, when their provisions had run out, they killed their wives and children, and salted them for use, *infelices cadaverum reliquias salire non dubitavit*, Valer. Max. viii 6, ext. 3, who takes a harsher view of their conduct than Juvenal, calling it *exsecrabilis impietas*. Sallust probably refers to the same story in one of his fragments, Bk. iii, *Parte consumpia, reliqua cadaverum ad diuturnitatem usu sallerent*. Florus, iii 22, says, *Tu fame nihil non experta Calagurris*. And Tacitus writes of men in a like situation: *Absumptis jumentis equisque et ceteris animalibus, quae profana foedaque in usum necessitas vertit*, Hist. iv 60. 98: *sicut* is here certainly awkward, as Francke and Ribbeck have remarked. It must be for *siquidem*. In the latter's remark that at 95 *est* should be *fuit*, I see no force. 104: *Viribus* is the reading of all the best MSS. There seems no reason for changing it to *ventribus*. It means, strong men, as *opibus* at iii 235 and ix 100 means

rich men. 107 : *Zeno*, the founder of the Stoicks. 107 : *poterant* is here equivalent to the subjunctive. These two moods are constantly interchanged, *ex. gr.*, Tac. Hist. v 26, Virg. Aen. ii 55, where Forbiger has collected several notes, in which scholars have attempted to establish a difference in the shades of meaning. 108 : *Cantaber*, this term was loosely applied to the inhabitants all along the north coast of Spain. The *Cantabri*, properly speaking, were west of the *Vascones*, in the present Asturias. 109 : *Metellus* is Q. Metellus Pius, who fought against Sertorius in Spain. As he only died about 62 or 63 B.C., he could scarcely be called "ancient" in Juvenal's time. But, "Everything was antiquated that was before the time of the Empire;" *ex. gr.*, Seneca uses *antiquus* of Cicero, Epp. 108, and of the time of Sulla : de Ira. iii 18, and Aulus Gellius (who probably wrote about A.D. 150) speaks of a copy of the second book of the Aeneid as *mirandae vetustatis*, "of marvellous antiquity," which was indeed believed to have belonged to Virgil himself, i.e., to be less than two hundred years old. Even in Caesar's time, *antiquus* was used very loosely, Bell. Gall. i 45. There is, therefore, nothing in Ribbeck's criticism of this passage, founded on the antiquity ascribed to Metellus. 110 : The whole world has the civilisation of Greece and our own. He calls Rome *nostrae Athenae*. Valerius Maximus uses *Athenae* in the same way, *Quas Athenas, quam scholam quae alienigena studia huic domesticae disciplinae praetulerim?* ii 10. 110-112 : are a digression, after the poet's manner. 111 : cf. vii 148. Quintilian speaks of Gaul as a place where eloquence flourished, Inst. Or. x 3. 112 : is, of course, said in jest. *Thule*. What was meant by this is uncertain, whether Iceland, or one of the Shetlands, or Norway.

114 : *Saguntus* (more commonly *Saguntum*), another Spanish town, memorable for its resistance to Hannibal. All the adult males were put to the sword, Livy, xxi 14 15. 115 : Diana (*illa Taurica*) had an altar on the Tauric Chersonese, now the Crimea, on which shipwrecked strangers were sacrificed. All the people about the Palus Maeotis, or Sea of Azoy (iv 42), were called Maeotae. 117 : *carmina*, *ex. gr.*, "Iphigenia in Tauris" of Euripides. 119 : *quis modo*

casus. I take *modo* here to mean “only,” “even.” What mischance even drove them on? There was no famine, or siege to impel them, of course; but what was there? Nothing but their own barbarism. 123: *invidiam facere alicui* generally means “to render any one odious.” Forcell. gives several examples, to which may be added Petron. 107, where other examples are given in Burmann’s edition. The sense here, then, might be “to throw odium upon the Nile for refusing to rise.” Compare Tac. Hist. ii 68, and iii 39, where *augere invidiam, ferre invidiam* are so used. But the most likely sense is “to offer an insult to;” compare Aul. Gell. iv 10, where *hac invidia facta* means “this insult having been offered;” and Ovid, Met. iv 547, *Invidiam fecere Deae; convicia Juno Non tulit*, where certainly this is the meaning; Lucan, ii 36. Quint. Declam. 10, *invidiam facere morti* Treb. Poll. Galbin. 15. He contrasts with the effeminate Egyptians various savage nations, who would not have gone to such lengths; the *Cimbri*, viii 249; the *Britones*, by whom he seems to mean the Britons, whose human sacrifices were well known, Tac. Ann. xiv 30—Jerome (quoted by Orell. ad. Hor. Od. ii 4 33) says they lived on human flesh—the *Sauromatae*, ii 1; and the *Agathyrsi*, a people whom Herodotus places in the modern Transylvania. 127, 128: Juvenal has in view Virgil, Georg. iv 287, *Nam qua Pellaei gens fortunata Canopi Accolit effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum Et circum pictis vehitur sua rura phaselis.* Strabo says that the canals in the Delta were navigated with such ease, *ώρες καὶ δοργάκινα ισίοις θαλαττομένα*, some even use earthenware ferry-boats, xvii p. 788. This is what Juvenal means by *fictilibus phaselis*. 130, 131: *in quorum . . . fames.* The meaning seems to be “in whose minds anger and hunger produce the same results.” To say that they are angry with a man is to say that they long to eat him. Compare 169, sqq. It is generally taken to mean that in their case anger produced the same results as hunger did in the case of the Vascons, &c.

135: *Squaloremque rei.* It was the custom of those who were accused in a court of justice to appear in a squalid plight to excite the pity of the judges. Hence *squalidus*, “an accused person,” Tac. Hist. ii 60. *est moris reis submittere capillum,*

Plin., Epp. vii 27, where he tells a curious story of a dream, illustrative of this practice. *demitos lugentis in ore capillos*, Ov. Her. x 137; Aul. Gell. iii 4. The prosecutor, from a similar motive, often did the same, *ex gr.*, Cicero in Verr., *aspicite squalorem sociorum*. It was partly owing to his not complying with this custom that Milo, Cicero's client, was convicted, according to Plut. Cic. 35. 137: *faciunt incerta* may be merely poetical for "to obscure," as *luna incerta* is often used for *luna nubibus involuta*. So here *ora incerta*, i.e., *capillis involuta*, or, it might mean "render the sex uncertain," Ov. Met. viii 322 323. 139, 140: *infans . . . minor igne rogi*, "too small to be burnt," is an expression like *lectus Procula minor*, iii 203; cf. iv 66; *voce meliora*, "things too sacred to be uttered," Appul.; *minor Domino* (of Domitian's palace), used by Martial and Statius, "too small for the lord of the earth," &c. *onera ferente majora*. Sen. de Ir. An. 5. Pliny, H. N. vii 16, says it was the custom not to burn (but to bury) the bodies of infants who died before cutting their teeth; or before they were forty days old, according to others. Their burial-place was called *Suggrundarium*. 140, 141: *bonus . . . sacerdos*. The allusion is to the torches which were carried on the fifth day of the greater Eleusinian mysteries. 142: *ulla aliena*, &c. The commentators quote the well-known *Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*, of Terence. 144: *venerabili*, "reverential," Maclean. I think he is right. Adverbs in "bibilis" often have an active sense. *Flebilis Ino* Hor. *venerabilia erga Deos verba*, Valer. Max. ii 4; cf. Forcellini. 144: *capaces*, "capable of containing, receiving divine things," *mentisque capacius altae*; Ov. xii 44, xi 41, not "capable of divine things," which gives a different sense. 148: *prona*. *Pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram*, Ov. Met. i 84; and Sallust. of animals, *prona et ventri obedientia*, Bell. Cat. i; Cicero, de Leg. i, says, *Natura, cum ceteros animantes abjecisset ad pastum, solum hominem erexit et ad coeli, quasi cognitionis domiciliique pristini conspectum excilavit*. Socrates had said nearly the same thing before; and the Christian fathers borrowed the idea, *Idcirco illis (animalibus) angustum pectus . . . et ad terram versus subjectum; homini autem patens et rectum quia plenum rationis a coelo datum*, &c., Lactant.,

de Opif. Dei. 149: Seneca distinguishes between *animus* and *anima*. *Animum perducere ad contemplationem animae*, Epp. 4, and again in Epp. 58; and Lucretius, at some length, Bk. iii. 151: sqq. Compare with this Lucret. v 1018, *Tunc et amicitiam coeperunt jungere aentes Finitimi inter se nec laedere nec violare, &c.*; and Cic. de Invent. i 2. *dispersos homines in agris . . . compulit unum in locum et congregavit, &c.*, pro Cestio. 42. 160: sqq. Compare Hor. Epop. 7 11 12, *Neque hic lupis mos nec fuit leonibus Numquam, nisi in dispar feris.* Juvenal seems to have taken his natural history from Pliny, *Leonium feritas inter se non dimicat, serpentum morsus non petit serpentes, ne maris quidem belluae ac pisces nisi in diversa genera saeviunt.* At Hercule homini plurima ex homine sunt mala, H. N. vii, Proem.; or from Seneca, whose ninety-fifth epistle he had certainly read, *Non pudet homines, mitissimum genus, gaudere sanguine alterno, bella gerere gerendaque liberis tradere, cum inter se etiam mutis ac feris pax sit?* and de Ira. ii 8. M. Seneca, in Controv. ii 9, *neque feris inter se bella sunt.* 163: *tigris, tigride* = tiger, as well as tigress, the form being (in the poets) feminine. *cogn. mac.*, a picturesque expression. Meinertz Vind. Juv. p. 32, thinks it impossible that any one can take this otherwise than *fera, similis maculis, parcit cognatis: mac.* being the descript. ablat. But this is very tame. 165: sqq. Man is not satisfied nowadays with forging swords (considering that the old smiths did not know how to make them), but, besides killing people, some nations go so far as to eat them. I put a semicolon after *fabri*, and take *cum rastra . . . fabri* as a digression. The idea here conveyed is a very old one. It was in the age of brass, says Aratus, that men, first *καχόγονοι καλύτευσαρο μάχαιραν.* 173: Pythagoras, Hor. Sat. ii 6 63; Id. Epp. i 12 21. The story of his abstaining from beans is probably a fable, Aul. Gell. iv 11; but Juvenal, here as elsewhere, follows the common tradition.

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE XVI.

A FRAGMENT on military life. Such are its advantages over the life of the civilian, the poet says, that he almost feels inclined to enlist in the army. Soldiers may assault their fellow-citizens with impunity ; and if the latter seek redress from the officers, they only go from the frying-pan into the fire. These soldiers enjoy an immense advantage in having their disputes at once decided by a court of their own ; whereas civilians are ground down by the law's delay. They have also certain privileges in the way of disposing of their property. . . . The Satire ends abruptly.

NOTES TO SATIRE XVI.

1, 2 : *felicis praemia militiae*, "the advantages of military life, if it be successful," Macleane. I think this rendering rather weakens the passage; "of lucky military service" is preferable. 2 : *Quod si*. This reading is preserved by Priscian. The MSS. have *nam si*. The former is much better. "What a lucky trade is that of the soldier, in general! And if, in addition, it is a crack regiment that they are recruiting for, I shall be tempted to enlist myself." As to crack regiments, cf. Vegetius; Spartan. Hadr. 3; Vopisc. Aurel. ii. So the twelfth legion was called *fulminata* or *fulminatrix* (as early as the reign of Augustus, and quite independently of the legend connected with the words), cf. Burn's "Rome and the Campagna," p. 337. It is perhaps unnecessary to say that this furnishes no sort of evidence that the writer of this Satire was a young man at the time, cf. Pers. i 9. 3 : *pavidus*, "shy," "timid," as at xi 158, a fitting epithet for some recruits, if not for all. 5 : *Venus*, the mistress of Mars. *genetrix*, his mother Juno, who was especially worshipped at Samos, Virg. Aen. i 15 16.

7 : Heinrich thinks this verse spurious, but it seems to me to be wanted. 9, 10 : *Audeat, Audeat*. These repetitions have already been noticed, x 103, note. 12 : *oculum . . . relictum* means "that his eye is still left in his head, but that the doctor won't guarantee its preserving its sight." 13 : If, however, he is determined on obtaining redress, he will have to go before a military tribunal. I take it that the man first goes to the praetor, who, if he assigns him a *judex*, must assign a military one. *Bardaicus*. It is not certain what this means. If it is a cloak, this expression would not be unlike *facinus majoris abollae* in ii. The word occurs again in Mart. iv 4, and Capit. Pertinax 8. *cuculli Bardaici*. Mart. has

Lassi bardaicus evocati (*bardiacus* is another reading, as here), where the old soldier's bardaicus is spoken of among things which stink. Some take it to mean a cloak, which when furnished with a hood was called *bardocucullus*, Mart. *passim*. It may be taken here with *calceus*, or alone, as in Mart. above. Heinrich has given all that can be said on this subject. The centurion's cloak (or boots) and big calves are put for the centurion himself, before whom the unfortunate civilian is compelled to bring his plaint. These centurions are often represented as strapping, burly fellows, xiv 192, note. Spartianus tells us that Hadrian (in whose reign this Satire may very likely have been written) made a point of conferring centurionships on robust men only, Vit. Hadr. *grandes surae* is like *Curtius et Maiho, buccae*, xi 34. 15: *Camillus*. M. Furius Camillus was the great military hero of his time—the commencement of the fourth century before Christ—and is constantly cited by subsequent writers as a type of old Roman bravery, &c., Hor. Od. i 12 42; Epp. i 1 64. It is in that sense that he is mentioned here. We are not told elsewhere that he was the author of any such regulation as that mentioned in the text. 16: *vallum*, properly the palisades on the *agger* or earthen wall surrounding the camp. The meaning is “outside the camp.” 17: *justissima Centurionum*, &c. These are the words of the injured man to himself. And I should prefer taking *tota cohors tamen*, &c., in the same way, and *cum duo crura habeas* as addressed to himself. *cognitio*, vi 485. He says, “Of course it is all right that the centurion should have jurisdiction over his soldiers, and doubtless he will be ready to do me justice. But alas! when I leave his court, I shall have to run the gauntlet of the whole regiment, who will fall upon me and serve me worse than I was served at first.” 21: *curabilis* only occurs here, and even here is disputed. Many MSS. read *consensu magno officiunt*. *curabitis ut sit*, which Achaintre follows. *Curabilis* may mean “that will require attending to,” or “that you will have to care for;” it will be no joke, as we should say. 23: Who *Vagellius* was we do not know. The name occurred at xiii 119. *corde* is here “understanding,” as often; *aliis cor ipsum animus videtur*, Cic. Tusc. Q. i 9. *cordis cuius dis-*

simulatione brutus habebatur, Macrob. Sat. i 12. So *excors* commonly means "void of understanding," and *cordatus*, "intelligent." 24: *Cum duo crura habeas*, "when you have got two sound legs," Macleane; "when you have still a pair of legs," Evans. But the meaning seems to be, "seeing that you have *only* two legs to oppose to so many high-lows." *duo* is contrasted with *tot. caligas*, "the thick military boot," iii 322; and id. 248. It seems to have been worn by the common soldiers only. Seneca speaks of Marius as *ad consulatum a caliga perductus*, de Benef. v 16, "from the ranks," as we should say. 25: How will you get any witnesses to speak for you? *procul* is satirical. The camp was close to the city, v 153, note. *molem aggeris*. The rampart of Servius, which overlooked the camp, spoken of here, was nearly a mile long, and fifty feet broad, Dict. G. and R. Ant. "Agger." Burn's "Rome and the Campagna," p. 48. 28: *se excusaturos*, "who are sure to excuse themselves," *periturae chartae*, i 18, "paper that is sure to be wasted." 29: *da*, "produce," viii 68, note. 29, 30: *audeat . . . Vidi*. This reminds us of vii 13 14, *Hoc satius quam si dicas sub judice "Vidi"* *Quod non vidisti.* 31: *capillis*, "the long hair." "Worthy of a bearded and long-haired Roman of the old time." *barbato regi*, iv 103. *capillato consule*, v 30. 33: *paganus*, after the time of Augustus, was commonly used for civilian, *pagani et milites*, Plin. Epp. x 18. *Equites . . . dimota paganorum turba . . . desertum a suis contrucidarunt*, Suet. Galb. 19. *inter paganos corruptior miles*, Tac. Hist. i 53, and elsewhere often.

36: *Sacramentorum* is here equivalent to *militiae*, or, possibly, to *militum*. *Sacramentum* was the oath which the soldiers took when enlisted. A form of military oath is given in Aul. Gell. xvi 4. *convallum* seems to mean here as elsewhere merely a valley. Festus says that properly it was a hollow surrounded by hills; *vallis* one between two ranges. 36: sqq. The boundaries which divided one man's property from another were sacred among the Romans. Compare Deuteronomy: "Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's land-mark." On the festival of the "Terminalia," the owners of adjacent property made offerings to the god *Terminus*.

Among these were cakes of meal and honey, &c. Sometimes a lamb, or a sucking pig, was slaughtered, *Spargitur et caesa communis Terminus agna Nec queritur lactens cum sibi porca datur*, Ov. Fast. ii 655; cf. Hor. Epod. 2 59. 41: is repeated, with a slight variation, from xiii 137. 42: *annus* must mean here a long time, "an age," as we say. *annum esurio*, Petron. 44. *Dum moliuntur dum comuntur (or conantur) annus est*, Ter. Heaut. Tim. ii 2. *jaceo . . . saucius annum*, Tibull. ii 5 109. 45: *jam facundo*, &c. The meaning is very obscure. The sense is that the court is broken up on some pretext or other, just as Caedicius is taking off his cloak to plead, or Fuscus is preparing himself for a long speech, in another way. Compare a passage from C. Titius, quoted by Macrob. Sat. iii 16, *Judex testes poscit, ipsus it minctum*. Or, else, the court is ready, but the advocates loiter; so the case must wait. I prefer the former rendering. A *Fuscus* and a *Caedicius* have been mentioned before, but in a different connection. Here they are advocates, as *facundo* shows. Mr. Simcox has one of his extraordinary notes. "Fuscus has a drunken wife, xii 45, and drinks; hence *jam micturit*, in order to start fair!" 47: *lenti . . . arena*, a metaphor from the arena. Pliny has one very similar, *Vectio Prisco quantum plurimum potuero praestabo, praesertim in arena mea, hoc est apud centumviros*, Epp. vi 22. 48: An engraving of the *balteus* will be found in Dict. G. and R. Ant. 50: *res alteritur*, &c. So *si litibus tererer*, Plin. Epp. viii 12, and *litibus conteror*, vii 5. *Modica res publica novis sumpibus alterebatur*, "was ground down," Epp. ix 33. *attritis facultibus*, Suet. Galb. 3. And *intertrimentum* is used for "loss," Ter. Heaut. Tim. iii 1 39. *sufflamine*, "a drag-chain," viii 148, in reference to which note, see Rich, Dict. G. and R. Ant. ad voc. It is here used metaphorically. *sufflaminandus est*, Sen. of a man who talks too fast. Ben Jonson appears to have had this passage of Seneca in mind, when he wrote of Shakespeare, "sufflaminandus erat."

51-56: *pater* occurs three times in these six lines. Heinrich proposes *socer* at 56; but the change, besides having no authority, would destroy the humour of the passage, which consists in the idea of the man's own father

courting him for his money. On the *castrēnse* and *quasi castr. pecul.* and their exemption from paternal power, cf. Maine, "Ancient Law," p. 142, and Papin, quoted by Long. Cic. pro Mil. 29. This Satire is evidently an unfinished draught. *labor* too occurs three times in 51-57, and *favor* has been suggested at 56. *pulchro reddit sua dona labori*, whether we take *labor* or *hic* (the soldier, from *hunc*) as the nominative to *reddit*, is well-nigh unintelligible. *placuit*, "it has been decided." 60: Virgil describes the *torques* in Aen. v 558 559, *it pectore summo Flexilis obtorti per collum circulus auri*.

THE END.



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